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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR A VIEW OF THE
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1791.

A NEW EDITION.



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PREFACE.

THE year 1791 seemed auspicious to human nature. In two of the greatest kingdoms in Europe, new constitutions were formed, which promised to put an end to the reign of feudal barbarism and anarchy in the one, and of more polished despotism in the other. But the year had not elapsed when the prospect was overcast; tempests and storms arose which overturned the new fabric in the one kingdom before it was well erected; and, in the other, after staining the public councils as well as the character of the nation, with multiplied atrocities, subverted one form of government after another; which still continue to agitate the unsettled mass, and to threaten, with further changes, further distress and ruin.

The revolutions and new constitutions in Poland and in France, are vast subjects of reflection in themselves,

and as they are connected with the affairs of other nations. In themselves, though intended to promote the welfare with the liberty of the nation, they were strongly contrasted by the different means through which the same ends were expected to be accomplished. The French legislators considered mankind under general views, and lost sight not only of individuals, but of particular classes in society. Their general maxims were not without plausibility : but as they related more to a kind of abstract and ideal beings than to mankind as they really are in all their circumstances, and with all their habits, prejudices, and passions, the application of them in practice produced manifold acts of injustice and inhumanity, not only to particular families, but whole orders of men. The Poles did not want talents for abstraction, nor the faculty of perceiving the symmetry and beauty of ideal systems ; but they were too generous and good to suffer any general principles to break in upon the happiness of the different ranks of society. Liberty was dear to them, but humanity dearer.

The Polish constitution would have stood on its own basis, if it had not been assailed by foreign violence :—the French constitution, or rather constitutions, contained

tained in themselves the seeds of dissolution ; and have been held together, during the short periods of their existence, chiefly by external compression.

The Polish and the French constitutions called the attention of Kings in some measure, from separate pursuits of aggrandizement, to the general interests and safety of sovereign princes. The Empress of Russia made peace with the Turks, that she might be at leisure to interfere and control the affairs of Poland. She urged the heroic King of Sweden, who needed but little incitement, to undertake a crusade against the French republic : and openly countenanced and promised succours to the emigrant French loyalists. The court of Madrid was easily drawn on this occasion, into a concert with that of St. Petersburg. The sage Leopold, formed a confederation of sovereign princes at Pilnitz,—not for the purpose of dividing, or dismembering France (however ideas of this kind may have been entertained by other princes, or by his own successors afterwards) but for that of establishing a limited monarchy in France, by a gradual amalgamation of the ancient monarchy, with what was reasonable in the principles and claims of the friends of reformation ; and also and principally for securing the future tranquillity of Eu-

rope. Though the court of London did not at first accede to the confederation set on foot by the Emperor, we find that the revolution to which it referred, attracted, during the whole of 1791, the profound attention of the British legislature.

In a word, nations as well as men were now set at variance with each other, by a new principle of division and discord. A war was commenced on new ground, to which the great potentates of Europe, after various windings and tergiversations, have been obliged, or probably will be obliged to return : a war, not of ambition and conquest, not for this or that family, nor yet for this or that creed in religion, but a war of the rights of men against the established authority and prerogatives of sovereign princes.

An object so new, singular, and important, naturally calls upon the annalist to exert his whole powers of attention and judgment to the different resources of the opposite parties in this unprecedented warfare : the arguments by which they maintained their theories, and operated on the minds of men ; and the means and various success with which they endeavoured to support them respectively, by arms.

Among

Among other fruits of diligent inquiry, we have been favoured with an authentic copy of the plan or groundwork on which the Emperor Leopold wrote a circular letter, relative to the objects above-mentioned, to the principal courts; and which we have inserted in the History of Europe, under the conviction that a general attention to the wise and temperate principles and plans of Leopold may become subservient to the general peace and prosperity of all nations.

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* The reader is requested to observe, that two distinct series of pages have been followed in the present Volume, which commence respectively at the portions allotted to the "History of Europe," and the "Chronicle."

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THE ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the YEAR 1791.

THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Prepossession of the Turks in favour of their own Military Character.—Hassan Ali appointed Grand Vizier.—His Character.—Situation of the Ottoman Empire.—Conduct of Selim.—Treaty between the Porte and the King of Prussia.—Continued preparations for War between the Porte on the one part, and the Russians and Austrians on the other.—Death and Character of the Emperor Joseph.—Succeeded by his brother Leopold.—Character and conduct of Leopold on the Commencement of his Reign.—His arduous situation, internal and external.—Discontents and Disturbances in Hungary, the Milanese, and Tuscany, and Insurrection and Revolt of the Netherlands.—Political State of Europe.—Sextuple Alliance in opposition to the Confederation between Austria and Russia.—Hostility and Animosity between the Courts of Berlin and Vienna;—yet both these Powers inclined to Peace.—A Congress for that purpose proposed by Leopold.—State and Position of the Austrian and Prussian Armies.—Eagerness of the Divan for a Continuation of the War.—Progress of the Austrian Arms, on the Side of Turkey.—Cessation of Hostilities and Armistice between the Turks and Austrians.—Death and Character of Field Marshal Laudhon.—Conferences and Convention at Reichenbach

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for the purpose of a Pacification between Austria and Turkey, and for a Restoration of the Netherlands to the Dominion of Austria.—Prudent Conduct of Leopold, with regard to the Hungarians.—Dissensions, Contests, and State of Parties in Hungary.—Leopold elected King of the Romans, and crowned Emperor.—Grants, as by free-will, to the Hungarians, what he had refused to their importunate Solicitations.—Settlement of his Family, and Intermarriages.—Various Acts of his Imperial Majesty's prudent Condescension and Favour.—Peace concluded between the Court of Vienna and the Ottoman Porte at Sistovia.

THE successes of the Russian arms during three successive campaigns, had excited less of terror than of astonishment and indignation among the Turks. Their proud and obstinate character leads them to consider themselves as naturally invincible, and not to be subdued but through the most unexpected and extraordinary causes. It is on this principle that they never attribute their ill fortune in war to want of courage and military virtues, but solely to the bad conduct, or the treachery of their commanders. Hence they are not apt to be much dejected by defeats; and, as experience has shown, are always ready to face their victorious enemy with as much intrepidity as ever, provided they are no longer commanded by those under whom they have been unfortunate.

Hassan Ali, the man now chosen by Selim, to retrieve the losses and disgraces of the last campaign, was equally distinguished by activity of mind and firmness of spirit; qualities which fitted him for the arduous task which he had the courage to undertake at his advanced period of life, being now seventy-five years of age. Though of late deserted by his former good fortune, he was still the ablest officer in the Turkish service. But his capacity, though great both in the council

and in the field, was heavily counterpoised by the disordered state of the Ottoman empire, the factions in the Divan, and the discontents both in the army and among the people. No Vizier was ever raised to that dangerous dignity in more difficult times. Exclusively of the formidable combination of the two imperial courts, the Persians, ever watchful of opportunities to distress the Turks, had increased their calamities by invading the eastern parts of their empire, with a powerful army.

Selim, fully sensible of the very critical situation of the Turkish empire, had neglected none of those popular means of keeping up the courage of his subjects which are usually practised among the Turks in times of public danger. His troops were clad in black, to denote their readiness to meet death in defence of their cause; and he had, in concurrence with the heads of religious affairs, proclaimed a remission of their sins to all those who should die in battle. In aid of several other measures of this kind, an universal muster was made in every province throughout Turkey, of all the men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, out of whom the most proper for war were strictly selected. The Turks were further encouraged by the co-operation of a young

a young northern hero, the King of Sweden, with whom they confirmed an alliance offensive and defensive, on the condition that neither of the contracting parties should listen to separate proposals of peace from Russia; and that, in order the better to enable the Swedish monarch to fulfil his engagements, he should receive an annual subsidy. A large sum was remitted without delay to the King, by his Turkish ally. Selim was not less attentive to the acceleration of his warlike preparations at home: he inspected the arsenals in person, distributing rewards and punishments with equal munificence and severity, conformably to the long established policy of his country. By these methods of proceeding, it was hoped at Constantinople, that, notwithstanding the losses of the foregoing year, the Turkish arms would, in the ensuing season, again have an equal trial with those of their enemies. It was however deemed prudent in the Divan to proffer terms of peace to the two imperial courts: but these were so elated with their successes, that they would grant no terms but such as were too humiliating to be submitted to by the Turks, had their distress even been greater. Though repeatedly defeated, they still kept the field, and found full employment for both the Austrians and Russians, who, notwithstanding their victories, had not yet been able to master Orsova. That strong and important place still held out; and the bravery and skill of its governor afforded little hope of its being speedily taken. The Grand Seignior, in order to be nearer the scene of action, and to forward by his presence the exer-

tions of his people, determined to pass the winter at Adrianople; where measures were taken for assembling an army of 400,000 men by the next spring. So resolutely was he bent on the most vigorous prosecution of the war, that, in order to prevent all occasion of discontent among his troops for want of regular pay, he sent all his plate, amounting to an immense quantity, to the mint; and prevailed upon the ladies of the seraglio to dispose of their jewels and most costly ornaments for the public service. Not only the Turkish nation in general displayed a readiness to second the exertions of their sovereign, but large contributions were made by the ecclesiastical order. The Sultan was not less encouraged, when he turned his eyes to the state and dispositions of foreign nations. The Austrian dominions were in many parts ripe for insurrection against the Emperor Joseph; and he himself was labouring under an illness that threatened his speedy dissolution. The Empress of Russia had consented that the emperor on account of his great embarrassments, should conclude a separate peace with the Turks: a circumstance which will appear to be of the greatest importance, when it is considered that the Emperor's army had by the skilful management of Marshal Laudhon been put on the most formidable footing. It consisted at this time of 300,000 men; of which one third, composed of the best soldiers in the Austrian service, were to have acted against the Turks under that able commander. To crown all these inviting circumstances, a treaty of alliance was on the 31st day of January, 1790, concluded between the
Porte

Porte and the king of Prussia; by which it was stipulated, that in case an equitable peace should not be granted to the Turks in a given time, the king should declare war against Austria, for the purpose of extorting it by force of arms. His Prussian Majesty engaged to co-operate with the sublime Porte for the recovery of the Crimea, as well as the other territories seized by the Austrians and Russians in the course of the present war. On the other hand, the Porte engaged to employ all its force in order to obtain at a general pacification the restitution of Galicia, Lodomeria, and all the territory that the court of Vienna had wrested from the republic of Poland. The Porte likewise engaged to conclude no peace with the courts of Petersburgh and Vienna without the consent of Prussia, Sweden, and Poland. An alliance offensive and defensive, was contracted between the Porte and Prussia, Poland and Sweden, and was to subsist even after the objects proposed by it had been attained and a peace concluded. The conquests which might be made by either of the contracting parties, were not to be restored until the courts of Vienna and Petersburgh should agree to submit to their decision the differences subsisting between those courts and Poland. The contracting parties further covenanted, not to agree to any peace but under the mediation of England and Holland: and the king bound himself, after the conclusion of the peace, to guarantee all the possessions that should then remain to the Porte; and likewise engaged to procure the joint guarantee of England, Sweden, and Poland,

along with his own, for all the territories of the Ottoman empire. The immediate springs and circumstances of this important combination, will by and by be noticed.

In consequence of this alliance, the two imperial courts formed a resolution to reinforce their armies to the utmost of their abilities. That of Austria was strengthened by 100,000 men; and a numerous body was sent to cover the acquisitions in Poland. The court of Vienna, mindful at the same time of what had passed of late years in Bohemia and Silesia, determined to make those important countries the chief object of their present attention: and the command of the army appointed to make head against Prussia, was given to Marshal Laudhon.

Repeated intelligence of the declining health of the Emperor, did not in the mean time slacken the preparations for the ensuing campaign on the part of the Turks, who looked on the enmity of Austria as of a permanent nature, and not as depending on the personal disposition of the dying Emperor, whose death would leave his successor heir not only to his claims, but to the hereditary hatred subsisting between the Turks and Germans for several centuries. The Divan, conformably to those maxims of Turkish policy by which they were governed in their more prosperous eras, looked upon themselves as bound to listen to no proposals of peace tending to diminish their power and consequence. They resolved, therefore, that while the least hope remained of regaining what they had lost, and until they were unhappily reduced to the very last extremity, they ought to continue

linue manfully to struggle against their enemies. The whole treasures of the Ottoman empire were accordingly thrown open, and every effort exerted to set such a force on foot as should be competent to meet the two imperial armies. The pay of the Turkish troops on this critical emergency was doubled; and such rewards offered as effectually contributed to allure to the Ottoman standards the flower of the Turkish nation.

On the other hand, an equal solicitude to prepare for the field was displayed by Austria and Hungary, with this difference, however, that their sovereign being the aggressor, and the interests of his family the only motives that provoked the war, they were earnestly desirous of its cessation. For what concerns the Hungarians indeed, instead of cordially seconding the ambitious views of the Emperor, they were in a state of insurrection, little short of rebellion, against his government, which they regarded as that of a despot.

This prince, worn out with bodily disease* and anxiety of mind, and sensible of his approaching dissolution, ended his reign, where he should have begun it, by recognizing the necessity of moderation in matters of government, and particularly that of governing a free people by their own laws, and leaving or placing the great offices of power and trust in the hands of the native chiefs of the country. In this state he received a very haughty memorial from the Hungarian nobility, demanding in lofty terms, 1. The restoration of their ancient

rights and privileges. 2. The return of the royal crown of Hungary, which, after the death of Maria Theresa, had been removed from Presburg to Vienna. 3. That the people should be at liberty to lay aside the German, and to resume their old native dress. And 4. That all public acts should be kept and recorded, either in the Latin or Hungarian language, instead of the German, as was the present practice. The noble Hungarians promised, on these conditions, to defend the kingdom to the last drop of their blood, and to supply the Emperor's armies in general with every necessary that their country could afford. The Emperor, softened by calamities private and public, without any comment on either the language or manner of the memorial, complied with the greater part of the requisitions, and confirmed his concessions by a public decree. In the reservations he made on this occasion, we have a conspicuous proof of the vanity of ambition, and the solid and unfading comfort arising from the consciousness of virtuous intentions and actions: he readily gave up all his encroachments on the rights and privileges of Hungary; but stedfastly retained three articles;—one establishing a general toleration in matters of religion; another providing for the support of the parochial churches and clergy out of the revenues of some suppressed monasteries; and the third securing a degree of liberty to the peasantry. At the same time of his passing a decree in favour of the Hungarians he solemnly declared, that if he should be alive in the ensuing month of May, and able to undergo the fatigue, he would

* Water in his thorax.

would proceed to the capital of Hungary for the purpose of being crowned. He also expressed his intention, if time should be granted, to satisfy the national demands in all other parts of his extensive dominions.

The joy of the Hungarians on the restoration of their crown, was almost incredible: it was received as a palladium. At the entrance of every town through which it passed, triumphal arches were erected for its reception; and it was welcomed everywhere with the loudest acclamations. The Emperor, in his present languishing and hopeless state, was attended by day and by night by his two favourite Generals, the Marshals Lacy and Laudhon, and even very constantly, notwithstanding his great age, by Marshal Haddick. He took leave, a few days before his death, in the most affectionate manner of Laudhon, pressing his hand with a fervour which, considering his weakness, could not be other than real, and telling him at the same time, that he trusted to him for the defence and preservation of his dominions. The long and previous illness, frequently accompanied with bodily pain, under which he laboured, had equally weakened the desire of ambition and the love of life. He bore his pains with remarkable patience and resignation, met the approaches of death with the contrition and piety of a Christian, and had the magnanimity to order a present of 10,000 florins to the physician who had the courage to acquaint him, not only with the impossibility of his recovery, but that his dissolution was to be apprehended hourly, and so sudden-

ly as to prevent all previous notice of the fatal stroke. After this hard sentence, he lingered for several days; during which time he gave directions, in a multiplicity of affairs, public and private, with a steadiness and composure that accompanied him to the last. He expired on the 20th day of February, 1790.

No passion gains so much strength by indulgence as the love of power, or extended dominion: it is not, like other desires, confined by any bounds of nature; and all that transgresses these is interminable. Each new conquest presents to the conqueror a new object of ambition: his extended frontier extends his rapacity; while he thinks not so much of what he possesses as that which, lying without the line of his dominions, seems to defy and insult his authority. But, if ever this passion was natural in any prince, it was truly so in Joseph II. The ancient pretensions of the empire and of his own family, were constantly recalled to his mind by passing scenes, as well as by history. He was by nature active and ardent; and, as he was neither devoted, like Rodolphus, to science, nor, like some of his other predecessors on the imperial throne, to pleasure and dissipation, the activity and ardour of his mind were naturally turned towards the aggrandizement of the House of Austria;—and in this career he was stimulated at once, by indignation at the injustice of his formidable neighbour, the last plunderer of the Austrians, and by an emulation of his renown. The first acts of his reign seemed to indicate a passion for true glory. Whatever might promote

promote industry of every kind throughout his dominions, became an object of his attention. He showed himself a determined foe to indolence, religious intolerance, bigotry, and superstition; and, if he seized on the possessions of a great number of convents, this sacrilege was easily forgiven, as the dispossessed monks and nuns received a provision for life; and as, with the sacred spoils, and the returns of a growing commerce in populous and plentiful countries, he maintained one of the best disciplined, and in every respect the finest armies in Europe, for the purpose, as was imagined, of defending his widely-scattered dominions; or, perhaps of recovering the territories and the natural rights that had been unjustly wrested from his family. But it soon appeared that he was equally destitute of prudence, vigour, and a regard to justice. His efforts for opening the navigation of the Scheldt could scarcely be considered as either unjust or impolitic; but his encroachments on the privileges of his Flemish and other subjects, his rapacity for money, his attempts on Bavaria,* his rash and restless innovations, and his inauspicious interferences in the conduct of the war against the Turks, abundantly proved that a spirit of enterprize and lively parts are engines of evil and not of good, when uncontrolled by rectitude of intention and soundness of judgment. He exhibited in his character the strangest mixture of qualities apparently inconsistent; indecision with precipitation, obstinacy with a temper the most variable and inconstant, and the utmost

openness and benignity both of countenance and manners, with dissimulation, duplicity, and want of faith. In a word, according to the profound maxim of the sacred scriptures, being "double-minded and deceitful, he was unstable in all his ways." It is, however, to be observed of the arbitrary measures which he pursued in the Netherlands, that these were not different in their nature from those that are daily adopted by other absolute princes; but that being particularly levelled at the ecclesiastical system, so powerfully prevalent in that country, the clergy became his enemies of course; and that through their influence, the enmity of that order was diffused among all the other classes of the people. On the other hand, it is also to be observed, that if bigotry and religious prejudices be evils, the consequences arising from premature and violent endeavours to suppress them are also evils; and in the present state of the world, the former evils are less to be dreaded than the latter. Prejudices are to be prudently managed, not hastily eradicated; and when so managed, they are, in many instances, not evils, but advantages. But however great his public offences, the private virtues of Joseph were many. For benevolence, condescension, and kind-heartedness in the ordinary concerns and occurrences of life, he was conspicuously noted; nor was he less amiable and engaging in his familiar intercourse; in which he was remarkable for laying aside the Sovereign and assuming the most winning affability. He was patient of labour and fatigue

* Made without the approbation and against the advice of his mother, with whom he was conjoined in the government.

fatigue, and in all things remarkably temperate.

Leopold (the second of that name) who now ascended the throne of the vast dominions of Austria, was in many respects the reverse of his deceased brother. He was reserved, grave, and saturnine. Though his gallantries were not less general or notorious than those of any of his predecessors of the House of Medicis, yet he was not diverted by any love of pleasure from a close and successful application to polite literature, and even some branches of science, nor from a steady attention to the affairs of Tuscany; by the administration of which, particularly of the amelioration of its laws, he had justly obtained great celebrity in every part of Europe.

Though the death of the late Emperor had been so long foreseen, and that he had sent off several dispatches, in order to expedite the departure of Leopold from Florence, it was near three weeks after that event before he and his eldest son Francis arrived at Vienna; whither they were soon followed by a numerous family of princes and princesses, their children.

The situation in which Leopold found himself was singularly arduous: he was an object of jealousy to a great part of the independent states of Europe; he was in the greatest danger of losing his election for King of the Romans, and consequently the power and dignity annexed to the title of Emperor, which, with little interruption, had been enjoyed by his family for so many ages; and he was entangled in contests with his own subjects.

The Hungarians, recollecting the services which they had rendered

to the House of Austria, particularly the late Empress, Maria Thérèse, when reduced to the last distress, beheld with indignation the innovations brought about by her son the Emperor Joseph. He had removed the regalia of the kingdom to Vienna, and substituted the German language for the Latin, that had been invariably used before in all public transactions. This last offence appeared the more intolerable, as the late Empress, their favourite Queen, had always addressed them in that language. The concessions of the Emperor Joseph, already mentioned, made under weakness, pain, and the terror of approaching death, were insufficient to remove the impression that had been made by a continued system of despotism on that brave and generous, but high-spirited, fierce, and resentful nation. Their hereditary hatred to the Germans, whom they considered as usurpers, and the scourge of their nation, together with their abhorrence of German laws, government, manners, and, in a word, every thing that was German, had in a very great degree been softened and worn away by the long and lenient reign of Maria Theresa. But her successor, by his baneful activity and rage for innovation, not only revived all their ancient animosities, but gave them a keener edge than they had before possessed. Their pride and sense of injury were naturally heightened by a consciousness of possessing, at this time, the means of enforcing their claims. The levies that had been made in Hungary for the field, and for the purpose of guarding the country during the Turkish war, were very great. This army, from time

time to time carefully recruited, as it was a constant seminary from whence to replace those that were slain or disabled in the acting armies, amounted or might be raised to not less than 150,000 effective men. It was reported that several of the great palatines and principal nobility, had it seriously in contemplation to emancipate their country from the Austrian yoke; and that a plan was actually concerted for that purpose. This report certainly derives not a little credibility from the memorial (noticed in a former volume) which the Porte issued early in the war, offering its utmost assistance to the Hungarians, for the recovery of their ancient independence and rank among nations, with the most liberal offers of perpetual alliance and friendship, after that object should be accomplished. It is not to be presumed that the Divan would have made or thought of making such offers to the Hungarians, if they had not been informed of a combination and concert among the principal men, as well as acquainted with the general temper of the people. The Emperor Joseph had also carried his unfortunate spirit of change and innovation into the states of Milan; where he not only abolished certain convents, but made sundry alterations in the Milanese laws and constitution; a violence which had ever since rankled in their minds, and excited the strongest aversion to his person and government. Nor was it the adversity springing from his brother's innovations that Leopold had to encounter only; the troublesome consequences of his own began now to appear, tho' made with a hand cautious and gentle. He had ventured to suppress

certain religious institutions and customs in Tuscany which he deemed improper and absurd, and injurious to the cause of religion. The people, however, thought otherwise, and took advantage of his absence, immediately to make loud complaints of their suppression, and to insist on their being restored. An insurrection took place at Florence, which appeared so dangerous, that a proclamation was issued by the regency, granting a full restoration of all that had been suppressed.

But the bitter fruits of precipitate innovation appeared most, where they were most to be regretted, in the fertile, populous, and rich provinces of the Netherlands. At no period to which history extends, do we find the mouths and widest channels of the Danube to have been like those of the Rhine, the seats of arts and commerce. The contest between the Austrians and Ottomans was extremely uncertain in its issue. But in the most prosperous event, conquests in Servia and Bulgaria, or other places on the desolated borders of Turkey, would be too dearly purchased, if they were to be made only at the expence of losing what yet remained to the Austrian race of the ancient and noble inheritance of Burgundy.

Amidst the vast and various difficulties with which Leopold was environed, one mode of extrication only lay before him; and this was to operate on the minds both of foreign powers and of the different nations over whom he was to sway the sceptre, by all the prudent arts of conciliation.

The political balance of Europe was now in the same state nearly in which

which it was in 1757, when the same Prince Kaunitz, who was the great minister of the Emperor Joseph, was also the minister of his illustrious mother the late Empress Queen; and when the late Lord Chatham, then Mr. Pitt, began to steer the helm of the British government. Prince Kaunitz was still in the highest credit with the Austrian court; and Lord Chatham's son, in regard to continental politics, pursued the plan of which his father had traced the outlines.

The spirit of Prince Kaunitz's counsels to the court of Vienna was, that then only would the Austrian power be firmly established and duly extended, when France, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other, should be drawn over from the enemies, and become the friends and allies of the Imperialists. Kaunitz was sent ambassador to France, and, by address and perseverance overcame her animosity against the Austrians, by directing it into new channels of ambition. An alliance between the courts of Versailles and Vienna was afterwards drawn closer by the marriage of the Dauphin with the Arch-duchess Maria Antonetta. On the other side, the Empress Elizabeth of Russia was engaged in a confederacy with those great powers by the arts of the handsome Count Lynar, ambassador from the Elector of Saxony, King of Poland, the enemy of Prussia, and of course the friend of Austria! All the world knows the result of this situation of affairs. England and Prussia broke a confederacy formed for the destruction of the liberties of Europe. The same spirit of combination that actuated the two imperial courts at that time,

animated them at the present period; and though the court of Versailles was now embroiled in domestic contests and commotions, its intimate connexion and alliance with the House of Austria, could not be regarded without a certain degree of apprehension. France, from the time of Richelieu, and Mazarine, the ministers of Lewis XIV. had uniformly pursued schemes of ambition. Prosperity inflamed, but adversity never wholly extinguished, her desire of conquest. Even in the present period, when disordered finances and internal dissensions had begun to call her attention to new regulations and the re-establishment of concord, she was at great pains to foster, by her intrigues, the jealousy of the great commercial houses in Holland against England, to inflame the burgo-masters and the nobility with an animosity against the Prince of Orange; and formed a deep plan for an attack on the British settlements in Asia, by the united fleets and arms of France, Spain, and the United Provinces; which was happily defeated, by the vigilance, prudence, and address of the Governor General.*

However particular arrangements in such great alliances might be concerted, this was certain, since the partition of Poland and subjugation of Corsica, that the rights of nations were no longer held sacred; and that to subdue and share in the division of inferior and neighbouring states, was the leading principle of their union. The Emperor Joseph, for the consolidation of his dominions, endeavoured to acquire the Electorate of Bavaria, first by arms, and then by a voluntary exchange of that state, for

* See Memoirs of the Marquis de Bouillé, page 41.

for the sovereignty of the Netherlands. In both these projects he was defeated; yet, French troops being ready in great numbers to pour into the Netherlands, he continued to menace the liberties of the Flemings in a tone of an arbitrary and unlimited sovereign; so that, suspicions were not wanting that an understanding, on some principle of reciprocal conveniency or advantage, had taken place between his Imperial Majesty and the French, on the subject of his ancient and valuable inheritance.

But of the nature and immediate object of the alliance between the two imperial courts, there was no doubt. The ambitious projects which Catharine and Joseph concerted during their famous interview at Cherson, were well enough known. These gigantic schemes had principally two objects in view. First, the demolition and subsequent partition of the Turkish empire in Europe: Secondly, the eventual diminution of the power acquired by Prussia during the reign of Frederic II.—a plan, the commencement and prosecution of which it was thought necessary to delay till after the death of that able and vigilant monarch.*

The American war had in some measure left England in the same situation as the consequences of that war, as well as the treaties between Austria

and Lewis XV. had placed France:—a state of incapacity to disturb the projects of the two imperial courts. Neither Turkey, nor Prussia, nor both united, seemed equal to the resistance of so vast a disparity of force. But the success of the war against the Turks by no means answered the hopes, or gratified the sanguine expectations of Joseph. His interference was fatal to all military operations, as it had been found at an earlier period of his life, in the war produced by the Bavarian succession. From his rupture with the Porte he neither derived any military reputation nor increase of power. Though after his retreat, with the loss of health and with a ruined constitution, his Generals carried on the war with vigour and success in the campaign of 1789, the Turks contested every foot of ground with great obstinacy; nor was there any conquest of which he could be said to have undisputed and firm possession.

On the other hand, the successor of Frederic the Great did not retain the prejudices of his uncle against the court of Great Britain; nor did he inherit that prince's predilection for the alliance with the court of France and for the French nation. A natural frankness of disposition attached him to the English character, and disposed him to strengthen the connexion between

* To what further objects, if these had been accomplished, the ambitious views of the two imperial courts might have been extended, it will not be difficult to form no improbable conjectures. The humiliation of Prussia would have been followed by attacks on all the co-estates of the German empire; and these, if successful, by invasions in Italy and other quarters. With regard to the Czarina, her ambition seems to have been limited only by the bounds of the world. Her schemes not only of commerce but conquest, extended to Japan, China, and the East Indies. See Appendix to Mr. Eton's Survey of the Turkish Empire.

tween the crowns of Prussia and England. His minister, the celebrated Count Hertzberg, had discovered the dangerous projects of Catharine and Joseph, and retaining the original views of aggrandisement in which his former master had been so successful, he encouraged every idea that favoured a rupture with the House of Austria.

To the completion of this object nothing was so essentially necessary as the friendship and co-operation of England. In the project for restoring the Stadtholder to the power and dignity from which a party in Holland had expelled him, the two courts of London and Berlin cordially united. The restoration of that Prince, while France, deranged in her finances and irresolute in her counsels, remained a tame though indignant spectatress of the ruin of her party in the Dutch republic, was effected, in defiance of numerous obstacles, by the Duke of Brunswick in 1787.

When a growing sympathy and views of more enlarged policy, subsequently united the two courts more closely, a minister of very extraordinary abilities * acquired an ascendant over the cabinet of Prussia as the agent of England, in maturing and supporting those projects, and in carrying them into execution. They were scarcely less comprehensive and important, but far more just and beneficial in their operation, political and commercial, than the plans of Russia and Austria, which they were intended to counteract and overthrow. It was in pursuance of those schemes that the species of sextuple alliance,

already mentioned, was formed between Great Britain, Holland, Prussia, Poland, the Porte, and Sweden. Its first and principal object was, to save the Ottoman empire from the grasp of the imperial confederates, and to afford to the contracting parties reciprocal protection from the natural consequences of their pampered and inflamed ambition. Not only to liberate Poland from its subjugation to Catharine, but to draw into the English ports the numerous productions, naval and commercial, of that extensive country, formed a secondary, but essential object of contemplation. A chain, or in military phraseology, a *cordon*, for the protection of political independence in Europe, was drawn from the extremity of Great Britain across Holland, the Prussian states, and others of inferior note, in alliance with the Prussian interest, even to the shores of the Hellespont.

So formidable a combination was the strongest testimony that could be borne to the strength of the confederacy, in opposition to which it had been formed. And Leopold must have felt the emotions of pride or caution, of hope or fear, accordingly as he turned his eyes to the one or to the other. The wisdom of the humane philosopher prevailed over the ambition of the powerful prince. Though he had passed the greater part of his life at a distance from camps and political intrigues, his abilities for government on the most extensive scale, burst forth at once with superior lustre. By a happy mixture of moderation with firmness, and the most profound and comprehensive views, with the most patient

* Mr. Ewart.

patient attention to local and particular circumstances, he conducted his own affairs to a prosperous issue in the space of a few months, and entered on a career, which, if it had pleased Heaven to prolong his days, promised as great benefits to Europe and the human race, as he had already conferred on the small state of Tuscany.

Although about the period of the demise of the late Emperor, hostile intentions and preparations on the side of both Turkey and Austria were unabated, and that the continual jealousies and animosities between that Prince and the King of Prussia had risen to such a pitch as to threaten an immediate appeal to arms; yet the minds of the belligerent and mutually hostile powers, were in some measure prepared for receiving ideas, and listening to terms of peace, by certain overtures which had been made for that end by the Turks; and to which the Emperor had seemed to give no unfavourable attention*. He had even proposed that a congress for conducting the negotiations should be held at some convenient place, as Bucharest; and, as a proof of his sincerity in this business, dispatched expresses to the courts of London, Paris, and Berlin, not only to communicate intelligence of the intended congress, but of the proposals and demands offered and made as the terms of pacification. The Empress of Russia, too, sent instructions to Prince Potemkin at Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, containing at once her categorical de-

mands, and intimating at the same time, no doubt as an enforcement of those demands, that she had entered into a negotiation for a treaty of peace with Sweden. With the advantage of this favourable circumstance, and so recently after an event that tended to recall to the minds of sovereign princes the vanity of human toil and ambition, Leopold announced to all the world his pacific intentions. But the preparations for war were wisely continued by that prince, with the same vigour, and apparently with the same design that had been adopted by his predecessor. Aware of the jealousy entertained of his house, especially when in alliance with Russia, and of the formidable alliance to be encountered, if his proposals for the restoration of peace should be rejected, he had recourse to every kind of exertion that could be made on such an emergency.

The King of Prussia had posted an army of 100,000 men on the frontiers of Bohemia. Four others were assembled: two for overawing Denmark and Saxony, a third to march into Livonia, and a fourth to be stationed in Poland. As an attack was therefore apprehended from the Prussians, a manifesto was held in readiness for that event: in which the conduct of the court of Berlin in the present circumstances of Europe was painted in the most heinous colours. That power was represented as uniting with the enemies of Christianity and of God: a circumstance which, it was hoped, would

* A species of velleity follows the contemplation of a desirable object. Though negotiations for peace are not unfrequently broken off, yet they are usually found to blunt the keen edge of war, and to prepare the way for their renewal with success.

would render the politics of Prussia odious to its own soldiery, and engage them to desert its cause. As a further inducement, a pecuniary gratification was offered to every deserter. But this measure is mentioned only to shew the turn of mind that still prevailed in Germany: others were employed of a more efficient nature. An army was stationed on the Austrian countries bordering on Prussia, and which amounted to 160,000 effective men the choice of the Imperial troops both for officers and soldiers. The artillery and other military preparations of all kinds were prodigious.

But amidst all these indications of an approaching rupture between the courts of Berlin and Vienna, an inclination to settle matters amicably was still apparent, and visibly influenced the motions of both parties. The dreadful experience of former calamities, and the dangers attending a contest in which, whoever should be worsted had so much to fear, were continually present to each of the contending parties. The armies of both powers formed a line of stupendous magnitude, stretching from the eastern boundaries of Bohemia to the western limits of Galicia in Poland, as far as Chockzim: a space of country extending near 400 miles. Exertions of this kind demanded a fund of supplies beyond the command of either power. While they shewed on how grand a scale the art of war is now exercised, they proved not less how speedily it must become destructive to those who carry it on in such a manner, and the flames be extinguished by their own extent and violence.

The Turks emboldened by the

powerful league lately formed for their support, were actuated by far different counsels. Hassan Ali, though bending under fatigue and care, was ambitious of closing his long career with some action that might lead him to happiness in a future state, and render his name on earth immortal. His army, which was divided into several bodies, for the purpose of opposing different corps of Austrians and Russians, was computed at near 200,000 men. Notwithstanding the slaughter of the two preceding campaigns, it contained a formidable list of intrepid soldiers. The cavalry in particular, was remarkable for the excellent condition of the horses and fine appearance of the men. The artillery was not only numerous, but in the best order, and served by numbers of expert cannoneers, adventurers from the European armies, and allured to the Turkish service by the prospect of those rewards of which the Ottomans are by no means sparing to those who serve them with fidelity and success. So eager was the Grand Seignior and Divan, as well as the General to prosecute the war with the greatest vigour, that no leave of absence from the army could be obtained for any person, however exalted or favoured, whose duty called him to the field: the summonses of the Grand Vizier could not be evaded even by some of the most intimate friends of Selim. That resolute old officer thought it his duty in the exigencies of the state, to require the personal services of all the grandees, with the exception only of the diseased and infirm: and he exhibited in his own person, an illustrious pattern of labour, perseverance, and courage,

courage, on every occasion that demanded them.

The campaign on the Danube was opened by the Austrians earlier than usual, that advantage might be taken of that slowness with which the Turkish armies are collected and brought into the field. Among other benefits arising from this alertness, Orsova, a strong fortress on the Danube, that had sustained so long a siege, and been held in a state of blockade during the winter, was surrendered to the Austrian arms, under the command of Prince Cobourg, illustrious by the victories of Foksan and Martynesty, in the end of April, 1790.

The long and obstinate resistance of Orsova, naturally excited an enquiry into the cause and circumstances of its sudden reduction. The most probable account that has yet been given of this matter is as follows. The garrison, by a sudden shock of an earthquake, were struck with a panic, under the conviction that the motion of the earth which they perceived, was occasioned by a mine of the enemy's; and an apprehension that the fortress was on the point of being blown up by gunpowder. From Orsova the Austrians directed their course to Widdin on the Danube, the capital of the kingdom of Servia, and to Guirgewo, a very strong fortress in Bulgaria. The Prince of Cobourg, having advanced toward Widdin, and in his progress over-run the whole country, is said to have obtained a considerable victory over the Turks in the neighbourhood of that city, though we have not been informed of any particulars, not even the time and place. The siege of Widdin, which was begun, but which

peculiar circumstances of distance and situation seem to have rendered tedious and difficult, was abandoned in consequence of the determination of Leopold to accommodate the disputes with the King of Prussia, and of course, to submit to a peace with the Ottomans: for the same reason the siege of Guirgewo was also abandoned; but not without an effusion of human blood, which the humanity of Leopold, if duly seconded by his generals, would have prevented.

It has often happened that the commanders of armies, informed of a design or commencement of negotiations for treaties of peace, have accelerated and pressed the operations of war, with a view of striking some capital blow before their final ratification. Guirgewo had been besieged by the Austrians for some time; and the Prince of Cobourg, impelled by an ardent desire of obtaining possession of that place before the armistice proposed could be ratified, dispatched the General, Count Thorn, with a reinforcement, to press on the siege with such vigour and expedition as might force the garrison to surrender within the time desired. But the Ottomans, recovered in a great measure from their former panic, and resuming their wonted courage, immediately sent a detachment to its relief from the main army which had now taken the field under the Grand Vizier, and was disposed in different stations between Nissa in Servia and Adrianople. The Austrians under Count Thorn, who covered the siege, confident of success from their late victories, did not wait for an attack, but boldly marched to encounter the enemy. But the
Turks,

Turks, excited by a sense of their losses and disgraces to the madness of despair, fought with incredible fury; and after a desperate conflict, in which they broke through the Austrian lines, carried every thing before them, and in defiance of discipline as well as of valour, natural and acquired, absolutely put the Austrians to flight. The head of Count Thorn, while he made every possible exertion of personal courage as well as military skill to resist the impetuosity of his fierce and enraged foe, was carried off by the blow of a janizary's sabre, and afterwards exhibited in triumph on a pike through the ranks of the Turkish army. The loss of the Austrians in this unfortunate action, was 700 men killed, and upwards of 2,000 desperately wounded. The besieging army now abandoned their entrenchments and works, along with eighteen pieces of artillery, and fled with the utmost precipitation. And thus the war between the Austrians and Turks was terminated.

To the motives above mentioned that naturally inclined the mind of Leopold to peace, another of no light importance was about this time added, by the death of the first General not only in the Austrian armies, but at that particular period in Europe. This was the celebrated and truly great commander, the

venerable Field-Marshal Laudhon, who, after having encountered as many dangers in the field as was ever perhaps braved by any man, died on a sick bed, full of years and of glory. He departed this life at his head quarters in Moravia, early in July (1790) in the seventy-fifth year of his age; and his death was universally and exceedingly lamented, not only on account of his great military talents and public services, but also for his amiable virtues, which shone forth equally in his military conduct, his intercourse with society, and his domestic retirement. It was commonly said in Germany, that although the progress of the Austrian as well as Russian armies, was too often marked by many unnecessary, unprofitable, and barbarous cruelties, as well as by devastation, "Field-Marshal Laudhon made war like a gentleman and a Christian."

Laudhon was born in Livonia; but his father, a Lieutenant in the Russian army, was a Scotchman, descended from the family of Loudon, although the orthography of the name has undergone some alteration in the lapse of time or the change of country.* He embraced the profession of arms at a very early period of life, not more from inclination than from necessity; and he actually fought in the ranks as a private soldier, under the imperial generals, during the war of 1733

* It is observed by Mr. Wrazall, from whose interesting *Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and Vienna*, lately published, chiefly we have extracted these anecdotes of Marshal Laudhon, that "It reflects no little honour on the Scottish and Irish nations, that they have given so many illustrious commanders to Europe during the course of the present century." Keith, Brown, the Russian Admirals Elphinston and Greig, Lacy, Laudhon, as well as various others of inferior reputation, are proofs of this assertion. *Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, &c.* Vol. I. page 342.

1733, between the Emperor Charles the Sixth and France. At the conclusion of peace between these powers, finding himself without provision of any kind, he walked from Heidelberg in the Palatinate, to the Banks of the Black Sea, with his knapsack on his shoulder, and entered into the service of the Empress Ann, at war with the Turks, and therein remained under the command of Count Munich and General Lacy, during the whole progress of the war, till its termination in 1739. Returning once more into Germany he endeavoured to enter, as a subaltern officer, into the Prussian service, but without success. The King of Prussia could not then foresee how dear the rejection of such an officer would cost him. Laudhon in 1741 found means to procure an Ensign's commission in the Austrian service, unaided by friends or connexions of any kind. His rise in the army was at first only slow;—he wrought his way to preferment gradually. The eminent services which he rendered to Maria Theresa, in the war between 1757 and 1763, were rewarded by her Imperial Majesty, after the peace, with an estate in Moravia: by means of which, and his military appointments, he was in a state of considerable affluence. The quality by which he was peculiarly characterized as a General, was, the rapidity and decision of his movements. A long train of reflection, as he himself declared, only rendered him irresolute. After viewing the ground and reconnoitering the position of the enemy, he took his resolution in a moment, and executed it with the velocity of lightning. The great King of Prussia said, that he sometimes admired the position of other

Generals, but always dreaded the battles of Laudhon.

In consequence of the pacific dispositions, on the part of Austria and Prussia, as well as the Porte, conferences were opened on the 4th of June, 1790, at Reichenbach in Silesia, for the purpose of accelerating a pacification between Austria and Turkey, and for adjusting at the same time the differences between Leopold and his subjects in the Netherlands. The ministers who met on this occasion, were the Prince de Reuss and Baron Spielman, Plenipotentiaries on the part of his Hungarian Majesty; the Count Hertsberg, on the part of his Prussian Majesty; Joseph Ewart, Esq. on that of his Britannic Majesty; and the Baron de Reede, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, from the States General of the United Provinces. His Hungarian Majesty agreed to open a negotiation for peace with the Ottoman Porte, on the basis of the *status quo* (such as existed before the war) under the mediation of the three allied courts, and to consent to an immediate armistice with that power; declaring his resolution of standing neuter, and abstaining from taking any part, directly or indirectly, in the war, should the Empress of Russia refuse to accede to this negotiation. His Hungarian Majesty was to keep Chockzim *en dépôt*; that fortress having been conquered by the united arms of Austria and Russia. But he agreed to restore it to Turkey on a peace, under the guarantee of the King of Prussia; who accepted the propositions of the King of Hungary, under the restriction, that if, in the arrangement of limits between Austria and the Porte the former should obtain any acquisition on the side of Aluta,

Prussia should have an equivalent on the side of Upper Silesia. The King of Prussia declared that no hostile engagement subsisted between him and the Belgic provinces; and that he would co-operate with the maritime powers for the purpose of appeasing the troubles in those countries, and restoring them to the Austrian dominions, on conditions of the re-establishment of their ancient privileges and constitution; and the English and Dutch ministers engaged, in behalf of their respective courts, to guarantee these conditions. The conferences (the parties concerned being all desirous of tranquillity) were soon brought to a conclusion. A convention was executed on the 27th of July, 1790*, by which, besides the conditions just mentioned, it was agreed that the King of Hungary should retain the provinces of Galicia and Lodomeria, which he already possessed in Poland; that, should Russia persist in carrying on the war against the Porte and Sweden, his Prussian Majesty should be at free liberty to fulfil these engagements, without the court of Vienna taking any part, directly or indirectly, in the contest. On the other hand, the King of Prussia engaged to give Leopold his vote on the approaching

election, for the imperial throne; but under the express and indispensable condition that the Emperor of the Romans should never enter into any alliance with Russia: as in case of such a connexion, he would be disabled from discharging his duty as head of the German empire, and resisting any future attack of that power on Germany. It is unnecessary to mention that the negotiations at Reichenbach by no means interrupted, but rather, as is usual in such cases, accelerated the military preparations on both sides. It is in fact the surd eloquence of those preparations, as it is well known, that gives the greatest weight to that of political negotiations. The conferences at Reichenbach, though on the whole carried on with uncommon harmony and expeditious effect, were at one period so nearly broken off, that the King of Prussia had, in expectation of immediate hostilities, prohibited all further intercourse between Silesia and the Austrian territories; and had at the same time signified to the court of Dresden, that he would not admit of its neutrality; but, in case of war, expected that it should explicitly declare in favour of one of the parties. Nor was the court of Vienna, in conjunction with its Russian allies, less intent

* It may be mentioned as a curious fact, that neither the Prussian nor Austrian ministers were friendly, but, on the contrary, averse to the treaty of Reichenbach. Count Hertsberg, bred in the school of Frederic, thought the moment favourable for attacking and weakening Austria, by taking the rest of Silesia. Prince Kaunitz, on the other hand, still meditated plans for the further aggrandizement of the Austrians. The convention was forced on and brought to a speedy conclusion, chiefly by the unremitted exertions of the English minister, Mr. Ewart, seconded and supported by the favourable inclinations of Leopold; whose mind, we have been well assured, was prepared and well-disposed for pacification and union among the great sovereign powers, by much reflection on the causes and consequences of the convulsed state of Europe: and by long habits of conversation with an English gentleman, of great experience in affairs, as well as intelligence on the nature of assignats, or paper credit under any name, hypothecated on spoliation; and who, after a residence at his court for more than a year, accompanied him in the summer of 1791, to his coronation at Frankfort.

istent on the most active measures. Large bodies of troops were continually approaching the Austrian acquisitions in Poland, which, in case of the conferences proving ineffectual, were expected to become the scene of action. By the treaty of Reichenbach, the allies made a very considerable advancement towards the great object of their interference, the prevention of the ruin or dismemberment of the Turkish empire; and an easy way was opened to Leopold for quieting the discontents and disturbances in different parts of his extensive dominions, and the attainment of other desirable and dear objects.

During the conferences at Reichenbach, deputies from Hungary arriving at Vienna, presented a long list of twenty-four articles to the King, which they pressed him to sign previously to his coronation for that kingdom. The principal demands of the Hungarians were, that they should have tribunals of justice and other departments, entirely independent of the imperial courts of the same nature at Vienna: and especially a council of war, for the government of their army; the officers of which should thenceforth depend on it alone for their promotion; and that no German troops should enter Hungary without the formal consent and requisition of the states. Leopold, foreseeing that the issue of the negotiations would soon put him in possession of the usual ways and means of governing the Hungarians, refused to comply with their request: considering their demands as too importunate and peremptory; and under the conviction that compliance with requests so made, would tend only to the exaction of further and further concessions. It

was the first maxim of this humane and wise prince, in the administration of government, to abstain from all acts of injustice and oppression: and the second, to improve the condition of his subjects, by voluntarily anticipating their just complaints; but never yielding to the appearance of combination and importunate solicitation. A remarkable instance of his prudence and address, in maintaining the authority of the crown by avoiding a contest, in which perhaps he must have been constrained to yield to the popular current, we are about to relate.

The Hungarian malcontents were so numerous, and the spirit of discontent, discord, and division, had risen to such a height, that a motion had been made in a full diet or assembly of the Hungarian states, after the conclusion of the treaty of Reichenbach, and strongly supported, for sending ministers directly from the nation to Constantinople, without any notice or regard to the King; who were to negotiate in the name of the diet, and entirely on its own account, a treaty with the Ottoman Porte. This bold and dangerous proposition, which had been for some time expected by the court of Vienna, was eluded by another made by the King's ministers, and supported by all the weight and influence of the crown, for an address to the King for permission to send deputies to the congress that was to meet, for settling a peace with the Ottomans.

This motion being carried, not without very great opposition, a letter was sent to the King, in which the diet stated, "That, to the great grief of the states, and contrarily to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the present war had been

commenced without their knowledge; and that they would be penetrated with still greater grief, if now that they were assembled in diet and bent on the establishment of their rights, any treaty of peace should be concluded without their concurrence. Essential laws (which they quoted) did not permit a King of Hungary to begin a war in the kingdom, nor in the provinces united with it, without the knowledge and consent of the nation: and a peace with the Turks could not be concluded, either within or without the kingdom, but with the advice and consent of a Hungarian council. Trusting that his Majesty would readily acknowledge the justness of these representations, and the reasonableness of their demands, they proposed deputies, men of approved integrity, knowledge, and ability in public affairs, to attend the conferences for peace and other negotiations for the public good, in conformity to the spirit of the Hungarian laws and constitution; which they would consider as a particular proof of his Majesty's justice, and as a tie which would attach still more strongly, that free, faithful, and loyal nation, to his Majesty's person and government."

Leopold received the deputation and application of the states (which he had himself been secretly instrumental in procuring) very graciously; and empowered the diet to nominate whomsoever they should think proper, to act as representatives of the Hungarian nation, and to attend to their interests at the congress.

This concession of Leopold, however, though made with grace and as an homage due to justice, might perhaps have encreased the

importunity of the Hungarians on other points to a dangerous height, if a coalition had not been made between Austria and Prussia. The Hungarian malcontents had become so numerous and appeared so formidable, that Leopold at one time entertained serious apprehensions with regard to the security, and even the preservation of the kingdom: and it was intended on the conclusion of peace with the Porte, to send the Hungarian army to the low countries, and to replace them in Hungary entirely by German regiments. But the various interests that divided the higher ranks of the nobility from the inferior; the jealousy entertained by the popular classes of both these, and the difference of religion among them all, prevented that unanimity which would have been necessary to an effectual resistance of a long established power, and enabled the court of Vienna to play off the different parties against one another, and to balance and manage the whole. The Protestants hated the Roman Catholics, and the Catholics the Protestants. The peasants abhorred the nobles, and the nobles (though divided among themselves) concurred in despising and oppressing the peasants: and as these parties were at enmity among themselves so also they were differently affected towards the sovereign. The Magnats and Comitats, with the exception of those who held great offices of the crown, were bent on a revolution, and desirous of cementing the closest alliance that could be formed with the Porte and with Prussia. Many of the Noblesse, envious and jealous of the Magnats and great Palatines, were favourably disposed towards the

the crown while others were willing to sacrifice their private animosities to what they deemed the good of their country. With respect to the clergy, a great majority, at least of this order, retaining a bitter remembrance of the late Emperor Joseph, and not much better satisfied with some parts of Leopold's conduct in Tuscany, ranged themselves on the side of the discontented. On the other hand, the Protestants were devoted to the crown from the circumstances of their situation. And the peasants, sensible of the benefits they had derived through Joseph, and aware that nothing but a similar interposition in their favour on the part of the crown could add to them, or even preserve what they had already obtained, were sincerely and heartily attached to his successor. On the whole, the opposite parties were not altogether unequally balanced, though the scale rather inclined to the side of the malcontents, when an event unexpected, and even unthought of on all hands, turned it decidedly to that of the crown and the royal party.

An incredible number of Greeks, Wallachians, Serviotes, and Rascians*, amounting, it is said, to 4,000,000, declared themselves, to a man, firmly attached to the cause of Leopold, and determined to support it at all events, and in all cases. Thus as, on the one hand, the house of Austria had experienced the danger of innovation in matters of religion, so, on the other, they found the advantages of religious toleration.

The effect produced by the declaration of so powerful a body in favour of the King, was immediate. The blow being followed up, and vigorously supported by the ministers and friends of the crown, above fifty of the malcontents were expelled from the diet, it would seem, in a very summary, despotic, and unjustifiable manner.

But the opposition of the malcontents was quashed, and even their complaints and murmurs almost suppressed, by the measures just mentioned; and there was an intermediate party in the diet, whose voice had been drowned amidst the fierce and loud contentions of the royalists on the one hand, and the revolutionists on the other, but who now, when the fermentation had subsided, deserved and obtained attention. This was composed of moderate men and true patriots; being equally inimical to the violence of revolution, and the tyranny of arbitrary power. They were sensible of the encroachments that had been made on the rights and privileges of the Hungarians. Yet they neither laboured nor even wished for an absolute disseveration of the kingdom from the dominion of Austria; after so long and intimate a connexion between the two nations, cemented by numberless ties of friendship, affinity, and mutual sympathy and benevolence. But they anxiously and eagerly wished for the restoration of their ancient constitution in all its parts and all its original purity: and further, knowing, from long and sad experience, how little reliance was to be placed

* Serviotes, natives of Servia, part of the ancient Mysia. Rascians, natives of Rascia, a territory in the north part of Servia, which takes its name from the river Rascia, and is subject to Austria. The inhabitants of Servia, as well as of Wallachia and Moldavia, together with the ancient Dacia, are chiefly Christians of the Greek church.

placed on the faith of the Austrian princes; and aware at the same time of the spirit of domination that always prevailed in the conduct of the Germans whenever they were entrusted with the exercise of absolute power, they were extremely desirous, and proposed that their constitution thus reformed, should be secured by the guarantee of Prussia, Sweden, and Poland.

A deputation from the diet waited on Leopold, September 5th, 1790, with an invitation, requesting his personal presence at their deliberations, and particularly at the coronation. They presented at the same time, what was called a new diploma, and what we would call in England a charter, containing articles in addition to those which it had hitherto been customary for the monarch to sign, to swear to, and which they requested and hoped that he would accept. The King returned an answer by Count Palfi, the great Chancellor of Hungary, that he had intended that his coronation in that kingdom should have preceded that at Frankfort: but that this, by the delays in their own proceedings, had now been rendered impracticable. He would endeavour however to fulfil his purpose respecting Hungary, by the 15th of November at furthest. At the same time he observed, that the lateness of the season would necessarily preclude him from proceeding further in the country than Presburg: in which city the coronation must of course be celebrated. The place that had been fixed on for that purpose by the Hungarians was the ancient capital Buda, in preference to Presburg, the new capital, which the Austrians had long rendered

the actual seat of government, on account of its vicinity to Vienna. As to the newly proposed diploma, Leopold declared that it was his determined resolution not to approve or confirm by oath any other articles than those that had invariably been prescribed to the King of Hungary by the constitutions of Charles VI, and Maria Theresa: a resolution in which he was the more unalterably fixed, as he was equally determined religiously to fulfil all the conditions of those constitutions, according to the spirit and tenor of certain leading articles to which he referred; that after the coronation, he would not refuse to listen to the grievances, the wishes, and the supplications of his faithful states; but after mature deliberation and public discussion, adopt on the subject of these such resolutions as might be agreeable to the spirit of the laws and the true interests of the kingdom. In conclusion, he trusted that the states would co-operate with him with fidelity and zeal, for the attainment of these ends; and this the more confidently, that they might be assured that he, on his part, would readily and with pleasure concur with the states in whatever might be conformable to the laws, whatever should not be derogatory from the rights of the crown; and, in a word, whatever might contribute to the general well-being. His Apostolic Majesty was elected King of the Romans on the 30th of September; made his public entry into Frankfort on the 4th of October, and, having taken the oath to observe the capitulation, was crowned Emperor on the 9th of the same month, 1790.

Leopold, relieved from the weight of

of cares that had hung upon his mind by the convention of Reichenbach, had by this time had leisure to look into, and settle his private and family concerns. He had already established his second son Ferdinand in the government of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. He now determined to cement the union, and to draw the ties of affinity still more closely, by means of intermarriages (at all times an important object with the House of Austria) between his own family and his relations of the House of Naples. His two eldest sons, Francis, the Hereditary Prince of Hungary and Bohemia, and Ferdinand, the new Grand Duke of Tuscany, were accordingly, soon after the conclusion of the treaty of Reichenbach (August 16th) married to the eldest Princesses, daughters of the King of Naples. And about a month after, the third Arch-Duchess, daughter of Leopold, was married to the Prince Royal of Naples; that Princess having first made a solemn renunciation of all right of succession to any of the possessions of the House of Austria. The King and Queen of the Two Sicilies, with the Princes belonging to the two prolific Houses of Naples and Vienna, including in the number the Grand Duke of Tuscany, not only heightened by their presence the splendor of the coronation, but excited a pleasing sympathy, approbation, and satisfaction at the patriarchal providence and prudence of the august head, and the happiness of so many branches of the House of Austria.

So naturally and sincerely do mankind sympathize with the great, especially with sovereign princes, and, above all, with those to whom they stand in any interesting relation, and participate in

all their joys and sorrows, that, notwithstanding all the disputes that had taken place, and the numberless jealousies which had so long subsisted, Leopold was received by both the states and the people with every mark of enthusiastic joy: and the diet embraced with transport an occasion which immediately offered of testifying by a signal instance, their loyalty and attachment to their new sovereign.

The King having, according to custom, presented to the diet a list of four of the first of the Hungarian nobility, out of whom they were to chuse one to be Palatine, an office of the highest dignity and trust, and which conferred the rank of second person in the kingdom, the states unanimously requested the sovereign that he would indulge their wishes, by granting for their Palatine the Archduke Leopold, his fourth son, who was then present. A request so agreeable was readily granted; and the new Palatine three days after (Nov. 15th, 1790) had the felicity of placing the ancient crown of St. Stephen, so long a great object of Hungarian veneration, on the head of his father. On this important and affecting occasion, the King and Emperor, presenting his son to the nation, said, "I hope you will never forget that you are my son: but should it ever be your lot, in the execution of your office, to be under an obligation of defending the rights of the nation against your father, I desire that you will then forget that you are my son, and act in strict conformity, and support, of the laws." Then, turning to the diet, he addressed the great council of the nation in the following words: "This, my beloved son, I present to you as
a pledge

a pledge of my sincere regard for you, that he may act between you and me as a disinterested mediator and promoter of mutual affection."

The Hungarians, full of the sentiments of generosity and affection, and judging that nothing could be refused in the present season of good humour, joy, and festivity, had renewed before the coronation their application for the new diploma, before-mentioned. Leopold, however, retaining his former firmness, had declared that he would not receive the crown on any other conditions than those on which it had been accepted by his mother; and that, in his opinion, the honour annexed to it would be tarnished if it was to be made the subject of a bargain. But on the day succeeding the coronation, when all hopes of concessions had vanished, he granted them every favourable condition, and every security for the future, which they could with reason and propriety desire. Thus, by an uniform steadiness and dignity of conduct, tempered with the most seasonable and prudent acts of condescension, Leopold at once maintained the authority of his government, and gained the affection, confidence, and respect of the Hungarian nation.*

In the same train of thinking and acting, Leopold, after this, recollecting either a transient promise, or hopes he had given in some shape or other, restored to the states

of the Milanese their ancient constitution and laws, and reinstated them in the full possession of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, of which they had been violently deprived by the late Emperor. About the same time he determined to grant some mark of favour to the Jews; though the privileges conferred on them by Joseph left but little need or room for any amelioration of their condition. Leopold decreed, that in all his hereditary dominions, such Jews as had received a suitable education, and had acquired the necessary measure of knowledge, should be allowed to take academical degrees in the lay-faculties, and to act as advocates: and in the latter quality, to plead the cause of either Jews or Christians indifferently. In consequence of this permission, Raphael Joel, a Jew, having undergone an examination, and given satisfactory proofs of his qualifications, was early in 1794 admitted to the degree of Doctor in the civil law, by the university of Prague.

At the same time that Leopold was thus happily employed in the arrangement of his political, personal, and domestic concerns in Germany, Hungary, and Italy, measures were taken and negotiations carried on with equal success, for the establishment of a peace with the Ottoman Porte, and the recovery of the Austrian dominions in the Netherlands. An armistice, under

* Our English readers may, especially in the present juncture, remark a striking resemblance between the national character and political circumstances of the Hungarians and a neighbouring and kindred nation, connected with Britain by many ties of origin, various intercourse, and mutual sympathies, interests, and good offices: hospitable, generous, and brave; easily led, but hard to be driven: of lively rather than lasting passions; very susceptible of resentment, but more susceptible of gratitude; and quickly forgetting past injuries in the contemplation of present, or recollection of recent acts of kindness. The parallel will be readily continued by the moral observer, and extended with equal justness to political situations and relations, external and internal.

under the administration of Count Lodi, the Prussian minister, was concluded on the 20th of September, between the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, on the part of the court of Vienna and the Grand Vizier, in his camp of Silistria, a town in Bulgaria, situated near the banks of the Danube, on that of the Ottomans. Its duration was to be limited to nine months; during which time the territories of the Turks and Austrians were to remain mutually unmolested, and not to be entered by the opposite parties: and a congress was to be held for a final settlement of the articles of peace between the two powers, at Bucharest, or Sistovia in Wallachia, as should be found most convenient to the plenipotentiaries; to be composed of the ministers of the

parties principally concerned, and of those of the three allied mediating powers. Many difficulties occurred, and unexpected obstacles were thrown in the way, as well by the Emperor himself as through the intrigues of the court of Petersburg. These, however, by the powerful intervention of the mediating powers, and the unwearied application of their ministers, were happily surmounted. A pacification was concluded between the Austrians and Turks, on the ground of the *Status quo ante Bellum*;* and, through the influence and exertions of the allied powers, a convention was formed and executed on the same day for the purpose of specifying the exact limits of their extensive frontiers.

* A diplomatic and very common phrase, importing "the state in which things were before the war."

C H A P. II.

Progress of the Spirit of Freedom.—Modified by the different Characters of Nations.—Singular Combination of a Spirit of Liberty with Aristocratical Pride and Religious Bigotry.—Political Constitution of the Austrian Netherlands.—Analogous to that of England.—Arbitrary Government of the Emperor.—Discontents of the People.—Suppression of Monasteries.—Subversion of the Constitution.—Imprisonments and Emigrations.—Emigrants from Brabant assemble at Breda.—Sequestration of all the Abbeys of Brabant.—Efforts for the Prevention of Insurrection.—Conspiracy against the Austrian Government discovered.—Attempts to check Emigration in vain.—Declaration of the States of Brabant from Breda.—Letter from the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines to the Pope respecting the Conduct of the Emperor, and State of the Country.—Insurrections.—Valour and Success of the Insurgents.—Engagement at Turnhout, and at Tirlemont.—Action between the Austrians and Patriots in the open Field.—The Patriots become Masters of the Town and Citadel of Ghent.—Relaxation of Discipline in the Austrian Armies.—Advantages arising to the Patriots from the Reduction of Ghent.—The Emperor endeavours to reconcile the Provinces to his Government by fair Promises.—Daring Attempt of a Band of Patriots in the Capital

of Brabant.—Succeeds.—The Austrians driven out of Brussels.—Rejoicings at Brussels.—The States assume the Reins of Government.—Confederation between the States of Brabant and those of Flanders.—Acceded to by all the other Provinces, except Limbourg.—The United Belgic States provide for their Security by raising an Army.—The Austrian Netherlands at this Time the principal Object of Political Attention.—Reflections on the usual State of weaker, when united to stronger States.—Splendid Hopes from the Emancipation of the Provinces from the Yoke of Austria.

THE spirit of liberty and innovation which had now been so powerfully excited, pervaded in some degree, every country in Europe; diversified in each by the predominant features in the national character. In France it was marked by quick bursts of passion and sudden decisions; in Spain by caution and deliberation; in Germany, Poland, and other northern states, by candour and moderation; in Great Britain by good sense; and in the Austrian Netherlands, by a peculiar vigour and obstinacy of character; and still more by a singular co-operation of heterogeneous and discordant parties, which were drawn together, by common oppression and danger, for a time, but could not possibly be amalgamated: for in that country, a kind of double aristocracy seized the government, without the consent of the nation at large. While they endeavoured to recover and maintain independence on the House of Austria, they withheld the claims of freemen from other classes of society. Liberty appeared under the colours of aristocratical pride and religious bigotry. But the progressive spirit of freedom demanded a more equal representation, and a greater participation in the government for the great body of the people. Jealousy and dissension prevailed; and a civil contest was on the point of being decided by arms. In a word, the course of even a few

months displayed the usual energies, distractions, and convulsions of popular governments.

The Belgian nations boast of having derived their liberties and the rudiments of their free constitution from an earlier origin than any other European state, even that of Venice not excepted; the Belgæ having been exempted from several taxes imposed on the other Gauls, by the conquering Romans. For 1,600 years they had enjoyed those privileges, which had been confirmed to them by the oaths of all their sovereigns upon their coronation, as well as guaranteed by the neighbouring powers in various treaties, particularly the barrier treaty of 1715. The government of the low countries, consisting of three branches, bears a strong analogy to the English constitution. As Englishmen, when they oppose arbitrary or unwise measures of administration, are wont to plead the general inclinations and even determination of the people, so we have found the remonstrants of Brabant and Flanders pleading in opposition to the despotic proceedings of the Emperor Joseph, the information they had received from the Syndics or representatives of the people. But as the rights of the Flemings were confirmed by a long series of ages, and clearly defined by express and written engagements, so we find their claims to liberty, and their remonstrances against arbitrary power

power to be unembarrassed, and distinct, plain, bold, and almost dictatorial. It must be confessed it was not in this style that the friends of liberty in England urged their pretensions to certain rights and immunities in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James the First. The English patriots of those days felt the dignity, and advanced the just claims of human nature. But their natural being blended with their constitutional rights, and the constitution not yet purged from the grossness of feudal barbarism, we find in their speeches in parliament, as well as in their addresses and supplications, a strange mixture of what is due to mankind, with a reverence almost superstitious for the persons and authority of princes. The Belgic remonstrants, in the compositions addressed to the Governors General of the Netherlands, and to the Emperor himself, without violating the decorum due to sovereign princes, speak with the freedom and energy of ancient Romans.

It would therefore be matter of great astonishment, if any degree of arrogance and precipitation could be matter of amazement in the conduct of the restless Joseph, after the concessions which he had found it necessary to make in September 1787 : after that ratification which confirmed them, and repeated declarations of moderate and just designs, he should yet a second time, and with scarcely any intermission of insidious policy, if not avowed tyranny, labour to slip the yoke of slavery on a generous people. Though an amnesty, by the arrangements just mentioned, had been granted by the Emperor, it was not found that he had laid aside his resentment against those persons who had been most active in

the late opposition to his encroachments. The jealousy and dissatisfaction which had taken root in the minds of the people were not removed. Suspicions were still entertained, and upon no slight grounds, that the sovereign sought to strain his prerogative beyond due bounds. The general tenor of administration was ill-suited to gain popularity or confidence. Instead of those lenient measures by which angry spirits are softened and conciliated, a harsh and severe system of governing was adopted. The army was entrusted to a commander who was thought well fitted to carry vigorous orders into execution. The strong arm of authority was lifted up to intimidate the assembly of the states : and complaints were justly made of many acts, at once arbitrary and vexatious.

The popular discontent was greatly increased by the re-establishment of the new seminary of Louvain. That measure, which had been insisted on by the sovereign as a condition of the concessions of September 1787, was perhaps well enough intended to promote a more liberal education in theology, and to restrain the growth of bigotry ; but highly unacceptable to the clergy and a great part of the nation, was obstinately urged with too little regard to religious prejudices, the temper of the times, or the privileges of the country. Innovations may be sudden ; — improvements must be gradual. Severities were inflicted on such of the ecclesiastics as were the least obedient to the mandates of the Sovereign relating to his seminary. The soldiery were employed to enforce harsh edicts ; and a Catholic Prince, through excess of zeal for toleration, became intolerant to his Catholic subjects.

These

These indiscreet proceedings, beheld with disgust by all the provinces, were particularly odious in Brabant; which ranks Louvain among her principal cities, and has a special care of its privileges.

The minds of men, already indisposed and alarmed for their civil rights, were more inflamed by religious zeal. A general discontent prevailed; and at the close of the year 1788, the states of Brabant expressed their dissatisfaction with the measures of government, by refusing to grant the ordinary supplies.

This refusal drew on the states the heavy displeasure of the sovereign, already irritated by the resistance that had been made to his seminary. The monarch yielding to his resentment, now suffered himself to be hurried into violence; by an edict addressed to the province of Brabant in 1789, he not only annulled the ratification of concessions by which the former disturbances had been composed, together with the subsequent amnesty, but as if disengaged from that compact, into which he had entered at his accession, he recalled his inaugural oath to maintain the joyous entry, or the privileges of the Brabantine people. He signified that those establishments created in the year 1787, which had caused so great alarms, and which he had agreed to abolish, should be revived in their full extent; that the intendants should forthwith enter on their offices; and that no abbots were to be named in future to the vacant abbies in Brabant. And he denounced severe chastisement to all who should in anywise call in question, or oppose those acts of his administration. The council of Brabant having, according to its known privileges, refused to give its sanction to edicts repugnant to

the laws, the supreme tribunal which formed the main support of the liberties of the country was suppressed. The care of the public revenue, which belonged to a committee of the council, was committed to a council appointed by a commission from the Prince. The states of Brabant felt the effects of the Sovereign's displeasure in other respects. The power which they had exercised in withholding the subsidies, was affirmed not to belong to them of right. As it had been declared that no abbots were in future to be named in Brabant, the suppression of the first order of the states was denounced by that declaration. The third order, that is, the deputies of the Commons, not sufficiently complaisant to the will of the sovereign, was pronounced to be improperly and whimsically constructed. All the barriers which a respectable constitution had set up against the encroachments of princes, were thrown down. The joyous entry was represented as encumbered with useless articles. That ancient charter of Brabant, by which the people claim to be released from suite and service to their princes till reparation be made for the infringement of rights, was treated as a vain pretension, founded on error. The sovereign having set forth that embarrassment which the joyous entry and the Assembly of the states gave to his measures, did not conceal his purpose of new modelling, by his own authority, the constitution into such a form, that the operations of government should no longer be perplexed or disturbed by that embarrassment. His great design was, to establish one simple and uniform system of military government throughout the whole of his widely extended dominions: by which

which means all distinctions of government, religion, laws and privileges, being annihilated, and the people formed into one mass, they would at once be more easily governed at home, and present a more powerful engine of foreign conquest.

It is scarcely possible on contemplating such conduct, to refrain from some expressions of surprise and indignation, that any human being, however exalted his rank or hereditary pretensions, should consider so many nations as merely tools of his ambition and even caprice. But if it may be allowed to suppose that he was governed in all his multifarious and ever changing schemes by a sincere regard to the good of mankind, how great the folly and arrogance to imagine, that he could make nations happy in spite of themselves, and in opposition to their dearest prepossessions and most inveterate prejudices!

Whilst the reign of despotism was thus openly proclaimed, the displeasure of administration was directed in an arbitrary manner against those from whom an opposition to the new system was apprehended. Many, on vain pretences, and contrarily to the known forms of law in the province, were imprisoned; and great numbers of the nobility, clergy, and people of property, emigrated to the adjacent countries.

The Belgians beholding the entire overthrow of a constitution that had been maintained through so many ages, and persuaded that their last resource was to be found in arms, displayed the standard of revolt: and the same month of October, 1789, that announced the taking of Belgrade from the Turks,

declared to the Emperor the revolt of his subjects in the low countries. While they were stimulated, on the one hand, by a just cause, and an indignation at insolence and oppression, they were encouraged, on the other, by occupation of the Austrian armies in the Turkish war, and the embarrassments that had arisen out of that event: they possessed vast resources in their own country, and they might reasonably hope for support from Prussia, whose armies already menaced the Austrian frontiers, and all other foreign powers who might be actuated, either by a general sympathy with their own nation, or by hostility to the pride and ambition of the Austrians or of the Russians: powers separately formidable, but in conjunction alarming.

Their first enterprizes in arms were successful. Bodies of armed men rose up in nearly all the provinces. Great exertions of valour were made by men undisciplined in war, but not sparing of blood in the cause of liberty. By a rapid train of success, in the space of a few weeks, the Austrian garrisons were worsted and dislodged from the great cities in the Netherlands. Even the city of Brussels, where the Imperialists were in the greatest strength, and where they had determined to make the greatest resistance, the Austrian General was compelled to yield to the signal valour of its inhabitants.

There could be nothing more natural than for the emigrants to take refuge and assemble in a neighbouring country, possessed by a kindred people who had, by their virtues, emancipated themselves from the same tyranny which they themselves found so grievous and intolerable. While some retired to France

France and to other places, the greatest number repaired to the frontier of the United Provinces: but principally to the Lordship and neighbourhood of Breda, in the province of Holland;* which became their head quarters. The emigration from Brabant, which had at first been confined to the higher orders and people of property, was quickly increased in numbers, by an accession of active and resolute young men from all the provinces; which beheld in the fate of the constitution of Brabant the approaching fall of their own liberties.

The Austrian government were at first so far from taking any measures for putting a stop to emigration, that they considered it as rather a fortunate circumstance: and the country would thus be cleared of a great number of disaffected persons without any trouble. For the Emperor himself, he seems to have been well pleased with an opportunity of gratifying two darling passions:—a rapacity for money, and an eagerness to humble and overthrow the clergy.† He issued a decree for the sequestration of all the abbeyes of Brabant, and appointed civil officers for the administration of their revenues. He suppressed not less than 160 monas-

tic establishments. The only precaution he appears to have used, was, that in this great suppression, the men were more favoured than the women. Of the male convents only forty were sequestered: of the nunneries, 110. Such an arbitrary invasion of so much property in a country so long in the enjoyment of freedom, and that of ecclesiastical property in a country so devoted to the clergy, was considered in a most odious light, raised a general outcry, and prepared the minds of men, particularly the peasants (the most numerous and hardy class) for insurrection.

The Flemings,‡ who had long brooded (according to their national character) over their injuries in sullen silence, which served only to render them more determined in their resolutions, and more implacable in their resentments, began now to form bold designs, and to give vent to the rancour that preyed on their minds, in action.

General d'Alton,§ the great tool of imperial tyranny in the Netherlands, drawing detachments from different garrisons, sent them to scour such parts of the country as were deemed most disaffected, with orders to take up all suspected persons, and all vagabonds. With this latitude of commission, the troops were

* A patrimony belonging to the Prince of Orange.

† The characters of men at the opposite extremes of society, appear in some respects perfectly to coincide; the one class being placed by their situation above a regard to the sympathy of the greater and of the best part of mankind; and the other below it: a matter of fact which affords a very striking illustration of Dr. Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments. The sentiments and views that actuated the Emperor Joseph on this occasion were not very different from those that dictated the massacres and confiscations in France in 1792, 1793, and 1794.

‡ So not only the inhabitants of Flanders, the maritime, richest, and most populous, but also those of the other provinces, were formerly and until the recent revival of Roman appellations, generally called.

§ A soldier of fortune, and consequently devoted to the pleasure of his master. For an account of this military adventurer, we refer our readers to our Vol. 31; being that for 1789.

were in fact left at liberty to take up whomsoever they pleased. Many disorders and much violence was committed. The prisons were filled with unhappy persons, who were cut off from all means and hopes of redress: and by the injustice and sacrilege of the Emperor, thus executed by them whom they regarded in no other light than that of military mercenary ruffians, the general odium against the Austrian government was carried to the highest pitch of abhorrence. A conspiracy which, from the nature of its design, must have consisted of a very great number of persons, was formed and carried on in the very seat of government and heart of the capital city of Brussels. It was resolved to undermine the house of Count Trautmandorf, the Emperor's civil engine of oppression, as well as that of his military tool General d'Alton, together with the guard-house; and to blow up those buildings, together with their possessors, into the air with gunpowder. The conspirators, during the confusion occasioned by this explosion, were to seize the arsenal with the city gates, and to admit several small bodies of emigrants, who were to be prepared, and at hand for the purpose. This gunpowder plot, which was laid in the month of August 1789, and speedily to be executed, being discovered, above twenty suspected persons were immediately taken up; and the number would have undoubtedly been much increased, and a long succession of severe punishments have ensued, if the troubles now fast approaching had not put an end to this and similar prosecutions.

The numbers and the menacing aspect of emigrants and others dis-

affected to government being daily increased, the plan of purging the country by emigration was changed. The magistrates were ordered not to grant passports: and the emigrated nobles and clergy were charged by proclamation to return, under pain of forfeiture. But the magistrates were themselves too much interested in the common cause, to lay any restraint that could possibly be avoided, on those who were disposed to take a more active part in its promotion; while the nobility and clergy laughed at the threat of forfeiture, which they well knew no compliance could avert, if ever it should be in the Emperor's power to inflict the penalty. The emigration was continued without interruption or diminution. Nothing less than a powerful army, with the advantage of numerous and well-chosen posts and garrisons, could have effectually restrained emigration from provinces so open on all sides, intersected by so many rivers and canals opening an easy and various communication with other countries, and in the near vicinity and uncommon variety of unconnected states. In addition to all these circumstances tending to facilitate emigration, the dangerous ambition, with the ever-restless and insidious policy of Joseph, had inspired all the neighbouring powers with a desire to embrace any opportunity that might occur for frustrating his designs, and humbling his pride. And while the ruling powers in the neighbouring states, were so favourably disposed towards the Flemings from motives of policy, their subjects, from ties of affinity and blood, long habits of commercial intercourse, private friendship, and above all, a general commiseration of

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of the injuries done them, were much more sincerely and deeply interested in their behalf, and generously afforded them all possible assistance and protection.

The Duke of Ursel and the Prince of Aremberg, Count of la Marck, his son, with the other nobles who had retired to Breda, being joined by the Archbishop of Malines or Mechlin, primate of the Catholic provinces of the Netherlands, and by most if not all the states of Brabant, both civil and ecclesiastical,—about the middle of September 1789, constituted and declared themselves to be the regular and legal Assembly of the states of that province. In that character they unanimously passed a remonstrance to the Emperor, which might be considered as a declaration of rights, and at the same time, of a firm determination to maintain them. In this manifesto, which was sent express to Vienna, after lamenting the sad necessity which had compelled them to assemble in a foreign land, under the deplorable character of a banished legislature, they entered with the utmost freedom into the most rigid examination of his Majesty's conduct. They stated the rights and privileges which the province of Brabant had enjoyed from the most remote times; and ratified and extended by a long succession of sovereigns. They reminded him of the solemn oaths by which he was himself bound to maintain and defend them; and then represented the wanton and oppressive infractions of them which had taken place during his reign, and, to complete the full measure of oppression, the lawless and shameless subversion of their constitution. They concluded by declaring, that, although

they were ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for the prosperity and glory of their sovereign, they were not prepared for a pusillanimous and perfidious surrender of those rights which they held in trust for their fellow citizens, and for posterity. They therefore adjured him, by an immediate revocation of his illegal edicts, and restoration of the rights of the province, to spare them the cruel necessity of appealing to God and their swords.

Sometime after this, which may be considered as the prelude, but before the commencement of actual hostilities, the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines, sent a letter containing some particulars relative to the conduct of the Emperor and the present posture of affairs in the low countries, to the Pope. The Cardinal assured his Holiness that every effort had been used by the bishops and the other clergy for the preservation of tranquillity and the prevention of a revolution. But that matters had been precipitated into their present position by the fluctuating counsels, the unsteady measures, and a general inconsistency in the conduct of his Imperial Majesty. That his laws and decrees, which were perpetually succeeding, and in continual variation with one another, were consistent only in this, that they had all of them an immediate tendency not only to overthrow the discipline of the church, and to efface from the minds of the people every trace of their native piety and religion, but likewise to annihilate the national customs and usages, the privileges of the cities, and the liberties of the citizens. The declaration of the states of Brabant was little calculated to make any impression in their favour on the mind of the Emperor; jealous
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lousy and resentment increased on both sides, burst into acts of open hostility: but the first blow was struck by the injured and oppressed party.

A body of insurgents, towards the end of October 1789, without much resistance, took the two small forts of Lillo and Liefenshock, which had been originally constructed by the Dutch, to prevent all intercourse between the sea and Antwerp; but which, being of little importance, had been given up to the vanity of the Emperor, in the adjustment of the late differences respecting the navigation of the Scheldt. In Fort Lillo, besides the military stores, they found a considerable sum of money. They likewise seized a frigate, which had been stationed off Lillo, in the vain parade of appearing to protect a trade that was not permitted to exist, or perhaps as a kind of protest that the dominion over the Scheldt belonged to the Imperialists. General d'Alton sent General Schroeder against the invaders, at the head of 4,000 troops, well disciplined. On the advance of this force the insurgents abandoned the two forts, and retreated towards Turnhout, a small town situated about eight miles to the north-east of the forts. The Imperialists pursued them closely: but with all their expedition they could only obtain sight of a small party who brought up their rear, and who were immediately received within the gates before they could come up with them. The gates were instantly shut; but soon forced by the Imperialists, who made good

their way into the town. The Brabanders, as they retreated along the main street, which they did in good order, maintained a hot fire, not without considerable execution on their pursuers. In this manner the Imperialists were drawn farther and farther into the town, until Schroeder, with his whole force in a compact body, arrived at the market-place. Here he was saluted with a roar of artillery from different openings: while a fire of small arms deliberately pointed, still more tremendous, incessantly poured from the roofs and windows of all the surrounding houses. The number and compacted order of the assailants, which in other circumstances might have been their strength, was now their weakness. Schroeder, caught in the toils of cross-streets, houses, lanes, and unknown passages, laboured for extrication by the greatest presence of mind and personal courage in vain. Two horses were shot under him, and he was severely wounded. His troops, to withstand the intolerable fire that streamed upon them in every direction, fell into immediate confusion, and made a very disorderly retreat out of Turnhout, by the gate at which they entered. Their loss was computed at no less than 700 men, besides at least two pieces of cannon. The date of this event is October 27th, 1789.* The rage of the Austrians at this unexpected defeat and disaster, was vented in the most frightful massacres.

The indignation of the Emperor at this "shameful affair," as he considered

* The reports transmitted by the General to Vienna were so inaccurate and confused, that the Emperor himself could not make out whether two or four pieces of artillery had been lost.

sidered it and pronounced it to be, was extreme. Schroeder was stripped of all his military commands, and ordered to return to Germany. The misfortune of Count Schroeder, who had enjoyed a considerable military reputation, evidently arose from the contempt in which he held raw and undisciplined troops; and the eagerness with which he grasped at the glory of crushing at once the insurrection, and restoring the provinces to their wonted obedience; for there were two other columns of troops on their march to join him: so that by only enclosing the insurgents in the town, they must have been compelled to surrender in a few days for want of provisions.

The success at Turnhout awakened by hope all the passions that warmed the breasts of the Belgian patriots into an ardent flame. The emigrants assuming the name of patriotic troops and patriotic army, penetrated the open frontiers, in more or less numerous bands, on every quarter. The peasants in Brabant, Flanders, Namur, Hainault, and other provinces, embodied themselves wherever the immediate presence of the Austrians did not restrain their motions. All ranks of men burned with impatience to join their countrymen in the field, so that they might be entitled to some share of the praise due for the deliverance of their country from foreign tyrants.

The action at Turnhout was followed in a few days by another, in some points of a similar nature, at Tirlemont, a large town in Brabant, on the river Geet, nine miles southeast from Louvain. A small body of patriots, closely pursued by General Bender, just arrived with his

regiment from Luxemburgh, had taken refuge in that place; but into which, being an open town, Bender forced his way sword in hand. The inhabitants of Tirlemont, though they had no artillery, and were but badly provided with small arms and ammunition, immediately and universally took part with their countrymen, determined to afford them protection, or to perish in the attempt. The small band of patriots, mingling and supported by those generous citizens, kept up as constant a fire from the roofs and windows of the houses as their provision of arms and ammunition could possibly supply, and defended every house, street, and avenue, with the utmost intrepidity. On the other hand, the Austrians penetrating into many houses and even churches, perpetrated such massacres as had been committed by their countrymen in their retreat from Turnhout, and which we shudder to relate. The conflict was continued with unabated fury and obstinacy on both sides, till the approach of night compelled General Bender to relinquish his enterprize and withdraw his troops. In this paltry and disgraceful affair, the loss of lives on both sides, including in that number both sexes and all ages and conditions, was said to amount to 1300. It was stated by the patriots, that in General Bender's retreat from Tirlemont in the night, he met General d'Alton full in his way, at the head of a strong detachment to his assistance; and that each party fired on the other, under the double mistake of their being mutually enemies; and that several hundreds were killed and wounded on both sides before the error

error could be detected.* The repulse of General Bender was soon followed by the defeat of a body of Austrians under General d'Arberg, to whom the Brabanters dared to give battle in the open field. We have not been able to ascertain either the time or place of this action; but it was said, and generally understood at the time, to have been very disastrous to the Austrians; who it was also said and credited, would have been cut off in their disorderly flight over the Scheldt, if their retreat had not been covered on the banks of the river by the singular bravery of the regiment of Bender. While this brilliant success attended the Belgian arms, the patriots gained possession of Ostend, Bruges, Louvain, and other places, without any contest: victory and uninterrupted success inspired bolder and bolder designs. Early in the morning of the 13th of November 1789, a small body of patriot troops, not exceeding it was said 700 men, marched with unparalleled boldness and audacity to attack the city of Ghent. They directed their course to the gate which takes the name of Bruges, which they forced. During the conflict which attended this operation, the bridges within the walls were all taken up, and every other measure adopted for preventing or retarding their progress when they should enter the town. A battle ensued in the streets, which continued for some hours; when the as-

sailants drove the Austrians before them with such impetuosity, that one part of them fled for refuge to the citadel, and another to the barracks; which however they prepared resolutely to defend. This party, to the number of 500, and commanded by Colonel Landhen, on the third day of the siege hung out a white flag, gave up their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. During the time of the attack on the barracks, the citadel, instead of attempting to relieve the besieged, was wholly occupied in throwing bombs and combustibles of different sorts, with a view of destroying the town by one general conflagration. But these, whether from a want of a sufficient stock of combustibles, or from whatever cause, produced no other effect than that of destroying a number of houses, damaging others, rendering the streets impassable by the ruins, and, by the fires which were continually breaking out in different quarters, keeping the inhabitants in a state of constant terror and confusion. The base garrison, who durst not attempt the relief of the barracks, made frequent sallies into the streets, particularly by night; when, besides rapine, the most horrid crimes are said to have been committed.

The patriots obliged Colonel Landhen to write an order to the commandant of the citadel for its immediate surrender; which he very properly

* Though there is nothing incredible in this report, as such fatal mistakes have often happened, yet the truth of it has been doubted. In such a cruel and bloody war as this, in which exorbitances committed on one side drew forth severe retaliation from the other, and all things were involved in blind prejudice, animosity, and rage, the reports of common fame are more than usually exaggerated. We have no other accounts of the military exploits in the Netherlands at this period, than those published by the patriots. The Austrians, under their misfortunes, were wholly silent.

properly refused to obey. Nevertheless, devoid of courage as of generosity and a sense of honour, conscious of guilt, and probably desirous withal of preserving the pillage he had obtained, the commandant evacuated the citadel in the dead of the night, and marched off bag and baggage, having at his departure rendered himself, if possible, still more infamous than before, by enormities committed in all the streets and houses within the reach of the garrison. When we thus contemplate the city and citadel of Ghent, possessed by a powerful and numerous garrison of regular forces, reduced by a small party of raw insurgents, we are strongly excited to inquire into the cause or causes of so wonderful an event. Allowing all that can possibly be granted or demanded in favour of the enthusiasm of liberty, it is yet wholly incredible that a band of 700 men, who seemed to be lost in the magnitude of so great a city, could have triumphed over a garrison so greatly superior in strength, number, and all military advantages, if they had not been seconded by the general voice, and the active support of numbers of the inhabitants: a support which (though not so much as once mentioned in the details published of that affair) we must conclude to have been afforded. Nor perhaps would the united efforts of the band of 700, and the patriotic citizens of Ghent, have been able to prevail, at least in so short a time, over the citadel, if the nerves of its numerous defenders had not been un-

strung by a relaxation of discipline and habits of vicious indulgence:— evils not arising merely from the proneness of human nature to sink, whenever an opportunity offers, into indulgence and the lap of pleasure, but which may be traced to the very mind of the restless, rash, and incorrigible Joseph.

It had been a maxim, long and closely pressed by the Emperor, on his commanders in the Netherlands, to render the duty of the soldiers as light and as pleasing to them as possible; and particularly not to weary and disgust them, by an attention to the minutiae of discipline. His object plainly was, to attach them to his service and person; and to make them faithful partizans in all disputes with the people:—an unwise and dangerous policy even to his own authority.* From this indulgence and the habits of trampling on (not to say massacring) a defenceless people without danger or resistance, the imperial troops seemed to have changed their nature as well as character; for as soon as they came to be engaged in real service, and compelled to face an enemy on equal terms, they shewed themselves to be as mean and dastardly as they were on other occasions cruel and profligate. It may also be observed, that the striking contempt for religion, which at this time so flagrantly marked the conduct of the soldiery; and which was so eminently prejudicial to the imperial cause in the most religious country in Europe, had sprung up in the Austrian armies, only under the

* Soldiers are never so fondly attached to any military chief as to the rigid disciplinarian, provided he observe the strict rules of discipline to all, and show as great concern to provide for their wants and reward their merit, as to punish their faults and failure in duty: their attachment in this case being heightened by respect, esteem, and perhaps even by a degree of awe.

the auspices of Joseph II., for under the government of his predecessors, and particularly of his mother, whatever their disorders might have been in other matters, they maintained the outward appearance at least of respect to christianity, and every thing appertaining to religion. So certainly and quickly may the character of a sovereign prince be diffused among his subjects!

The reduction of Ghent was of the greatest consequence to the Flemish patriots; and the more especially that it enabled the states of Flanders to assemble in that capital of the province, for the purpose of legalising their public proceedings, giving a form to their intended new constitution, and concluding a league and federal union with the other provinces.

The emperor, on receiving intelligence of this alarming situation of affairs, descended from his usual pride and obstinacy, and endeavoured to reconcile the provinces by the fairest promises; although he could not entertain any lively hope that the people, so often deceived, would be inclined to repose any confidence in his engagements. In what may be considered a penitentiary declaration dated at Vienna on the 20th of November, 1789, after expressing great sorrow at the present troubles, and some surprise at the violent measures that had been pursued, he exhorted the malcontents to lay down their arms, and to trust for the redress of any real grievances to his clemency and paternal affection. He painted in strong colours the dreadful consequences that must ensue, if they should compel him to relinquish the great line of conquest which he was now pursuing, and to pour in for their suppression

those numerous and conquering armies, which were now so successfully employed against a foreign enemy. He endeavoured partly to justify, and partly to explain several of the most offensive parts of his conduct. He mentioned some steps he had already taken for their gratification, and offered to revoke all the edicts of which they complained, and to comply with every demand they had formerly made. In conclusion, he ordered that no person shall be arrested for any cause, or under any pretence whatever, but according to the existing laws and established usages; and grants a general, full, and perpetual amnesty to all who should return to their duty within a specified, but considerable space of time, the leaders of the revolt alone excepted. But a cordial reconciliation on such grounds was now impracticable. And even before the emperor's manifesto was known, although it be probable that it was expected, the states of Flanders on the same day with the date of that piece, 20th November, 1789, boldly seized the sovereign authority in their province, and in imitation of their Dutch neighbours, assumed the title of High and Mighty States. They passed six resolutions:—by the first of which they declared, that the emperor had forfeited all title to the sovereignty of Flanders: by the others they agreed immediately to raise an army of 20,000 men, including 1,000 rifle-men, exclusively of the quotas voted to be furnished by the different towns in the province;—appointed commissioners for raising, organizing, and providing this army with all things necessary for subsistence and for the field;—resolved to unite themselves

selves with the states of Brabant ; and decreed that the council of Flanders should no longer be considered as provincial, but sovereign.

The military ardour and the rapid and splendid success of the patriots in so many parts of the Netherlands, seemed to the inhabitants of the capital of Brabant, the seat of government, to upbraid their inaction and tardiness in supporting the common cause. As on the one hand they were indignant at the despotism and the haughty and harsh manners of d'Alton, so on the other, they were encouraged to resist his tyranny by the visible anxiety and depression of spirits which had seized on that General, in consequence of the progress of the insurgents, and particularly by the reduction of Ghent. He had already, though for the first time, experienced a change in the countenance of his master, and in some measure shared in the effects of his chagrin on the defeat of Schroeder, and knew not how to encounter his displeasure a second time : so dreadful an eclipse of royal sunshine to an old favourite ! nor yet to relate so many unfortunate events in such a manner as to ward off all censure on his own judgment, conduct, and perhaps even his intentions. Confounded and overwhelmed with vexation and despair, he shut himself up in Brussels, where for some time the gates were shut, and strongly guarded by day as well as by night. But perceiving at length that this measure was considered as a proof of weakness and apprehension, and farther, that he had become a standing subject of mirth and ridicule, he ordered the gates by day to be again opened.

Yet even in these humiliating circumstances, he persevered in the same tone of manners and conduct which had rendered him already universally odious.

In such circumstances, a choice band of the inhabitants of Brussels, inspired with enthusiasm in the cause of freedom, and a contempt for the minister of oppression, formed the generous and gallant, though apparently too daring design of rescuing Brussels from its present thralldom, or losing their lives in the glorious attempt. It is asserted that their whole number did not exceed 500, while that of the Austrians was estimated at 5 or 6,000 : though it is to be observed that these last were dispersed in various posts, at great distances from each other in various parts of the city and suburbs. No riot or tumult was made or pretended, in order to cover the real design ; nor was the attack, as usual in such cases, commenced by surprise or assassination. About four o'clock in the afternoon, December 9th, 1789, this band of heroic, and as it seemed, self-devoted citizens, marched boldly and openly to attack and seize the soldiers who were appointed to guard the mint, as well as those who were stationed or quartered in the different convents. In these enterprises they succeeded without difficulty ; for General d'Alton, who had for some time, contrarily to his usual disposition, begun to entertain ideas, and to place his hopes in plans of peace and conciliation, did not choose to exasperate matters for the present by an attack on the patriots. A cessation of arms took place for several hours, which were employed in a negotiation for an armistice ; a delay at all events favourable to the patriotic

patriotic band, as it afforded time to their fellow-citizens to collect their thoughts and resolution, and to determine the part which it was fit for them to take in the present crisis. It is not to be supposed, though the circumstance has not been mentioned, and was, no doubt, on purpose omitted, but that the 500 original insurgents were joined during the pause by great numbers, if not the greater part of their fellow-citizens. On the other hand, the Austrians, during the same pause, received a reinforcement of 800 men, with two pieces of cannon; which they placed in the great square of Brussels.

The negotiation for an armistice being broken off, General d'Alton sent a strong detachment to deliver the officers and soldiers who had been made prisoners, and put in confinement in the lower town at the commencement of the insurrection. This movement served as a signal for a general action to the patriots: who, having by an irresistible impetuosity routed the detachment on its way, invested the great market-place, which was used as a principal place of arms. Here, after a long and obstinate conflict, they drove every thing before them, became masters of the *corps de garde*, took two pieces of cannon, and made above 400 Austrian prisoners. In the mean time, different engagements were carried on in every quarter of the city;* and in a few hours, the insurgents gained possession of the barracks and magazines, in which they found 2,000 muskets, besides a considerable quantity of ammunition.

By this time General d'Alton, with what troops he could collect in the present confusion, had retired into the park and royal square with twelve pieces of cannon. After a desperate engagement, continued for about an hour, he was reduced to the mortification of desiring a capitulation; which was readily granted. Having obtained a safe retreat for himself and his garrison, he marched out within an hour, according to agreement, and in great disorder, as may readily be imagined, directing his course to Namur; where he remained but a short time. Quitting the town and province of Namur, he retired with his baffled troops to Luxemburgh. Count Trautsmendorf, with other principal members of the late government, retired to Liege; the Governors-general, the Archduchess and her husband the Prince of Saxe Teschen, had quitted Brussels for some time before; although, from the gentleness and humanity of their dispositions, and their repeated applications to the court of Vienna in favour of the provinces, they were not in any danger of becoming objects of popular outrage among a people of so moderate and equal a temper.

It is impossible in surveying these contests in the Netherlands, not to mark the contrast between the manners of the Flemings and those of the French in similar circumstances. The animosities of contending parties, as in the civil wars of England, spent their force in open debate, or the field of battle; not in massacres, poisonings, and assassinations. Not a man, after

* That the original insurgents were joined and supported by great numbers of the other inhabitants of Brussels, is clearly proved by this circumstance.

ter victory had declared on the side of the patriots, in this engagement in the capital of Brabant, nor in that of Ghent or any other, was killed in cold blood; nor quarter refused by the Flemings to any who demanded it in the heat of action. Not a single house in Brussels was burnt or plundered, although the owners who were inimical to the revolution were generally known; nor any injury offered to any person, except in fair and open encounters. The prisoners taken in the course of these various actions, of the 9th and 10th of December, and who were not included in the capitulation, amounted to no less than 3,000.

By the rapid successes of the patriots, particularly the extraordinary victories in Ghent and Brussels, the Austrian dominion in the low countries seemed for the present to be almost annihilated; as there was no place now remaining in their possession which they could hope long to retain, except the duchy of Luxemburg.

The patriotism of the Belgic nation seemed now to be triumphant. The inhabitants of Brussels, naturally elated with their success, expressed their joy in various modes: but in the midst of their rejoicings, did not omit to celebrate the most solemn offices of religion, for the double purpose of returning thanks to the Supreme Disposer of all events, for their happy deliverance, and offering up their orisons for the souls of those brave men who had fallen in the cause of their country. The ancient courts of justice were restored; Gazettes were published, under the auspices of government; a new oath of allegiance was administered to all officers of the state,

as well as to all the deputies of the committee of the states of Brabant; tranquillity was established at once, together with the regular exercise of sovereign power. It would have been difficult for a stranger newly arrived at Brussels, to believe that it had been so recently a scene of arms, and of political revolution.

The states of Brabant being assembled at Brussels on the last day of the year 1789, bound themselves by oath in the presence of the citizens, to preserve the rights, privileges, and constitution of their country; and then proceeded to administer the same oath to the members of the Sovereign Council of Brabant, amidst the general acclamations of the people. A few days after, the states of Flanders concluded and published an act of union with those of Brabant, offensive and defensive; by which the contracting parties bound themselves not to enter into any negotiation or agreement whatever with any foreign state (particularly with their late Sovereign) without the approbation and consent of the other. This union was to compose a sovereignty of the two states, in such a manner that all the power and exercise of that sovereignty should be concentrated in a congress which should be composed of a prescribed number of deputies from each party, according to articles and regulations hereafter to be agreed on. In case of differences arising between two provinces, they were to be settled by the intervention of the sovereign power, or the mediation of persons appointed by the contending parties. It was provided however, that the powers of the congress should be restricted to mutual defence, the right of mak-
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ing peace and declaring war, of raising and supporting a national militia, maintaining necessary fortifications, entering into alliances with foreign powers, and other matters equally relating to the interests of both states. This treaty, accepted and ratified by the states of Brabant, was soon acceded to by Hainault, and all the other Austrian provinces, except Limburg. This plan of government, it is evident, was after the example of their neighbours the Seven United Provinces, and the more recent precedent of the American states. It was signed by deputies from Brabant, Flanders, West Flanders, Flemish Guelderland, Hainault, Namur, Tournay, the Tournesis, and Mechlin, on the 10th of January, 1790. The province of Limburg sent three deputies to the assembly of the States General; but they declined to sign the act of confederation and union, on the ground of their not having received instructions on that head from their constituents. This was certainly a plausible argument: but the truth was, that the measure proposed was not agreeable to the Limburghers.

The general confederacy of the states of the Netherlands was in future to be distinguished by the title of the United Belgic States. In commemoration of the revolution, a medal was struck by the states of Flanders, and immediately after their example, by those of Brabant.* The Belgic states were well aware that it was not by any memorials of this kind, nor processions or other cere-

monies, nor any internal laws and regulations alone, that the sovereignty which they had now assumed could be long preserved. The congress, at the head of which was Vandernoot, immediately took measures for strengthening the army. There was already in the service of the Belgic states, a considerable number of excellent officers, at the head of which was General Vandermerch, whose military talents had led to the first successes of the revolution. They now came to the resolution of taking into their service a certain number of the subjects of the three allied powers (on whose assistance they principally relied), England, Holland, and Prussia. Herein perhaps they imitated the politics of their brethren the Dutch, who, on their throwing off the Spanish yoke, by adopting a similar measure, supplied themselves with excellent officers and soldiers, and interested the states to whom they belonged in the success of that cause for which their people were fighting. Recruits came in from all parts, and the military department was modelled on the best plan that in the pressing exigencies of the state could be devised. In compliance to England and Prussia, the English code was adopted in matters of regulation, and the Prussian in those of exercise and action. A great number of British subjects, the greater part of whom had served as officers in the American war, were inclined by martial ardour and a generous sympathy with the Flemish nation, to pass over into the low

* It was ornamented on both sides with a garland of laurel, and on one side was the following inscription:—*Jugo Austriaco Excusso Religione et Patriæ Libertate Vindicata. Soli deo Honor.* 1789. On the other side, *Ex decreto Comitiorum Flandriæ.* 1790.

low countries as volunteers. These gentlemen were received by the Netherlanders with open arms, and most, if not all of them, were appointed to immediate commands. Their numbers soon became so considerable, as not a few of them possessed sufficient influence in their respective countries for the levying of men; that in consequence of proposals made to them by congress, they raised and formed, under the name of the British Legion, a body of troops composed entirely of English, Scots, and Irish. Recruits in the mean time came into the service of the states from all parts of the Netherlands, both the towns and the country. A large portion of them found their own arms and ammunition. This uncommon fervour was peculiarly discernible in the rustic classes. The peasantry of the villages, in the proximity of Brussels especially, flocked in crowds to that city. It was computed that on one particular day, not less than 10,000 had paraded through the streets. The means by which these multitudes were collected with such readiness, and actuated by so ardent a zeal, was the influence of the clergy, who persuaded them that it was their duty to repel the attacks that had been made on the property of the church, and on its immunities, by the suppression of monasteries, and the introduction of new regulations in matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; which was stated as tending in its consequences to the utter ruin of religion itself.

Amidst so many great and interesting scenes going on at this time in so many places of Europe, France, Germany, Turkey, and Poland, there was none that attracted so general and lively a con-

cern as the Austrian Netherlands. All liberal minds recollected what the Flemings had formerly been, contemplated with the highest delight what they had recently proved, that they still were and formed the most pleasing interpositions of what they were now not unlikely to be. As they were the first people in the north of Europe that cultivated arts and manufactures, a satisfaction was felt at their successful efforts to shake off the yoke of Austrian despotism, of the same nature with what was experienced about the same period at the glorious struggles of the Greeks, which we shall by and by have occasion to relate, in opposition to the heavy and degrading yoke of the Ottomans. All neighbouring nations that had any rights to protect, were interested in the support of the generous spirit and energy of freedom in the Austrian Netherlands. The ancient and intimate connexions between the Netherlands and England are well known. The Flemings drew from this country the greater part of the materials for their principal manufacture the woollen; and the English, from their commerce with Flanders, imbibed, or were more and more confirmed in sentiments of freedom. At all times habits of various intercourse prevailed between the English and Flemish nations; who, besides the circumstances of near neighbourhood and the sameness of descent, possess a near resemblance to each other in national character. Accordingly there was no nation that took so warm an interest in the affairs of the Flemish patriots as the British: of which we shall presently see a striking proof and instance.

When

When states and kingdoms are united under one sovereign, whether by conquest or succession, it is the constant fate of the smaller to be governed by the greater. The laws, customs, and manners of great monarchies are extended from the court to the annexed dominions, which become so many provinces. The interests and inclinations of the new and extreme parts of the empire are sacrificed to the political views and personal humours of the distant monarch; fallible himself, and exposed to the interested counsels of those around him, who, with all the prejudices of education, and the confidence of power, are entrusted in the provinces with the first offices, civil, military, and ecclesiastic. Hence proceed jealousies, murmurs, and discontents, which often break into acts of revolt and rebellion. Independence of government is in general attended with more beneficial consequences than any that can well accrue to a small from its annexation to a greater kingdom. It nourishes national pride; it excites a spirit of exertion and glory in individuals, who by distinguishing merit, are quickly brought in moderate kingdoms under the eye of the court; it watches over the public interests, and studies the objects which the nation are invited to pursue, either by local or political situation. According to these sentiments, it has happened at different times and in different countries, that when two distinct and independent kingdoms, each enjoying its own laws, have been united under one sovereign, the weaker, in order to preserve its liberty and independence, has separated itself from the stronger.

Spain and Portugal were subject, in a federal union to the same sovereign Philip II; but, notwithstanding that by this union the Portuguese had obtained most advantageous conditions from Spain, the Portuguese no sooner found a favourable opportunity than they revolted from their allegiance, and chose for their king the Duke of Braganza. Sweden and Denmark were placed under the dominion of one sovereign by the Semiramis of the north in the 14th century, the famous Margaret, daughter of Valdemar, King of Norway, and widow of Huguin King of Norway. But the Swedes, justly provoked by the treacherous and inhuman policy of Christian II. the last King of Denmark, who, by virtue of the union of Colmar, was also King of Sweden, dissolved that treaty by arms, and chose for their king Gustavus Vasa. In the Scottish parliament, in the reign of Queen Anne, on the question concerning the settlement of the Scottish crown in the family of Hanover, it was observed, that although the Scots in the first confederate war, terminated in 1697 by the peace of Ryswick, had acquired great reputation, and their trade was exposed to various disadvantages, yet in that treaty they were not so much as mentioned; and that their soldiers were disbanded without any gratuity or grant of privilege. The Scottish patriots insisted on this occasion on the corruption of their peers; the embezzlement of their public treasury; the constant oppression of the commons; of taxes, burthens, and contemptuous treatment; the ruin of their commerce at Darien; the prohibition of watering at the Eng-

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lish colonies; and other grievances which they were forced to suffer, as if they had been aliens and outlaws. Some of the Scottish noblemen, it was urged, and others possessing great interest with their countrymen, and easy access to their sovereign, had long been influenced by hopes of reward to overthrow the authority of the laws, and even formally to repeal the old and to enact new ones. These men, the Scottish patriots affirmed, were under engagements to assent to the inclinations of the English, and to be subservient to their interests, before they were promoted to public employments. From the accession of James I. it was said, to the throne of England, a space of 100 years, the power of the magistrates, decisions, courts of justice, parliaments, authority, jurisdictions, allegiance, the conduct of the war and the laws themselves, had all been subjected to the direction of the English. The historian who relates these circumstances* adds, "All these particulars were made subjects of heavy complaints by the Scots; which however (says the historian) it is certain the Kings of England had it not in their power to redress: for Kings must of necessity humour the most powerful nation.†" It is to a similar cause to that of the Scottish grievances, that those of the Hungarians already mentioned, are to be traced;

and to a similar also, those of the Flemish nation; who were now accordingly determined to cut up the evil by the root.

The spirit of this people quickly appeared to be equal to the justice of their cause; and both seemed to be already triumphant. Even if they had not obtained such important advantages by an appeal to arms, if they had only been able to make head against their enemies; and prevent their excision or capture by retreating, according to circumstances, from one place to another, and training themselves to war by skirmishes in the field: even in this case there would have been ground, both in internal and external circumstances, for hope that this Fabian mode of conquest in the Netherlands, as in America, must have led to the confirmation and solid establishment of civil and political liberty. But the bold and vigorous spirit that animated the descendants of the ancient Belgæ, was not to be confined within that line of conduct which a less daring and hardy race of men might in similar circumstances have adopted. Regarding the numerous titles and armorial bearings of Joseph II. with contempt, and his armies without fear, they did not decline, but courted a conflict. At Turnhout, at Tirlemont, Ghent, and Brussels, the Flemish peasants rushed undaunted

* Alexander Cunningham, Esq. author of the History of Great Britain, from the Revolution 1688, to the Accession of George I: the only history of British affairs yet published that a reader of taste, judgment, and capable of entering into the profoundest views, can read with pleasure as a continuation of English and British history after the period Mr. Hume leaves off.

† Mr. Cunningham relates, and it seems to have been his own opinion, that all the evils of which the Scottish patriots complained, were boldly and openly ascribed by some of them to an omission in the Scottish parliament 1603; who should have declared the Scottish throne vacant when that prince chose to leave Scotland for England.

daunted into the very throat of war, sprung on the cannon that was pointed against them, turned them against their enemies, and boldly converted the engines of slavery and oppression into instruments of freedom.

Foreign nations were convinced that the Flemings were able (though not altogether without assistance) to make a successful stand; and their hopes now corresponded with their wishes. The march of the Prussians, after so great and decided victories on the side of the Flemings in so great force to the confines of the Netherlands, menaced nothing hostile to the avowed opponents of the House of Austria. The interposition of a new and powerful barrier, by the erection of the Netherlands into an independent state against the ambitious encroachments of Austria and of France, was an event greatly to be desired by the King of Prussia and the United Provinces, and consequently in some measure also by England, with whom these powers were in close alliance. Pacific and commercial states and individuals calculated the immense harvest to be expected from the full growth of industry, directed by the inspiring breath of liberty, into a thousand channels; while men

of cultivated minds, lovers of the arts and sciences, formed the most pleasing expectations from their revival in their former seat; from the connexion in small states between each individual state and the public; from that spirit of emulation which would subsist among the different states of the confederation, each retaining its own peculiar form of government; and that unity of design and action which would be given in any popular and common enterprize or cause to the exertions of the whole United Belgic states. Though divided from the Seven United Provinces by government, they would be united more and more by congeniality of manners, and the sympathies arising from commercial intercourse, and a common devotion to liberty, and hatred of despotism. Liege, and other small states adjacent, would naturally apply for admission into so prosperous a confederation. And, on the whole, the spirit of the ancient Grecian republics, though modified by a difference of climate, would unite and exalt the Belgic and other states in their neighbourhood, to a height of prosperity and improvement unexampled perhaps in what we know of the history of the world.

CHAP. III.

Miserable Effects of Democratical Principles. Patriotic Assembly instituted at Brussels. Their Reasonings and Claims. Political Constitution of the Provinces of the Netherlands. The Principles and Pretensions of the Patriotic Assembly offensive to the Nobility and Clergy. Means employed by these Orders for quashing the Doctrines of the Democrats. Effects of these. State of Parties. Preponderating Influence of the Clergy. Measures taken by the Nobility for the Recovery of their Popularity. Without any considerable Effect. Popular discontents rise to a pitch of Restlessness and Commotion. Troops employed for the Preservation of the Peace. Jealousies between the ruling Powers and the Leaders of the Army. General Vandermersch arrests Deputies sent with Orders to the Army from the Congress. Declared Generalissimo by the Officers of the Army.
Other

Other Encroachments on the part of Congress. Vandermersch suddenly and shamefully abandoned by the Army. Imprisoned in the Citadel of Antwerp. Charges brought against him. Duke of Ursel persecuted by Congress. The Congress becomes unpopular and odious to the bulk of the People. Imprisonment of Vandermersch resented by his Countrymen the people of Flanders. Declining State of the new Government. Expectations from the Accession of Leopold II. to the Austrian Dominions. Almost though not entirely disappointed. Memorial of Leopold to the inhabitants of the Netherlands. Criticisms on that Piece. Conduct of Leopold vindicated. Character of Sovereign Princes in general. The firmness of Leopold revives a party in his favour. Quick increase of the Loyalists, both in Numbers and Courage. Arguments in favour of a Reunion with the House of Austria, and of Hereditary Monarchy in general. Letter to Congress from the King of Prussia. Blind Ambition, Obstinacy, and Rashness of Congress. Notification to Congress of the Terms of Reconciliation between his Imperial Majesty and the Belgic Nation. Consented to by the three allied and mediating Powers. Strange Obstinacy of Congress. A degree of Reunion among the discordant Parties in the Netherlands brought about by a common Hatred of the Austrian Government. Hostilities renewed with great Animosity, Two of the provinces that remained in Obedience to the Austrians. A great Resource to the Austrians. Rapid Growth of Ambition. Character of the Brabanters. Wild Schemes of Conquest. Repulse of the Brabanters from Limbourg. Various Encounters. A large Austrian Army marches against the Low Countries. Attempts of Congress to rouse the Nation to Perseverance in Arms against the Austrians. Made in vain. Various Proposals for Reconciliation. Rejected by the Austrians. The Austrians, under General Bender, enter Brabant. All the Provinces submit again, on very favourable Conditions, to the House of Austria. Reflections.

THIS splendid prospect was miserably blasted by the usual effects of prosperity in removing the compression of common necessity and danger, and loosening the arch of political society by internal dissensions and contests.

The same new and extravagant principles in politics, morals, and religion, that had seized, like an epidemic disease, on so great a majority of the infatuated people of France, had made their way into the Low Countries, and prevailed more and more in proportion to the success of the Belgic arms. The Jacobin Club in Paris had their emissaries in the

Netherlands, as in other countries; and great numbers of deserters from the French armies, enlisted in those of the Belgic states, were at the same time not a little instrumental in propagating the same ideas that had excited such unhappy commotions in their own country. While the deputies from the different states were employed in the manner and for the purposes above related, a number of individuals met together at Brussels, and formed an association under the name of the Patriotic Assembly. They freely and openly, at regular meetings, discussed all questions of policy and government. They de-

cided on these by vote, passed resolutions, and proposed several reforms with respect to the subjects of their discussion. Among their other acts, soon after the expulsion of the Austrians from Brussels, they drew up, printed, and published, a paper, under the title of "An Address to the States of Brabant," in the name of the people at large, but more particularly of the subscribers. In this piece, subscribed by 2,000 names, among which were not a few of respectable character and condition, they pointed out many defects in the new arrangement of public affairs, and the constitution arising out of it; complaining, above all things, of the inadequate share possessed by the commons, and even the greater part of the other two estates, the nobility and the clergy, in the national representation. The reasoning employed in this address, or in general by what we shall call, for the sake of precision, the democratical party,* was to the following purpose:—"The sovereign power, on the dismissal of the Emperor, and the declared independence of the Belgic provinces, was exercised with great propriety by the states-general: even in former *interregnums* the same had been exercised by the states in former times. The authority which *pro re nata* they have assumed, can only be temporary and provisional; and for their assumption of this authority, as well as their use of it, they are responsible to the Belgic nation. It is most absurd in the partisans of aristocratical despotism to maintain the authority of the states-general, even

to perpetuity, on the ground of aversion to innovation, and a regard to the preservation of the ancient constitution. The ancient constitution of the Austrian Netherlands is no more: it fell by the stroke that cut off its head: in that head, Joseph II. of Austria, representative of the Dukes of Burgundy, the functions of the other branches of the legislature centered. They were not original and absolute, but relative and conditional. They had a reference to the sovereign, on the one hand, and to the people, on the other, whose privileges it was their duty and business to protect against the encroachments of the sovereign. They were a barrier, an intermediate power between the sovereign and his subjects. The sovereign power being annihilated, or, what is worse, the sovereign power being super-added to that of the states-general, where is there to be found a power between the people and this new, alarming, and monstrous aristocracy?

"The states of Brabant, the freest of all the provinces, and the model to which the rest wish on all occasions to conform, is composed of three orders, the clergy, the nobility, and the third estate; it might, therefore, be naturally imagined that these three orders would involve, in one shape or other, a pretty fair representation of the Belgic nation; but this is by no means the case. There is no representation whatever of the great body of the common people, nor of the clergy, nor even of the nobility and gentry: the right of sitting

* The attributive *democratical* is not quite synonymous with *popular*, in common acceptation. The authority of the clergy was popular, but odious to the democrats.

sitting and voting in the assembly of the states is confined to the abbots of male convents, to about twenty-seven out of a numerous nobility, and to a few deputies from the different trades or corporations of the chief cities. Anciently, the smaller cities or towns, and even the villages, were possessed of *franchises*, which entitled them to seats in the third estate of the national assembly: but from the natural process of delegation and sub-delegation in all popular power, the representatives of the people of Brabant, were limited at last to deputies from Louvain, Brussels, and Antwerp. Thus the constitution of the states-general of the Netherlands is the most aristocratical that can be well imagined. This assembly of men, in the constitution of which the public voice has scarcely any share at all, can never be regarded as the representation, or genius, if we may say so, of the nation. But if they had indeed a title to be regarded in this light, still they would not have any title to assume the reins of government, and to convert a subordinate, or if they will, for the sake of argument, a co-ordinate, into an absolute power; the parliament of the catholic provinces would, at best, be in the predicament of the parliament of Great Britain during the interregnum occasioned by the late indisposition of the King. Though this assembly was more popular than the states-general, and had fairer pretensions to be considered as the voice of the people; they never conceived the idea of governing the nation, even for a time, by their own authority, but proceeded without delay to the declaration of a regent. Experience had taught

the British nation to consider a perpetual parliament exercising a direct power over the people, without any control, as an object of terror. The partial, summary, and iniquitous proceedings of the English parliament in the time of Charles I. which serve as a beacon to the British, ought also to forewarn the Belgic nation of the calamities to be apprehended from despotic power, whether it belodged in the hands of one man or of many. The states-general are in the situation of a chamberlain or steward, who, on the death of his lord, continues, without any express commission, to manage affairs for the benefit of his lawful heir, to whom he gives an account of his conduct; or of a character known to the Romans and the Roman law, under the name of *negotiorum sistor*.

“The states-general are therefore responsible to the people for all that they have done and advised since the deposition of the Emperor: the sooner that they call a national assembly, the more effectually will they secure their own safety, and the tranquillity and security of the commonwealth. If the Belgic provinces are not yet ripe for a civil constitution, framed on the mode of that which is in the act of being reared in France, at least let a successor be appointed to Joseph II.; at least let the constitution, such as it was before the dismissal of that ambitious man, be restored; and let improvements be made afterwards as opportunities may invite, and as the spirit of the times may bear or require. Till the old constitution be restored, or a new one established on the basis of liberty and justice, it would be the greatest madness in the triple alliance,

alliance, or in any other power, to enter into a treaty with the Catholic provinces."

Such principles and pretensions were highly offensive to the two upper orders, who foreseeing that, by the admission of these the influence which they had hitherto exercised with so little control, would be greatly diminished, laboured to quash them, together with the spirit in which they originated. For this end they employed the *Curés*, or parish-priests, of the towns and villages of the provinces, to visit their respective parishioners, and to use their utmost influence for inducing them to sign a counter-address, requesting the states to seize and punish, in an exemplary manner, all those disturbers of the public tranquillity, who wished to introduce innovations and changes in the religion, in the constitution, or in the present form in which the nation is represented by the three orders of the state, which it has chosen for its representatives. The *Curés*, habituated throughout life to the greatest intimacy and friendship with their parishioners, reluctant to press a measure which they knew to be contrary to the sentiments and inclinations of so great a portion of them, and sympathizing perhaps more with the third estate than the higher orders of the clergy and the nobility, do not seem to have been very zealous in performing the task assigned to them: certain it is, at least, that they were not very successful. The counter-address received but slow and scanty support: nor is there any certain information that it was ever presented. While the united Belgic states endeavoured to recommend their cause to the

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public by means of the priests, they took care, as far as was possible, that the eloquence of the priests should suffer no counteraction from that of the press; which by a decree passed on the 12th of January, 1790, two days after the declaration of independency and the formation of the new government, was to remain under the same restrictions as formerly; that is to say, that all publications whatever, without exception, should continue as usual, subject to the previous examination and judgment of clerical, or lay-censors, according to the nature of the matter treated of in such publications; and that all printers, booksellers, and hawkers, should be answerable for the matter contained in the books, pamphlets, or papers, which they should publish.

This marked solicitude to keep the minds of men under control, only served to excite the greater dissatisfaction on the part of all who aimed at a more popular form of government. These might be reduced to three classes: 1st, The burghers and inhabitants of towns, reckoning in that number the trading and manufacturing parts of the community, whether living in towns, villages, or any part of the country. 2d, That numerous and still increasing class of men, of various situations and professions, who were smitten with what began about this time to be called the French Contagion. 3rd, Some of the lower nobility, and their descendants, who served in the Belgic army; a great portion of the military men in general, and particularly of brave officers mostly of the third estate, and without whose bold spirit and extraordinary exertions

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tions in bringing undisciplined to encounter and to vanquish disciplined troops, the revolution could not have been accomplished. This class of men thought it hard that their eminent services, and the dangers they had undergone had not contributed, in any respect, to better their condition; and that the Austrian yoke was to be exchanged only for a similar despotism placed in the hands of a few of their own countrymen. On the whole, the third estate suspected that the two higher orders, without any consideration of the commons, or regard to either their rights or interests, meant nothing more than to engross all power to themselves, whether as orders or individuals. But this order, if we may call it so, of democracy, was divided into two classes, by a very important distinction. The greater and more opulent part of the burghers, and a few others, who would have been contented with a more equal, yet moderate share in the representation; and men, whose ideas led them to objects far beyond those which the leaders of the revolution or the sober part of the burghers had in view, or even what they had in view themselves; and who, exactly in the spirit of the revolutionists in France, were in a train of continued innovation.

As the third estate, intermixed and supported by numbers of democrats, were united for the present in opposition to the two higher orders, so these orders were united only by a common opposition to the third estate with their democratical adherents; for each at bottom wished, and in the progress of the revolution exhibited unequivocal symptoms of a design to

engross the sovereign power in their own hands. These two parties, in point of strength and pretensions, seemed to be pretty equally balanced. On the side of the nobility were large inheritances in land, derived from high antiquity of family; the reverence which these circumstances have ever been found to inspire in every country and age; but which in the Netherlands was carried even beyond its usual pitch; the virtues which adorned several of the principal nobility of the present day; the great share which they had in the accomplishment of the revolution, and the extraordinary stakes they had hazarded and risks they had run on that occasion. But the lower and most numerous class of nobles were influenced by hatred and envy of the higher: separate views were entertained by both; the order in general was loose and disjointed, incapable of unity, of design and action, of co-operation, energy, and effect.

In favour of the clergy, we have to reckon that extraordinary degree of power which they had possessed in the provinces from time immemorial; and which, until the late attacks by the restless and mischievous Joseph, had continued unimpaired; large landed possessions, and not a little personal wealth; the peculiar and extreme bigotry of the Flemings, and attachment to every thing relating to the church; and the advantages which the priests possessed on all occasions of contest in the practice of auricular confession; their union and discipline; the secrecy of their councils; the closeness and constancy with which they pursued their object; and, above all,

all, the facility with which their powers might be collected into one centre and system of action.

As the power and authority of the clergy depended chiefly on the ascendancy they possessed over the minds of the people, particularly of the country people (and it was evident that all contests in an unsettled state of affairs must ultimately be decided in favour of that party which could command the greatest numbers and physical force); as the power of the clergy still gained ground on the one hand, and the discontents of the people still increased on the other,—the nobility thought it necessary to make an attempt for the recovery of their popularity. In the month of February it was proposed, and by the sovereign congress of the united Belgic states, that there should be an addition of two members for each of the principal towns to the representation of the third estate. This measure restored, in some degree, the confidence of the most moderate men among the commons. But the general discontent and restlessness of what we have called the democratical class, or order, instead of being quieted, continued to increase, and rose at last to such a pitch, in consequence of unfounded rumours concerning despotic designs on the part of a few of the strongest states, that large parties of horse and foot, by order of the states, patrolled the principal streets in Brussels, and

other great towns, by day and by night; insomuch that the new commonwealth began to wear the appearance of a military government. In the mean time, the prisons were crowded with criminals, or suspected persons, whose wants and sufferings rendered them ripe for the most desperate attempts: nor could the sympathy of those without, as was apprehended, be restrained from effecting their liberation, and joining in such attempts, otherwise than by an armed force. It was on the army, accordingly, in this distracted and unsettled state of affairs, that the decision of all internal dissensions and contests wholly depended. But a jealousy arose between the ruling powers and the leaders of the army, already, as has been observed, very generally disaffected, which proved more fatal than any other jealousy or discontent that had yet appeared, to the new government. Amongst all the officers who had distinguished themselves on the side of the patriots, general Vandermersch, abovementioned, was the most distinguished by the brilliancy and successes of his military enterprizes: nor was the respect and admiration, in which he was justly held, confined to his own country, but extended to every part of Europe.* The general was one of that great number of military men who had become very much dissatisfied with the conduct of the congress: nor was he at any pains to conceal his sentiments

* Vandermersch, by his early and abrupt desertion from the imperial service (in which he had held the rank of colonel) to that of his country, on the first dawns of the revolution, excited the resentment and indignation of Joseph to such a degree, that, by an immediate order in the emperor's own hand to general d'Alton, he was hanged in effigy in the front of the army, which was drawn out for that purpose. His imperial majesty, in the same letter to d'Alton, expressed his earnest wishes, and his sanguine hopes, that this mock execution would soon be realized.

sentiments, but expressed them with the manly openness of a soldier; which seemed still further to spread and heighten them in the army, by whom he was not more generally respected and admired than trusted and beloved. Towards the close of March, 1790, deputies were sent by the congress to Namur, where the acting part of the army employed against the Austrians was stationed, under general Vandermersch's orders. Their object evidently was, to remove him from his command, or, at least, from his office. In this new and dangerous situation Vandermersch determined on a bold stroke; but which was his only hope of liberty or life. He ordered the deputies from the congress to be immediately arrested, and committed to prison.* Immediately after this step, he issued a proclamation, May 30, 1790, in which without taking any notice of the congress by name, he says, that evil designing persons, strongly suspected of having incited the pillage and proscriptions which had taken place in Brussels, were arrived there for the purpose of sowing sedition, calumniating the loyal intentions of the general and the army; and that it had therefore been thought necessary to remove every cause of alarm, by declaring that he was himself placed at the head of the army, for the purpose of defending the Roman Catholic faith, with the civil and religious rights of the people; which he was determined to protect from all invasion. It appears, that during certain disputes and bickerings that had taken place between the civil

powers and the army, the officers had nominated Vandermersch to be commander-in-chief of the Belgic forces, and applied for the confirmation of their choice to congress, but without effect, as was indeed to be expected; having gone so far in violation of the authority of congress, and being conscious that mutual confidence between that council and the army could not henceforth exist. On the day after that on which the general issued his declaration, the officers unanimously passed and published the following resolutions: That general Vandermersch shall continue generalissimo of the Belgic army: That the duke of Ursel should instantly be placed at the head of the war departments: That the prince of Aremberg, count of La Marck (son of the duke, and whose military talents are generally known as well as the proofs he gave of his patriotism at the commencement of the revolution in offering his services to the committee of Breda) shall be appointed second in command of the army, next to general Vandermersch; and that addresses of supplication shall be sent to all the provinces, inviting them to co-operate with the army for the reformation of abuses, and the re-establishment of order.

Intelligence being received of these proceedings, the sovereign congress, without delay or hesitation, issued orders for the troops at Brussels, and in various other stations, to march towards Namur; near which a place of rendezvous was appointed, where they were to form a junction and advance, in order to bring the opposite army to reason;

* Similar measures in similar circumstances were, in 1792 and 1793, adopted by the French generals, La Fayette and Dumourier.

reason; so that every thing now bore the aspect of a civil war. By what means this was prevented, or by what motives of hope or of fear, or sudden impulse of passion of any kind, the officers and army could be induced unanimously, and most shamefully to abandon their general, whom they themselves had so recently exalted to too dangerous a point of pre-eminence, to the rage of his enemies, we are entirely ignorant. But who can bear to relate or to read, without the most painful emotions of sympathetic grief and indignation, that the brave general Vandermersch obtained no other reward for his eminent services than to be confined and drag out a miserable existence in a dungeon of the citadel of Antwerp!

The charges laid by the congress against Vandermersch, and for which they at first determined to bring him to trial for life or death, were "That, forgetting that he derived all his authority from them, he had permitted himself to be chosen generalissimo by the officers of his army, endeavoured to retain that situation by force; that, with equal violence, he had presumed to violate the sovereignty of the states, by arresting their deputies to the army under his command; and that by these and other violent proceedings, he had nearly involved the country in a civil war."

The hostility of the congress was at the same time pointed against the duke of Ursel: a prince of large paternal estates as well as honours, being hereditary chief of the order of nobility in Brabant; and who had rendered himself extremely popular by his patriotism, munificence, and other virtues. The duke

even before the declaration of the army, had become an object of jealousy and aversion to the congress; who suspected that this chief with a few others of the nobility of the greatest estates and largest share of popularity and influence, aimed under the pretence of a regard to freedom, of drawing to themselves and perhaps a few others, the chief share in the administration of government. The duke of Ursel, it is said, was particularly suspected and obnoxious to the higher orders of the clergy; and therefore, at the pressing solicitations not only of his own friends, but even those of certain deputies of the states, he retired for protection from poison or assassination, into the province of Flanders. In this retreat the suspicions and the vengeance of the supreme rulers did not suffer him to remain long without molestation. By their authority, and chiefly the influence and instigations of Van Eupen, an ecclesiastic and a leading member of congress, the states of Flanders were induced to arrest and confine the duke of Ursel; without any form of justice. Five weeks were spent in fruitless attempts to discover some plausible ground of crimination against the duke. His judges declared, and authorized himself to publish and proclaim his innocence. The states of Flanders attempted to prolong his confinement, and to suppress the decision which the judges had given in his favour. They applied to certain companies of volunteers to carry their arbitrary mandates into execution. On the refusal of the volunteers to comply with so unjust a requisition, the states endeavoured to have him carried off by night, in order to put him into the hands of
their

their accomplices in Brabant. The party sent to perpetrate this deed, succeeded so far as to tear the duke from his family and force him into a carriage; when the volunteers interposed, and effected his deliverance.

The severe conduct of the congress towards Vandermersch, and the violence both of congress and the states of Flanders respecting the duke of Ursel, rendered them generally unpopular and odious. But the public hatred and indignation were chiefly pointed against Vandernoot and Van Eupen, two men who, in close connexion together, carried all things in the congress, and by their influence possessed in fact all the executive powers of the state. It was universally said by the democratical party, "That priests and feudal tyrants had seized the sceptre and sword of the chief magistrate of Belgium, and used them as instruments of injustice and cruelty against the most patriotic exalted characters in the nation. The Belgic nation had not resisted the encroachments of a single tyrant, in order to exalt the power of a few ecclesiastics and civil chiefs, but to restore and maintain the rights of the people and of human nature." The people of Flanders resented the imprisonment and prosecution of Vandermersch, who was a native of their province (and of whom they were with reason proud) as an act of the most injurious and outrageous nature: and if matters had been left to the tide of popular passions, a rupture might have taken place between the two great provinces of the union. This was prevented by a mutual agreement between the states of the different provinces, to

make certain changes in their respective governments.

The new government of the Netherlands, already shaken in so short a space of time by discordant interests, opinions, and passions, now began to totter greatly, and was soon to fall. The army, with their general and their honour, lost their spirit; and defeats from the Austrians, of late so much despised, became not unfrequent. A grand expedition being formed by government against the Austrians, it became of course necessary to raise supplies of both men and money. But so unpopular had the sovereign congress become in the principal cities, and so low their credit, that Vandernoot having applied for loans of money, met with a repulse at Antwerp and other places in the rich provinces of the Netherlands. He was not more successful in his attempts in England and Holland. Some corps, however, of Brabanters were brought together. But the towns of Flanders peremptorily refused to send a single man to join them:—nor did the intended expedition meet with much greater encouragement even in the city of Brussels, where the military spirit had been raised so lately to so extraordinary a pitch of ardour; so that the enterprize, after considerable expense, was abandoned.

Having thus far followed the new order of affairs in the provinces, and also its consequences at home, we shall now take a view of the effects produced by both these on foreign nations.

The emperor Joseph 2nd, humbled by misfortune, weakened by disease, and receding from his perfidy and pride in proportion as he approached

approached his end, had manifested an intention of treating the Netherlands and his other dominions with greater justice, moderation, and prudence, than had hitherto characterized his government. About the time of issuing his last memorial from Vienna, he gave further evidence of this change in his disposition, by dispatching the count Cobentzel, so highly distinguished by his diplomatic talents, to Brussels, in the hope of restoring tranquillity and order, and effecting a re-union with the Belgic provinces.* The death of Joseph, which happened on the 20th of February, 1790, as above related, and the accession of his brother Leopold, afforded a very considerable degree of expectation that a reconciliation and re-union might be effected between the people of the Netherlands and the new successor to the Austrian dominions, who was not personally an object of dislike, aversion, and mistrust, like their late sovereign; but who, on the contrary, had gained universal applause on account of the moderation of his disposition, as well as the mild and equitable administration of his government during so many years as the grand duke of Tuscany. The general expectations that had been formed from a review of the manners and conduct of this prince, were not answered by a memorial which he transmitted to the inhabitants of the Netherlands soon after his ar-

rival at Vienna: and still less was it satisfactory to the people to whom it was addressed. In that piece, Leopold, while he greatly blames the perfidious and despotic conduct of his deceased brother, "makes the strongest professions on his own part, of lenity, kindness, and affection for the people; and gives them the strongest assurances of his disposition and intention to redress all their real grievances. But at the same time he asserts, in the highest terms, his undoubted right to the sovereignty of the Austrian Netherlands, and insinuates a threat, that no power on earth shall deprive him of that right, while he possesses the means of maintaining it."

This memorial was considered by many at the time, and has since been pronounced by several writers, to be ungracious for a first address from a throne, and, on the whole, ill-judged and impolitic. It appears to us in a different light, as being in exact conformity with his maxims of government already noticed, on the occasion of mentioning his mode of settling the affairs of Hungary: a prudent mixture of condescension with firmness.

It was evident that the united Belgic states were every day becoming, from their internal jealousies and dissensions, less formidable than they had at first appeared to be. Ambitious, interested, and sordid views, became more and more apparent

* It would serve no purpose of either interest or instruction, to enter into a detail respecting this mission. The result of it was, that the states of Brabant transmitted a document to Vienna, which might be considered as their *ultimatum*, containing conditions of re-union, amounting very nearly to total independence, and leaving to the emperor little more than a nominal sovereignty: conditions which they could not expect, and probably did not wish to be accepted.

apparent in all their conduct. They had begun now to be considered as equally incapable of framing, adopting, or maintaining any wise and equitable system of government, not only by the court of Vienna, but by the three allied powers, Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland, who, in the beginning of the contest, had shown so lively a disposition to afford them countenance and support. And, in fine, matters were in train for an accommodation and settlement of all disputes both between the king of Hungary and his own subjects, as well as foreign nations, by the treaty which took place soon after, at Reichenbach. The memorial of Leopold was not impolitic, if policy is to be estimated merely by its subserviency to views of interest and ambition. Nor yet does there appear to be any proposition in the memorial inconsistent with the most enlarged, equitable, and benevolent system of policy. Few, if any, constitutions of government were in fact better than that of which the Flemings were in possession before the invasions of the late emperor. This constitution Leopold engaged to restore. There was not the least reason to suppose either that he would break his promise, or be backward to concur in any wise measure that might be at any time proposed for bettering the condition of the people. The whole tenor of his life and conduct proved the humanity of his disposition, and his moderation in matters of government. It was extravagant to suppose that Leopold, mild and pacific as he was known to be, would yet give up his hereditary claim to such an inheritance as the low countries, without a strug-

gle; nor was there any reason to hope, from actual circumstances, that he would have consulted by such a relinquishment the interests of the Flemings, any more than those of his own family. Sovereign princes, of the softest and gentlest tempers, have had recourse to arms rather than submit to a deprivation of any portion of their dominions; as had been proved by instances even in the history of the low countries. There could not be a greater contrast in point of natural disposition, than what had been exhibited in two sovereign princes of the Austrian race, Philip II and Philip III, kings of Spain, and sovereign lords also, as heirs to the dukes of Burgundy, of the Netherlands: the former ambitious, perfidious, and cruel: the latter, peaceable, just, and humane. Yet Philip III continued, as long as he was able, the war that had been begun and carried on so long by his father, Philip II.

The humbler the station in which men are placed in life, the more circumscribed their views; the loftier the eminence on which they stand, the more extensive the prospect around them. The mendicant lives, as it were, from day to day; the labouring poor from week to week; and even the manufacturer and merchant are usually governed by the circumstances and tone of the present month and year. The man of landed property takes root in the earth, is ambitious to establish and aggrandize his family, embraces in his views a wide horizon, and casting his eyes forward over the long length of time for which he expects his estate to remain in the possession of his natural heirs, endeavours to fix such maxims

ims in his family, and to make such arrangements, as shall secure the patrimony he leaves, against the caprices and follies of individuals, and transmit it with additions, at least without diminution, from generation to generation. But most of all do the heads of royal houses carry their views backward into past, and forward into future times. Surveying the images of their ancestry, and anticipating in their imagination the fancied forms of a progeny yet unborn, they consider themselves as accountable to those invisible judges of their conduct. Their own personal character is modified, in some measure, by that of the race from whence they are sprung. The aggrandizement of this, in some shape or other, is generally among their governing passions.

Though the character of Leopold, therefore, was as opposite to the character of Joseph II as that of Philip II was to Philip III of Austria, still it was not to be expected that he, any more than Philip the Pious and Good,* should renounce the claims of his family. The love of sovereign power was as natural to the representatives of the Austrians, as that of liberty was to the people of the Netherlands: nor were these passions, though different, necessarily of an opposite and mutually hostile nature, the stability and the glory of monarchical power being best promoted by a just regard to the interests and rights of the people; and the interests and rights of the people being safest under the wing of a limited monarchy. The declared intention of Leopold to assert and maintain his rights of sovereignty to the provinces, revived a

party that had for some time, in the midst of the violent dissensions and contests that divided and tore the country, lain dormant. This was the loyalists, or friends to the House of Austria; who now began to declare themselves openly, to be distinguished by cockades of a different colour from those of the patriots, and who, being probably joined by many persons of other parties who were dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, appeared to be by far more numerous than they had been before imagined. In proportion as aversion to the present government prevailed, the loyalists increased in numbers and in courage. The inhabitants of several villages assembled in bodies, wearing Austrian cockades, displaying Austrian standards, and, until the troops were collected for their dispersion, proceeded to various acts of irregularity and violence. It was evident that the Congress did not possess either the dispositions, the talents, or the authority that would have been necessary for conciliating, harmonizing, and governing so divided a people. Many moderate and judicious men, who had at the outset favoured the revolution, began to compare the present miserable posture of affairs with the tranquillity and contentment enjoyed under Maria Theresa. Their attachment to the family of their ancient sovereigns revived; they recollected, that from the period when the Burgundian provinces were united to the Austrian dominions to the present time, from the archduke Maximilian to Joseph II there was but one instance of an Austrian monarch attacking what might be called

* The epithet bestowed by the Spaniards on Philip III.

called his maternal inheritance. "Ah!" it was commonly said by men of sober and sound minds at the very commencement of the troubles, "if the emperor were to come amongst us, alone and unarmed as the successor to the sovereign dukes of Burgundy, we would receive him with open arms:—but the archduke, or rather the genius of the House of Austria, is ever to be suspected."

Nevertheless, when it became evident that a double aristocracy had combined with the rudest of the people, only for the purposes of self-interest and aggrandizement, and all things were involved in public confusion and calamity, the evils that might be apprehended from a re-union with a power so greatly superior to that of the provinces, were compared with those to be certainly expected from a continuance of the present distractions. "If the states-general," it was observed, "should continue to hold the reins of government in the Catholic Netherlands, the Belgic nation groans under the pressure of a twofold and a species of monstrous aristocracy; if a republic is attempted, there is the utmost reason to fear, from what we have seen, that anarchy and uproar will ensue; and terminate, as anarchies usually do, in the tyranny of one man. Various popular leaders would put in their claim to the supreme power, and the nation would not be able to obtain even the lethargic shades of despotism without wading to them through blood: the government might become elective, and

the horrors of a civil war be repeated at every election. An hereditary monarchy when duly modified, the best species of government, would prevent those calamities which so often overtook the Roman empire, and which now so frequently desolate eastern nations, and have so often afflicted the kingdom of Poland. A claimant, with so natural a title to the Burgundian throne, and so fair a character as Leopold, ought not to be opposed in the present circumstances, but received with joy. He is willing to grant all that the Flemings can desire for the security of their privileges: he has never yet been known to forfeit his word any more than his title to be their sovereign."

The declining power of the congress, and its approaching dissolution, in some way or other, was perceptible to most people but themselves, when they received a letter about the middle of August from the king of Prussia, signifying that he had acknowledged Leopold * to be duke of Brabant: an acknowledgment which implied his succession, under different titles,† to the other Austrian provinces in the Netherlands.

So intoxicated were the congress by the small taste they had received of supreme power, that they would not suffer themselves to see that the fate of the Netherlands, for the present, was undoubtedly decided by the convention of Reichenbach: but, in spite of internal division and an external union among so many great powers, in opposition to their pretensions

* According to the terms of the treaty of Reichenbach, concluded on the 27th of July, as stated in a preceding chapter.

† As earls of Flanders, &c. &c.

pretensions; and notwithstanding the recent proof they had received of their unpopularity and inability to carry on any great enterprize, they obstinately, rashly, and madly endeavoured to prolong the existence of their short-lived government by force of arms. Concealing the purport of the king of Prussia's letter from the public, they assumed an appearance of extraordinary vigour, courage, and confidence. They issued long printed proposals for raising a vast patriotic army; a scheme which, like the former project of a grand expedition against the Austrians, came to nothing.

The new emperor, immediately after his coronation, issued a manifesto respecting the Austrian Netherlands at Frankfort, on the 14th of October 1790, fraught with paternal sentiments of affection, and breathing a spirit of moderation, peace, and conciliation. It was conceived in a milder and more gracious tone than his former declaration, after his arrival at Vienna. His conduct was the reverse of that of Joseph, who carried matters with a high and heavy hand, when he did not apprehend any resistance; but who, when vigorously opposed, put on the appearance of gentleness, and a regard to humanity and justice. Leopold, raised to the throne of the empire, and supported by the three allied powers, could afford to make concessions to the provinces with a good grace, and without seeming to make them from any other motives than those of princely magnanimity and goodness. He engaged in the most solemn manner, "under the obligation of an oath, to be taken at his inauguration, and under the guarantee of the courts of London

and Berlin, and the republic of the United Provinces, to govern each of his Belgian provinces according to the constitutions, charters, and privileges which were in force during the reign of the late empress. He invites, calls, and summons all his Belgic subjects to acknowledge his lawful authority, and to take an oath of fidelity and allegiance; declaring that he will bury in profound oblivion all the excesses and disorders committed during these late years by a general amnesty, to be published in favour of all who, before the 21st of November next, shall lay down their arms, and put an end to all instigations and attempts against the peaceable exercise of his authority. He declares that, as soon as the cessation of the present troubles shall have afforded an opportunity for his solemn inauguration, successively and separately in the respective provinces, he will receive with pleasure, examine with attention, and treat with confidence, in concert with the states of each of the provinces, all the demands, general and particular, which, without destroying the constitution, shall have some direct reference to the public prosperity. His imperial majesty proceeds in his manifesto to state certain measures to be pursued for ascertaining the wishes of all the classes of the citizens who shall have in the respective provinces an interest really founded on the public good; and also for securing the freedom of suffrage in all elections: and he conjures and entreats them separately, in the name of that oath which they had sworn to their country, which, he says, is as dear to him as it is to them, not to re-
pulse

pulse the hand which he stretches out to them, and which is the hand of an affectionate father."

A notification of the same terms of reconciliation and peace, dated at the Hague the 14th of Oct., was sent by the mediating powers to the congress. The emperor's manifesto, so well calculated to make good impressions on the minds of the Flemings in general, produced no effect on the conduct of the congress. In a short printed paper, handed about as their answer, they totally denied his claim of any right to the sovereignty of that country derived from his ancestors; and asserted, that though many of them had enjoyed the sovereignty of the Netherlands, they owed it entirely to the free choice of the people, who had a right to choose for their governors whomsoever they pleased.

The same common hatred of the Austrian government that had united so many different and even discordant parties in unity of design and action, in the first movements towards a revolution, re-united them in some measure, and for some little time, in the present alarming crisis, after they had been disunited by the usual influence of extraordinary success. The democratical party, now including the army, seemed to lose sight of the encroachments of the double aristocracy, while they contemplated the foreign yoke which they had lately thrown off; but to which they were summoned again to submit. The war on the confines of the territories that remained in the possession of the Austrians, was renewed with great animosity, and much blood spilt to no end: and all this, notwithstanding the amic-

able and incessant interposition of the allied powers, who represented the futility and cruelty of efforts so wild and extravagant.

In the present contest between the house of Austria and the Netherlands, two provinces remained in obedience to the former, and acted with great vigour against the latter. These provinces were Luxemburgh and Limbourg. They were a great resource to the Austrians, who without them must have been compelled to evacuate the low countries.

The defection, or rather the non-accession of the province of Limbourg to the confederation of the united Belgic states, was so highly resented by the Brabanters, that eight hundred of them, in the pride of new sovereignty, in the month of January, set out for the invasion of that country, in order to punish another people for laying claim to the same freedom of mind and conduct which they exercised themselves. The natives of Brabant are generally said to be of a more mercurial disposition than those of the other provinces, and in their nature to mingle with the phlegm of the Netherlanders the volatility and arrogance of the French. Nothing less was talked of, after the Austrians were driven from Brussels, than the conquest of the duchy and strong city and fortress of Luxemburgh. And so rapid is the growth of blind ambition, that distant hints were thrown out of the propriety of re-uniting the French provinces to their old neighbours and co-estates, the new Belgic republic.

The river Meuse was a fortunate barrier between the people of Brabant

bant and those of Limbourg. The Brabanters being encountered, on their attempt to cross this river, by a party of Austrians were entirely defeated and driven back in great disorder, with the loss of above three hundred men. This repulse served only to inflame the rage of the Brabanters: a strong detachment of the patriotic army, furnished with artillery, was sent for the formal invasion and conquest of Limbourg. But still the Meuse lay in the way; and no other method occurred for surmounting that obstacle, than an application to the people for leave to pass the river by the bridge of that city. A Prussian general, then stationed at Liege, possessed such influence, if not authority, over the turbulent Liegeois, that, contrarily to their own disposition and wishes, which accorded entirely with those of the people of Brabant, he procured a refusal of their request. The expedition against the Limbourghers was dropt for some time, but revived on the occasion just mentioned. After the receipt of the letter from the king of Prussia, and the manifesto of Leopold from Frankfort, a force was collected consisting chiefly of the peasantry of Brabant, of near thirty thousand men, among whom was a number of parochial clergy and monks, who marched in the ranks with crucifixes in their hands, and fortified the resolution of their countrymen by sentiments of devotion. On the entrance of this undisciplined, but bold and hardy, multitude into the province of Limbourg, they were met by a very large body of the inhabitants, supported by a strong corps of Austrian regulars. The confederates were suffered to

advance till they came into a narrow space of ground, where their numbers could not avail them, and where they were attacked with a degree of skill as well as of spirit, that threw them into a disorder from which they never recovered. They fled, and were pursued with a great slaughter. This victory, which nearly decided the contest, was obtained by the Austrians on the 23rd of September. But such was the obstinacy of the confederates, that five days subsequent to their defeat, they collected a large force under general Rochler, a very active and expert commander, in the hope of counteracting by some signal success the great misfortune they had sustained. They attacked with great spirit, and gained some important advantages over the enemy, whose cannon they took, and who lost a very considerable number of men. But the Austrians found means in their retreat to rally behind some works, where they made a stand and renewed the fight; in which the confederates were worsted, in their turn. These met with success in several ensuing skirmishes: but this did not balance the disaster in Limbourg; which was of so serious a nature, as to strike terror into the whole confederacy.

It was now the general opinion of the Netherlands of all classes, that the affairs of the confederacy were not to be retrieved by any effort in their power.

The Austrian army was on its march through Germany to the low countries. It amounted to more than 30,000 men, and was composed of the best troops in the emperor's service. The leaders of the Belgic confederacy, having failed in their attempts

attempts to raise the supplies they had demanded, began to think it necessary to secure their own safety in time, by accepting the proffers that had been made to them by the emperor, and to be guaranteed by the three allied powers. Many propositions were made on the part of those who were the most zealous opposers of the Austrian government, and who, could they have been seconded and supported, would have encountered any hazards, in order to prevent its restoration. Those, however, who had been most active in the late transactions, apprehended that the severity which had so long characterised the Austrian councils would not include them in this act of oblivion: the benefit of which might possibly be much restricted in the actual application, when once the authority of the court of Vienna should be again completely re-established and secured.

In this state of the public mind, the congress assembled on the 5th of November. The principal orders of the community, on so serious an occasion were admitted. The president made an animated speech to the whole of the assembly on the subject of the imperial manifesto; requesting their formal declaration, whether they would accept or reject it? To this it was replied by one of the heads of the people, who spoke in the name of the rest, that "having drawn their swords in defence of their liberty, they would not sheath them till it was obtained; and would not, therefore, pay any regard to the invitations of the emperor, to return under his government." These words being spoken, the manifesto was laid on the table, and the pre-

sident of the congress, together with the spokesman of the people, ran their swords into it as a sign of defiance. This daring deed was intended to revive the spirits of the people, and proportionably to discourage an invasion by the Austrians. Another ceremony, of a still more singular nature was practised for the same end. At another, and one of the last meetings of congress, Van Eupen entered the assembly, dressed in his official vestments, and holding a crucifix in his hand. This he placed in a chair of state, and kneeling before it, protested in the most solemn manner that he would never pay allegiance to the emperor or house of Austria. But neither this nor the former ceremony produced the effect for which they were both intended. It was not until the very eve of the day appointed for their submission, that they came to any specific determination. A proposal was then made, that the Archduke Charles, third son of the emperor, should be acknowledged sovereign of the Netherlands: the succession to remain in his family, but not to revert to any branch of the house of Austria possessing the sovereignty of any other country. This plan of reconciliation, which was wisely calculated for the independence and prosperity of the Flemings, and did not seem too humiliating to the house of Austria, was probably suggested by a precedent in their own history.

After a long contest between the Seven Provinces and their sovereign, Philip 2nd of Austria, the sovereignty of the low countries was formally transferred to the archdukes Albert and Isabella. Had such an offer been made to the emperor

emperor while the confederacy was yet in its strength, and the moment he succeeded to his hereditary dominions, perhaps considering the difficulties with which he was then surrounded, he would have then accepted it. But the season for such a compromise was past. The imperial troops were now arrived, and in such force as to preclude all hopes of successful resistance. The new arrangement proposed was, however, carried to the Austrian head-quarters: but it was not only rejected as inadmissible in the present situation of affairs; but intimation was made to the chiefs of the confederates, that if the terms of the imperial manifesto were not complied with in their full extent, the Emperor's Generals would carry their orders into execution. Even in this extremity of fortune, such was the obstinacy and rashness of Congress, and such their repugnancy to the resignation of sovereign power, that they would not probably have relinquished it without a desperate and fatal struggle, if they could have found any considerable number of their countrymen mad enough to take up arms in their favour.

But General Bender, after a continued series of successes in various skirmishes, and carrying every thing before him on the frontiers, penetrated into Brabant, and advanced towards Brussels. He sent a message to the Congress, assigning a short number of days on which they were to determine on the question, whether they would accede to the conditions proposed by the mediating powers? Assuring them at the same time, and confirming it by an oath, "that if, at the expiration of that term they obliged him to

draw on his boots, he would not take them off again until he had chased them out of the Netherlands." The time expired. The Congress was silent. The General drew on his boots, and marched rapidly for Brussels. This city surrendered to the Austrians on the 2d of December. Its example was followed by all the other cities of Brabant and Flanders: and the whole of the provinces submitted again to the government of the Austrians.

The members of the Congress and of the war department, and all who had been most active in the revolution, consulted their safety by flight. Some escaped to Holland, some to France, and others to Germany. The success of the Austrian cause was used with great moderation. General Bender maintained the strictest military discipline among his troops, and protected both the persons and the properties of all men from military violence: and by a convention between the ministers of the Emperor and those of the allied powers executed at the Hague on the 10th of December 1790, the Belgic provinces were not only restored to the rights and privileges which they enjoyed antecedently to the death of the late emperor, but obtained several advantages, tending to render them more secure in the enjoyment of their ancient constitution. Among other articles for securing the liberties of the people, there was one prohibiting in a special manner the levying of armies or taxes, or the establishment of laws without the consent of the states: as also, the employment of the soldiery against the civil subject, unless in support of the laws, and at the

the formal requisition of the magistracy; so that this convention may be considered, in some measure, as a new charter obtained by the Flemings, through the good offices and medium of England, Holland, and Prussia.

If we shall appear to any of our readers to have allowed a more than proportionate space in our Register to these transactions in the Netherlands, we have to say, by way of apology, that these transactions form an episode in the political epopœia of Europe, uncommonly interesting and instructive. We have an opportunity of contemplating the revolution as a whole, in its beginning, progress, and end; and exhibiting in its short duration, a miniature picture of the usual humours and vicissitudes of governments in their round through democracy, oligarchy, monarchy, despotism, and the chaos of anarchy. Never perhaps was there any political struggle in which there was so great a diversity of contending principles and passions: and never one in which the various

fermenting ingredients produced so quick an explosion. The modern Belgians, in the first movements towards a revolution of government, breathed the same fierce spirit of liberty which distinguished their remote ancestors, and exempted them from the most grievous of those taxes which the victorious Romans imposed on their subjected neighbours. And they would assuredly have defied the power of the Cæsars of Vienna, if the catholic priests had possessed as absolute and undivided a sway over the minds of their countrymen as the ancient druids in the time of the first emperors. But there was an irreconcilable repugnancy between the spirit of general improvement and that of bigotry and superstition. The most transient gleams of success disunited these and other jarring spirits, held together for a time only by the pressure of common and extreme danger. And internal discord, which has sometimes proved fatal to long-established empires, nipped in the bud the nascent Belgian Republic.

CHAP. IV.

Peace on the Ground of the Status quo, rejected by the Empress of Russia. Ambitious Designs of the Empress, opposed by Prussia and Great Britain. Heroic Courage of the King of Sweden. Means for gaining over the Nation at large to his Views, and raising the necessary Supplies for the War. The King puts himself at the Head of his Forces, and enters Russian Savolax. His successes. Ten Thousand Russians defeated by Three Thousand Swedes at Carnakoski. Reduction of the Russian Fort Valkiala. Other Advantages. The King of Sweden, at the Head of his Gallies, takes or destroys the Russian Galley-Fleet, in the Harbour of Fredericksham. Engagements between the Swedish Fleet under the Duke of Sudermania, and the Russian Fleet. The Swedes prepare to make an Attack on the Town and Harbour of Wybourg. Perilous Situation of the Swedes, Escape with immense Loss to Sweaborg. Defeat of the Russian Fleet, under the Prince of Nassau, by the Swedish Fleet under the Command of the King. Inclination to peace on the Part of Russia and Sweden. Peace between these Powers concluded. The King of

of Sweden prepares to attack the ruling Powers, and to restore the Monarchy of France. Meeting at Pilnitz. This the Centre of the Affairs of Europe, 1791. Real Object of the Meeting at Pilnitz. Substance of a Circular Letter from the Emperor Leopold to the Sovereign Powers. Russia and Sweden the first Powers that openly declared an Intention to succour the Royal Family of France. Speech of Gustavus to the Swedish Diet. Reflections on the Importance of Hereditary Wealth and Honours in a State. These a Barrier against Monarchical Encroachments on the one hand, and the levity of the People, on the other. Plan of the King of Sweden for a Descent on France. Discouraged by the Emperor, but persevered in by the King. Assassination, Illness, Death, and character of the King of Sweden.

THE great hinge on which the affairs of Europe at this period turned, was the convention at Reichenbach. This important treaty had an influence greater or less, more immediate or more remote, and gradually extended its pacific circle over all the belligerent powers of Europe.

When a proposal of peace with the Ottoman Porte was made to the Czarina by the allied and mediating powers, agreeably to what had passed at Reichenbach, on the basis of the *status quo*, she rejected it with disdain, and in terms more nearly approaching the language of insult than the friendly and conciliating style usually adopted in negotiations between independent powers, and claiming an equality of condition. "The empress makes war and makes peace when she pleases, without consulting any other power. She is not to be dictated to. She will not permit any interference whatever in the management or government of her affairs." These, and similar expres-

sions, declared the haughty pride and ambition of the Empress. A mind like hers could not indeed easily abandon such splendid schemes of ambition which she is known to have formed, and which she kept steadily in view in every political connection that she formed. These were, to drive the Turks entirely out of Europe, and to place her grandson, Constantine, upon the throne of the Greek emperor.* Another object scarcely less dear to her, and to be pursued if the others should fail, was, to erect the noble provinces of Moldavia, Wallachia and Bessarabia, into an independent sovereignty for her great favourite prince Potemkin. But the kings of Great Britain and Prussia prepared, by land and sea, to reduce her imperial majesty to peace, on the terms that had been proposed. It appeared like death to abandon her grand designs; but she was so far intimidated, as to make peace with the king of Sweden; whose heroic character could scarcely fail of engaging in some degree her sympathy

* The empress's second grandson was born in January 1779. He was named Constantine. Greek women were given him for nurses; and he sucked in with his milk the Greek language; in which he was afterwards perfected by learned Greek teachers. His whole education was calculated to fit him for the throne of Constantinople: and the design of all this could not be doubted.

sympathy and personal regard, even while it thwarted her projects of ambition.

Gustavus, whose energy of mind and daring resolution are not to be estimated by the common standard of heroic courage, undaunted by the disasters and alarms of last campaign, or the mighty force of the Russian empire, determined to retrieve if possible the fortune of war: and against the overbearing superiority which it was his destiny to encounter, found resources in his own genius. The success of his attempts, he was aware, would principally depend on an union among his own people; without which, he could not expect constant and effective support. Knowing that he was generally detested by the nobility; who had indeed for a long series of years been in the habit of selling their country to the highest bidder;—in order to counterbalance and controul the opposition of that order, so formidable for their numbers, possessions, and lofty spirit, he determined to conciliate by the most signal acts of favour, the affection of both the commons and the clergy. On his return from Finland, he issued a declaration, that all orders of the state had an equal right to serve their country, in all situations for which, by their abilities and virtues, they should be found duly qualified. On this principle of equalization, he summoned an equal number of persons from each order of the state: and shewed at once that he was

determined to act upon it, by the appointment of several persons of different orders to the same public departments. He thus incorporated the whole mass of the people into a kind of general council, bound by subscription and oath, like a Roman army under its consul, to co-operate in maintaining the interest and honour of the nation.—By this bold innovation, the king attached the people at large to his person and government, to a degree beyond what even he himself had expected. The nation granted him supplies to the utmost extent of their abilities: and he found an unanimity respecting the designs he had in view, which had not for many years been experienced in Sweden. The assessments were very general and comprehensive; extending to articles of consumption as well as of luxury, and to all ranks and conditions of life. Horses, oxen, and all animals capable of affording profit or pleasure, were taxed. The nobility, at the same time that they were obliged to furnish quotas of horses for the army, were subjected to a heavy tax of 2*l.* 6*s.* for every horse though thus devoted to the king's service.* The supplies, exceeding very considerably any of those granted by preceding diets, amounted to no less a sum than 1,640,000*l.* a-year. Provision was made, that the recent extraordinary grants should not be considered as precedents in future. The means adopted by the king for conciliating the affections and producing

* The double oppression, for such it would undoubtedly be considered, of degrading the nobility, by raising the lower orders to a participation in all their privileges, and of so heavy an extra tax, could scarcely have been expected by any other man than the king of Sweden, to pass away without some such tragical consequences as in fact ensued.

producing unanimity in the Swedish nation, were so acceptable to the burghers, that several of the greater cities, Stockholm, Gothenberg, Calmar, Londen, Wisby, Abo, and others, in proof of their attachment and zeal, built, manned, and equipped gun-boats, which they presented to the king; and likewise raised, clothed, and armed bodies of volunteers for his service. By means of this cordial support at home, and the further aid of the annual subsidy from Turkey,* he was enabled to open the campaign in 1790, at a season much earlier than usual, and to make an attack on the Russians sooner than they expected. On the morning of March 28th, he set sail on board a yacht from Stockholm, reached Abo on the 31st, and next morning set out for Helsingfors, a sea port on the north coast of the Gulph of Finland, to put himself at the head of his forces in that quarter. On the 15th of April, a body of Swedes, under the command of his majesty, penetrated boldly into Russian Savolax, carried two posts, Casnakosky and Suomeniemi, considered as of great importance in the future operations of the war on both sides, with some prisoners, artillery, arms, and military stores. The first-mentioned of these posts, lying on the borders of the lake Sarma, was deemed of so much consequence, that a body of 10,000 of the best and oldest Russian troops in the vicinity of St. Petersburg (where inroads so near excited the greatest alarm), including a strong

detachment of the guards, and supported as usual by a powerful artillery, were despatched, towards the close of April, under the conduct of general Ingelstrom and the prince of Anhalt, not only to dislodge the Swedes from this post, but to drive them entirely out of the country. The Swedes amounted only to about 3000 men; but their ground was strong; they were well entrenched; and there was yet a lively tradition of those times when the Swedes seldom took the trouble of inquiring into the number of their enemy. The Russians, in three close and heavy columns, advanced to the attack of the entrenchments with all their natural indifference to danger, and all that pride and confidence of success which long habits of victory are wont to inspire. To the astonishment of the assailants, they were received with a firmness and cool intrepidity, of which they had not known any example. The attack was repelled; but soon renewed by the impulse of national pride, rivalry, indignation, and shame, at being defeated at their own doors by such a handful of men. The engagement continued for about two hours; was most desperate, obstinate and bloody. Rage, fury, and superior numbers gave way at last to calm and determined valour. The Russians left about 2000 of their number dead upon the spot; among whom was the prince of Anhalt (a near relation of the empress); major general Belloff, who commanded

* We are informed by Mr. Eaton, that this subsidy was negotiated by Mr. de Choiseul Gouffier, the French ambassador at the Porte. The part which France also took, not only in acquiescing but in urging Great Britain and Prussia to oppose the progress of Russia, and support the king of Sweden in this war, was well known to the two imperial courts.—*Eaton's Survey of the Turkish Empire.*

commanded the guards; and other officers of distinction.

On the 28th of April, his Swedish majesty, at the head of a body of his troops, crossed the deep river Keymene, which separates Swedish Finland from Carelia, and entered the Russian territories. The next day in the evening he stormed and took the Russian fort at Valkiala, with the entrenched camp by which it was defended, after a well-fought battle, which lasted for several hours, in which he received a contusion on the shoulder. The reduction of this important place was followed by several other advantages. The Swedes took possession of Wilman Strand, and several other places, with several magazines of stores and provisions; and the king fixed his head quarters at Borgo, where he was joined by his fleet of gallies; of which he took the command himself, and hoisted his flag on board the *Amphion*.

A great division of the Russian galley-fleet was stationed at Fredericksham, a strong and well fortified port and arsenal in Finland, where they waited for the junction of the other and still greater division from Cronstadt. The king, at the head of his gallies, stormed and forced the defences of Fredericksham, took thirty-eight vessels, sunk ten, and burnt forty gun-boats, with thirty transports laden with provisions, destroyed the docks, and set fire to all the timber and stores accumulated for building fleets of light vessels. In any other country than Russia, where labour is cheap and naval stores inexhaustible, such a loss would have been irreparable.

In the mean time the king's brother, the duke of Sudermania,

had put to sea at the head of a Swedish fleet, consisting of twenty-three ships of the line and eighteen frigates. It was not the object of this armament to prevent a junction between the Russian fleets in the harbours of Revel and Cronstadt, or to seize any favourable opportunity of fighting them separately; but (agreeably to the maxim of Sweden at this time, of making the attack where the strength and the danger was greatest) something more desperate and daring. It was nothing less than the destruction of the Russian squadron, and great naval arsenal at Revel, along with all its docks and magazines. The ships at Revel were eleven of the line; three of which carried 100 guns each, and five frigates; and they were protected by numerous batteries of heavy cannon in various parts of the harbour. The Swedish fleet, notwithstanding all these obstacles, on the 13th of May, penetrated into the harbour, and in the midst of the hostile fire, maintained for hours a doubtful conflict. But towards the evening a violent storm arose, which obliged the Swedes to retreat. In this manœuvre, performed with great difficulty, a Swedish ship of sixty guns being dismasted, was taken. Another was wrecked, and set on fire by its own crew. On the third of June, the duke of Sudermania, accidentally fell in with the Russian fleet coming from Cronstadt, under admiral Kruse, consisting of eighteen sail of the line. An engagement ensued, which was continued with an interruption only in the dead of the night, and in which the Swedes at first had the advantage. But on the second day the Russian fleet from Revel appeared in the rear of the

the Duke, placing him thus directly between two fires. The Russian Admiral, not doubting that the Swedish Fleet had fallen inevitably into his hands, immediately dispatched a vessel to Petersburg, where a great alarm was excited by the proximity of so enterprising an enemy, and the rumours of so many doubtful battles, in order to announce the joyful news to Catharine. All these hopes vanished before a sudden shift of the wind, improved by judicious manœuvres and bold exertions. The duke of Sudermania, having extricated his fleet from its perilous situation, took shelter in the island of Biorko, where he either found or was joined by the king with his flotilla. But this Prince, who seemed to delight in difficulties and to court death or glory, no sooner saw his people disengaged from one danger, than he exposed them to another still greater. He now resolved to make an attack on Wybourg, the capital of Carelia, distant only seventy miles from Petersburg, and where a large division of the Russian galley-fleet was stationed.

But as a measure preparatory to an attack on Wybourg, he made a descent with part of his troops on the neighbouring coast of Carelia. He divided his force into two detachments, which pursued separate courses, and were each successful in routing and dispersing such small parties of Russians as could be suddenly collected in that dreary country to oppose his progress. But his design in making this descent near Wybourg, was not only to distract and increase the terror of the enemy, but partly to invest the city, as far as his numbers would admit, on the land-side, and be in rea-

diness to second the efforts of the fleet against the harbour. Scarcely, however, were his arrangements for these purposes made, and the ships of war disposed in the harbour ready to begin the attack, when, as might have well been apprehended, both the Russian grand fleet and flotilla (the former under Admiral Tschitschakoff, the latter under the Prince of Nassau) appeared in sight on July 3rd, and before that narrow passage which leads into the bay of Wybourg. Four large Russian ships of war were moored on each side of that inlet; the other ships drawn up in a long line on the outside, while their frigates and light vessels were ranged among the numerous islands nearer the shore; so that the king was now enclosed as in a net, and had no other alternative than that of either surrendering at discretion, or forcing his way through his enemies.

The choice could not admit of a moment's hesitation. The van of the Swedish fleet, under Admiral Modéc, assisted by a favourable gale passed the strait without any material damage, firing their broadsides with great spirit. Four ships of the line, either from confusion or the smoke, missed the channel, struck against the rocks, and were abandoned to the mercy of the enemy. Those that effected their escape were pursued along the coast of Finland during the whole night and following day; and escaped, after the loss of two ships more, with the duke of Sudermania, on the evening of the 4th, to Sweaborg. On the same evening the king arrived, with what remained of his flotilla, in Swenk-Sound. Six of his stoutest vessels, with 800 of the guards on board, were taken by the Russians,

Russians, and sixty smaller vessels were lost. Four of the oldest and best regiments suffered a heavy loss, including ninety officers killed, taken, or otherwise missing. In this daring and unfortunate attempt on Wybourg, the loss of the Swedes was computed at 7000.

At Swenk-Sound, the king found the Pomeranian division of his light fleet, under the command of Colonel Cronstadt; which was not involved in the general wreck, from its late arrival, during his misfortune. Gustavus, who possessed an elasticity of courage and genius, that rose under every disaster, and seemed to bid defiance to fortune, determined in some measure to obliterate the memory, if he could not totally remove the effect, of his late defeat. He refitted the wrecks of his late flotilla, reinforced it by the Pomeranian division of his gallies, hastened to intercept the prince of Nassau in his way to retake the harbour of Fredericksham, and came up with him on the 9th of July. The Swedish and Russian fleets consisted each of frigates and gallies. The prince of Nassau did not decline the combat, but bore down directly on the Swedish fleet, drawn up in three divisions. The king, who commanded the fleet in person, gave the signal for a general engagement. Though the Russian vessels were in general furnished with twenty-four or thirty pounders, and with howitzers*, discharging balls of forty-two pounds weight, their left wing began about noon to recoil. Fresh succours arrived to both parties, and the battle was renewed along the whole line with redoubled fury.

About noon, however, some of the larger Russian vessels quitted their station. Some struck, some foundered, and several were taken. The main body retreating, and firing till ten in the evening, embraced the opportunity of night to escape by dispersion; but many of them were stranded, and in the night burnt by their crews, or in the morning, fell into the hands of the victors, who closely pursued the fugitives till ten, and took 45 vessels with 4500 prisoners. The total loss of the Russians cannot be exactly ascertained, as numbers of vessels were wrecked, burnt, and blown up. But the vestiges of ruin visible upon an extensive line of coast, demonstrated that it must have been prodigious. The Swedes lost but a few vessels: nor was their loss of men, if we consider the bloody and destructive nature of such close combats in those narrow seas, nearly so great as might have been expected. This defeat so recently after the disaster, and almost ruin of the Swedish fleet, struck the Empress with surprise and alarm, and, as already mentioned, perhaps touched her heart with some generous sentiments. Such an antagonist, not to be subdued either by overwhelming numbers, or the adversity of fortune, might, if she continued the contest, and refused to listen to reasonable terms of peace, with the assistance of the allied powers, whose interference she had now reason to dread, become irresistible. Forsaken by the Austrians, menaced by the Prussians and English, and at war with the Turks, who, though beaten, were still a formidable

* Made at Carron, and from that circumstance as often called Carronades.

formidable enemy, she began to think of peace with the King of Sweden.

On the other hand, the late signal victory over the prince of Nassau, though it reflected the highest honour on the personal spirit and martial talents of Gustavus, by no means counterbalanced the severe loss he sustained on those two unfortunate days, the 3rd and 4th of July. The Swedish nation, which had strained every nerve in support of the war, had not only sustained a great loss of men, but was worn down by its enormous expences: in a word exhausted of so much blood and treasure, Sweden was in a state of weakness that demanded repose. We have not learned for certain by which of the party overtures for peace were first made. Where there was so cordial a disposition for a pacification, a hint for that end was quickly taken, and improved on either side. Immediately, or very soon after the victory of the 9th and 10th of July, a direct, though private, communication ensued between Catharine and Gustavus; and it is very probable that the main points of accommodation were agreed on; in this way,

by the principals themselves.* But it was necessary that the terms of peace should be formally and publicly settled. For this end, General Ingelstrom, on the part of Russia, and the Lieutenant General Baron d'Armfeldt, on that of Sweden, met on the Banks of Kymene, in a large tent erected for the purpose, between the advanced posts of the two hostile camps, on the plains of Werela: a suspension of arms was agreed on immediately, and a peace was concluded on the 14th of August, 1790, a little more than two years after the commencement of the contest, by a restitution of all conquests on both side.

The Turkish war occupied the mind of the Czarina still, with grand objects of hope and subjects of immediate attention:—and a new career of glory was opened to the Swedish monarch by the French revolution. But here it becomes necessary to take notice of the meeting between the Emperor and the King of Prussia and Elector of Saxony, in August 1791, at Pilnitz: around which, as a centre, the affairs of Europe were arranged in 1791,† as they had been around the treaty of Reichenbach in 1790.

Sovereign

* It seems to have been laid down as a preliminary to all negotiation, that the allies were not to be consulted, nor any mediation employed on either side. The Empress, however she must have excused, could not be perfectly satisfied with the conduct of her ally Leopold. Nor Gustavus with that of Great Britain and Prussia, from whom he had not met with that support on which he had been induced to rely with confidence.

† In a late publication, entitled "The Life of Catharine II." we are informed, among many other interesting facts and anecdotes, that "Galvez, the minister of Spain at the court of Russia, offered his mediation to Catharine, and zealously employed his good offices in obtaining favourable conditions, by promising that Gustavus would directly march against the French. This was all that the Empress desired; and feigning to pardon her enemy, in hope of seeing him entangle himself in a distant adventure, she blinded him the more to her views, by affecting an uncommon generosity." That the mediation of the Spaniard was employed on this occasion we cannot doubt, as it is avowed by an author, who, we are well assured, had excellent

Sovereign princes, between whom there cannot be, as in subordinate ranks, any cordial society, seldom meet together without some important object; but as the utmost secrecy is for the most part observed at such interviews, it is generally difficult, and often impossible to discover their real design, until this be unfolded by the course of events. From the general state, however, of the affairs of Europe, the connexions of princes, and the common and manifest interests of all, it was immediately conjectured, and it cannot be doubted, that it related to what had passed, and was still passing in France. But that there was at Pilnitz a conspiracy of Kings for the dismemberment of France, as was believed, or at least given out by those who had usurped the government of France, is now known to have been merely a fiction. A species of agreement was indeed entered into, by which their Imperial and Prussian Majesties engaged, in certain contingent

cases, to co-operate for the re-establishment of the French monarchy.* But neither was it the restoration of monarchy in France, any more than its dismemberment, that formed the sole or even the principal object of the meeting of Pilnitz; but to restore, consolidate, and preserve the public tranquillity of Europe. The articles or clauses of the convention were previously discussed and agreed on at Vienna by Prince Kaunitz, on the part of the Emperor, and Counts Bishopswerder and Jacobi, on that of his Prussian Majesty. What these were we have not been particularly informed: but we may well presume that they were in exact conformity with the views of that circular letter which, previously to the meeting at Pilnitz, had been written by Leopold to all the great powers of Europe; and of which on the most undoubted authority, we give the following as the substance.

“The Emperor, on the ground of

excellent opportunities of learning many particulars respecting the northern courts, and whose veracity cannot be doubted. But might not that mediation have been employed in consequence of private hints from the Empress herself, between whom and the court of Madrid there was at this time a good understanding?

* His Majesty the Emperor, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, having heard the wishes and representations of Monsieur (the French King's brother) and the Count d'Artois, do jointly declare, that they look upon the actual situation of his Majesty the King of France as an object of common concern to all the Sovereigns of Europe. They hope that this concern will doubtless be acknowledged by all the powers, from whom assistance is required; and that, in consequence, they will not refuse employing, in conjunction with their said Majesties, the most efficacious means relative to their forces, in order to enable the King of France to consolidate, in the most perfect liberty, the basis of a monarchical government, suitable both to the rights of Sovereigns and the welfare of the French nation. Then and in this case, their said Majesties, the Emperor and the King of Prussia, are determined to act speedily, with mutual concord and necessary forces, to obtain the proposed end in common. Meanwhile they will give to their troops necessary orders, that they may be ready for putting themselves in a state of activity.

Pilnitz, the 27th of August, 1791.

of the sentiments inspired by the captivity of the king of France; the harsh measures respecting him that are permitted to be taken; the illegality of those measures, evinced not only by the restraints laid on the liberty, and in fact by the imprisonment of the king, but by the circumstance that the assembly have exceeded their powers; the danger arising to all sovereigns from the fatal examples of popular anarchy; the impediments which the actual state of affairs in France, through the steps that must necessarily be taken for the resistance of its contagion, cannot fail to throw in the way of a reciprocal communication among the co-estates of Europe; and of the extension of a reasonable degree of liberty, and whatever schemes of useful reformation sovereign princes may have in view for the good of their people: lastly, and most particularly, on that of a letter written by the king of France with his own hand, since the date of his second confinement, to the emperor his brother-in-law, and in which he claims his succour, and indirectly that of all Europe.— On all these grounds, he makes a proposal to the empress of Russia, and the kings of Prussia *, Spain, England, Naples, and Sardinia.

1. To form an union and concert of counsels and plans, for the purpose of asserting the liberty and honour of the king and royal family of France, and to set bounds to the dangerous excesses of the French Revolution.

2. To give instructions to their ministers at Paris immediately, or as soon as possible, to make one com-

mon declaration of the concert so formed; or similar and simultaneous declarations of this convention; which should have for its object, to ward off those new outrages and acts of violence which threaten the persons of the king and royal family; to emancipate the king and royal family from a state of captivity; and to leave the most essential forms, at least of the French monarchy, by a gradual assimilation to this of the new constitution, to be formed out of the concessions already made, or to be made, by the free will of the king, and the powers constituted by the nation.

The emperor says, in addition, that this project of a declaration, and the explanations to accompany it, are to be considered only as an outline, designed for the purpose of collecting and comparing, as soon as possible, different opinions on particular subjects of common discussion. The emperor also expresses his desire, that the ministers of the six cabinets before mentioned, may be authorised to transmit the declaration proposed, as soon as it shall be concerted, in the manner most suitable to local and temporary circumstances.

3. To support this declaration by the preparation of a sufficient armed force: towards which the emperor promises, on his part, to contribute largely and with alacrity, military preparations of such magnitude would produce two good effects. They would bring back a great part of the French nation to their natural sentiments, and give a check to the progress of rebellious and

* This is the order in which the sovereign princes are mentioned in the emperor's circular letter.

and licentious principles in other countries.

4. In case of the declaration being followed by a formal refusal of the entire and effectual liberty of the king and the royal family, and a legal reform of the French constitution, to suspend all intercourse and communication with the French nation, both commercial and personal: a measure that would be accompanied with the recall of their ministers, and which would of course induce the confederated powers to assemble considerable bodies of troops on the frontiers, and thereby oblige the national assembly of France, on their part also, to raise and maintain a great military force, at a very great expence. The interruption of trade and general industry, and an increase of taxes, would tend to bring the people of France to a more sober way of thinking, on the one hand; while a suspension of actual hostilities, and the inaction of the troops assembled on the frontiers, would give time for the evaporation of enthusiasm, on the other.

5. To form, for the further consideration of any questions that may arise relative to this great concern, a kind of congress, to consist of ministers from the six confederated powers, and to meet, but without any pomp or shew, at Aix la Chapelle, or Spa; at which, if it should take place, the count de Mercy d'Argenteau would appear on the part of the court of Vienna.

6. The emperor leaves it to the same courts to determine, after they have taken their first resolution with regard to this important object, whether it may be proper, and in what manner, to write to other courts and governments to

accede and concert with the other powers, the measures proper to be taken for promoting the great end of the confederation.

7. He wishes it to be understood, that he considers the matter in hand to be of too great weight and magnitude to be undertaken by one single power, and particularly by the court of Vienna; and that he looks upon the consent and concurrence of the great courts, and especially those of Prussia and Great Britain, as absolutely indispensable for the purpose of giving the necessary impulsion and movement to the rest, and above all, to take effectual care that the general interests of all sovereign princes and states, which are the object of the proposed concert and co-operation, may not be counterbalanced by any particular and opposite interest.

8. Although it be probable that there may exist among the confederated and co-operating powers different opinions, 1st, with regard to the degree of authority to be vested in the king of France, and the constitution to be secured to his kingdom: 2dly, on subjects that may lead to different views of aggrandizement: and 3dly, respecting even the means proper to be employed for the execution of resolutions that may be agreed on: the emperor, foreseeing all this contingent diversity of opinion on these points, yet indulges the flattering hope, that all the courts will wholly lay aside all such views of particular aggrandizement as may be repugnant to the execution of the general plan concerted for the general interest. It is in order to steer clear of any diversity of opinion that may take place with regard to the first and the third articles specified

specified in this sketch, that the court of Vienna, in the present proposal, confines itself to the most essential points, and those of the most general importance; theretopose and the security of the ancient form of government in France; and what is intimately connected with this, the repression and removal of popular anarchy from every government in Europe. The emperor leaves to the determination of the courts what further resolutions it may be proper to take, both respecting the grand object of the confederation, and the means of carrying it into execution.

9. This reserve, the court of Vienna thinks it necessary, in a particular manner, to use in what may concern England: whose consent to co-operation appears to this court of such indispensable necessity to the success of the measures proposed, that it considers all opposition of interest or views on the part of the British court, as a rock on which those measures must infallibly be shipwrecked. Much therefore depends on the disposition of that court, to adopt and support by its co-operation the plan proposed: and for this co-operation, the court of Vienna hopes that it may depend, from the effectual interposition of his Prussian majesty with the court of London; between which and his Prussian majesty there subsists the closest bonds of friendship. Further still, the court of Vienna flatters itself that his Prussian Majesty will communicate to it any notions he may have formed, or hereafter form relative to the sentiments of that power, concerning the important object in question.

10. The emperor proposes, after learning the sentiments of the kings of Prussia and England, to hold himself in readiness for seconding their interposition with the Germanic body, and to take a share both in forming a concert of intentions and measures, and in carrying them into execution. And he will further explain his views with regard to both the end and means as occasion may require, when he shall have received the answers of the different courts to the questions implied in this proposal."

It is evident, that this memorial breathes a spirit, not of ambition and conquest, but of moderation, and an equal regard to the interests of humanity, the public tranquillity, and the rights of nations: for, as, on the one hand, it was as little the right as the interest of the French Assembly to tear to pieces the monarchy consecrated by so many ages, by too bold and dangerous innovations; so, on the other, he approves of a gradual change, and a new constitution to be formed out of the free concessions of the king, and of the general sentiments and wishes of the nation, duly declared. The National Assembly had exceeded their powers: yet his imperial majesty in this memoir respects the civil and political rights of the nation. The letter of Leopold is conceived in the same spirit and on the same principles with those that appear to have dictated his majesty's conduct in the government of his various estates and kingdoms: an union of moderation and firmness; a resolution to make every concession that the general happiness and order of society may require, and even to anticipate claims

claims or petitions by voluntary acts of progressive reform, in proportion to the progressive advancement of the world in civilization and knowledge; but at the same time a determination still to hold the reins of government; still to watch over and controul his flock, and not suffer them to break down the fences, and wander from his fold, like sheep having no shepherd, and exposed to a thousand dangers. It scarcely seems to be permitted to human power, or wisdom to do more in such circumstances, for the preservation and good of general society, than what was done or intended by Leopold. The calamities that have followed deviations from his plan, write its eulogy in tears of blood.

Though the emperor took the lead in forming a confederation in the cause of the French and all monarchies, there was a pre-disposition in all sovereign princes in favour of that cause; without which, indeed, it would have been wholly in vain to have attempted it. It was in the most northerly kingdoms of the great European commonwealth, where plans of policy and ambition, partaking of the bold and hardy nature of their climate, seem to be more direct and open than in southerly governments, prone to subtlety and refinement, that indignation against the usurpation in France first burst forth, without disguise or management, in avowed designs to oppose and overturn them. The empress of Russia was the first sovereign that declared a resolution to protect the ancient government of France. The king of Sweden readily listened to her instigations, and followed her example. That the Czarina sin-

cerely wished well to the cause of monarchy in France, is not to be doubted; but that she had other views, besides the restoration of the French monarchy, in rousing her neighbours to arms and actual hostilities, while she herself confined her exertions to instigations and promises, is more than probable. Though she had no great reason to be apprehensive of Austria or Prussia, who had both reduced their forces, and had unequivocally shown their love of peace; yet she seemed anxious to engage them in a manner which would not allow them to interfere with any of her schemes of aggrandizement, if they should be inclined to do so. In proportion as she was determined to avoid, at least while the contest with the French rulers should be maintained by other powers, from all active interference herself, in that proportion she assumed the appearance of distinguished zeal against those usurpers. She dispatched a minister with letters of credence to the French princes at Coblenz; assisted them with money; and pressed them to enter on their expedition. At the same time she upbraided her old ally, the emperor, for his coldness in a cause so nearly and personally relating to him, reminded him of his circular letter, calling on the different powers of Europe to act in concert for the safety of the royal family of France, declared her adherence to it, and urged him to persevere in his plan for a general confederation of the sovereign princes.

But, if doubts may be entertained concerning the real sentiments and views of the Czarina, there can be none concerning the sincerity and zeal of the king of Sweden. The
Empress

Empress was not indifferent to fame; but her greatest ambition was that of extending her vast dominions. Gustavus, too, was sensible to fame, and desirous of attracting the attention and admiration of mankind:—but, like Alexander, he preferred glory to conquest. It is well known that his illustrious predecessor formed or fortified his mind in a love of glory, by reading the actions of Alexander the Great, in Quintus Curtius; as Alexander again was himself inspired by an emulation of Achilles, and the other heroes of Homer. It is curious to observe how a passion may be transmitted, by means of letters, from breast to breast, as one torch may be lighted by another, from generation to generation, and from age to age!

The glory of Gustavus Adolphus in protecting the Protestants, and restoring the Palatine family, as well as that of Charles XII. in raising Stanislaus to the throne of Poland, and restoring to his paternal dominions the duke of Holstein, must have been naturally recalled to the mind of Gustavus III. by the present conjunction of affairs; in which he was called on by the Empress, and well disposed himself, from a love of glory and a real sympathy with the unfortunate Lewis, to act a conspicuous part. In fact, we find him alluding to the glorious conduct of his ancestors, in a speech on the occasion of dissolving, on the 22nd of February, 1792, the diet which he had assembled at Geffle, on the 23rd of January, for the purpose of raising the supplies for the intended war against the rulers of France. “When, on the opening of this diet, which I am this day so happy to close, I

told you that at a time when an unbridled licentiousness was shaking or overturning governments, I was not afraid to convoke you; I confided in your attachment to me, and that noble manner of thinking which characterizes the Swedish nation, for conducting in peace and tranquillity the important affairs for which you had been assembled. My hopes have not been disappointed. After showing in war, that you are the same people whose courage in former times alternately shook or fortified thrones, you now give to your contemporaries an example still more noble, of the vigorous prudence with which a wise and enlightened people conduct their deliberations when the head of the state calls for their advice on important affairs. This example is so much the more grand, that you are the only people who give it; that by doing so, you justify the confidence which I reposed in you; and that by this mutual union, you fortify the internal peace and strength of your country; at the same time that you augment the consideration abroad which your courage has so justly merited. As the first citizen, as he in whose contemplation the good of the state and yours are most intimately connected, I ought, in the name of our country, to express to you a degree of gratitude worthy of you and me. You are now to return to your homes, to resume your occupations in peace, and to share with your fellow-citizens the satisfaction of having contributed to the public good, and the maintenance of the state. I am to watch over the happiness of our country, and over yours. I shall endeavour to encourage agriculture, and the progress of commerce; to maintain the

the sacredness of the laws, the execution of justice, and the respect due to religion. In short, I am to apply myself to all the cares which my duty and my situation require of me; but which the love and the gratitude with which your attachment so sensibly affects my heart, require in a still higher degree."

It was in this gracious and winning manner that Gustavus was wont to address his people, both from the throne and in other places, and on other occasions. He affected not only a paternal regard for the general welfare and prosperity of Sweden, but a lively concern for the happiness of subordinate communities, and even individuals. The effect of his eloquence, affability, and acts of favour to the lower and more numerous orders in the state, were heightened by an admiration of his military talents and virtues: and, on the whole, by such accomplishments, and such arts, he was enabled, by two revolutions, to reduce and control the power of the nobles, to extend the power of the crown, and to call forth and employ the resources of Sweden in any enterprize. It is thus that the popularity of kings has often, by degrees, undermined the liberties of their country. The pride, insolence, and oppression of aristocracy, naturally provoke the resentment and indignation of the people; who, detesting their immediate superiors, and naturally

prone to the higher elevation of sovereign princes, are apt to revenge their quarrels with subordinate chiefs, by throwing themselves without due reservation, into the arms of the sovereign. The natural virtue of the Swedes, fortified by a hardy climate, will, we trust, preserve and transmit to the latest posterity Scandinavian freedom. Yet it was not without reason that many of the friends of liberty, not only in Sweden but in other countries, did not join in exultation over the factious nobles; but reflected, that in every country it is the nobility and gentry (that is the possessors of hereditary wealth and honours) who form the great barrier against the levity of the people, on the one hand, and the encroachments of monarchy on the other.*

While the burghers and peasants, at the diet in Gefle, listened with delight to the eloquence of the king, they did not probably reflect, that the proclamation for holding this diet was only three weeks before the time of its meeting, in order that there might not be time for the formation of any concert in opposition to the crown; and that it was held, not in the Swedish capital, nor in any other large and populous city, but at a solitary town on the Gulf of Bothnia, which, during the whole of their deliberations, was surrounded with mercenary soldiers.

A scheme for the relief of the
the

* This truth is strikingly illustrated by the history of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, whose emancipation from the Spanish yoke could not have been effected without the patriotism and admirable exertions of the House of Orange, and other families of great distinction; as the counts Hoorn, Egmont, and other Batavian chiefs. The progress of commerce lowered the relative consequence of those princes, divided and subdivided wealth, raised a faction in opposition to the ancient families; discord and division ensued, and all was lost.

unhappy Louis XVI, and the preservation of the ancient government of France, appears to have been concerted between the two great potentates of the north and the king of Spain, early in the summer of 1791, though the execution of it was delayed during the remainder of the year; probably from a hope of additional assistance; and, perhaps, from some foreknowledge of what was to be attempted by the emperor at Pilnitz. Gustavus, at the head of six-and-thirty thousand Swedes and Russians, was to have landed as nearly as possible to Paris, for the purpose of marching directly to that capital; while the armies of other powers, hostile to what they considered as an usurpation, should penetrate the French frontiers in other quarters; or, if there should not appear to be such a co-operation on the part of either foreign nations, or the French themselves, as to justify so bold a measure, in this case the king of Sweden was to endeavour, by all means, to seize some considerable sea-port, and wait there the issue of a negotiation which was to be opened with the leaders of the French revolution. Spain, besides the co-operation of her troops, was to contribute fifteen millions of livres towards the expense of the expedition.

For the promotion of this design, by the collection of information, and uniting as great a force as possible in its execution, the king of Sweden, after establishing a regency in his absence, at the head of which was the prince royal, only twelve years of age, went in July to the German Spa, where he conversed with the marquis of Bouillé on the subject of the expedition

which he intended to carry into execution early in the spring of 1792. When the interview took place, early in August, at Pilnitz, between the emperor, the king of Prussia, and the elector of Saxony, the plan of Gustavus was laid before those monarchs; but, being contrary to that of the emperor, above stated, was not approved. Soon after this, the acceptance of the new constitution by the king of France in the beginning of September, began to give a new aspect to the affairs of that country; and Spain began to recede from her original promise of co-operation with Sweden and Russia, and to adopt a pacific system. Gustavus, however, in spite of every obstacle, persevered in his design.

All the necessary preparations were made, and the moment seemed fast approaching when the king was to embark on his long projected expedition. He conversed much with the duke of Sudermania, and the principal officers of his army. He slept but little; was for ever in motion; and was wholly absorbed in the contemplation of difficulties, dangers, and everlasting fame, when a sudden period was put to his mortal life by the hand of an assassin.

It has sufficiently appeared in the course of this work, how natural an object of resentment Gustavus III was to the haughty nobility of Sweden, whose pride he humbled, whose influence he diminished, and whose privileges he invaded. A spirit of rankling revenge prevailed in that order. Though the late diet had been closed without any violent commotion, it appears that a conspiracy was in agitation even during the time of its sitting. The nobles, in their common conversation,

the sacredness of the laws, the execution of justice, and the respect due to religion. In short, I am to apply myself to all the cares which my duty and my situation require of me; but which the love and the gratitude with which your attachment so sensibly affects my heart, require in a still higher degree."

It was in this gracious and winning manner that Gustavus was wont to address his people, both from the throne and in other places, and on other occasions. He affected not only a paternal regard for the general welfare and prosperity of Sweden, but a lively concern for the happiness of subordinate communities, and even individuals. The effect of his eloquence, affability, and acts of favour to the lower and more numerous orders in the state, were heightened by an admiration of his military talents and virtues: and, on the whole, by such accomplishments, and such acts, he was enabled, by two revolutions, to reduce and control the power of the nobles, to extend the power of the crown, and to call forth and employ the resources of Sweden in any enterprise. It is thus that the popularity of kings has often, by degrees, undermined the liberties of their country. The pride, insolence, and oppression of aristocracy, naturally provoke the resentment and indignation of the people; who, detesting their immediate superiors, and naturally

prone to the higher elevation of sovereign princes, are apt to revenge their quarrels with subordinate chiefs, by throwing themselves without due reservation, into the arms of the sovereign. The natural virtue of the Swedes, fortified by a hardy climate, will, we trust, preserve and transmit to the latest posterity Scandinavian freedom. Yet it was not without reason that many of the friends of liberty, not only in Sweden but in other countries, did not join in exultation over the actions of nobles; but reflected that in every country it is the nobles and gentry (that is the possessors of hereditary wealth and honours) who form the great barrier against the levity of the people on the one hand, and the encroachments of monarchy on the other.

While the burghers and peasants, at the diet in Gefle, listened with delight to the eloquence of the king, they did not probably reflect on the proclamation for holding that diet was only three weeks before the time of its meeting, in a manner that there might not be time for the formation of any concert in opposition to the crown; and that it was held, not in the Swedish capital, nor in any other large and populous city, but at a solitary town on the Gulf of Bothnia which, during the whole of the deliberations, was surrounded by mercenary soldiers.

A scheme for the relief

* This truth is strikingly illustrated by the history of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, whose emancipation from the Spanish yoke could not have been effected without the patriotism and admirable exertions of the House of Orange, and families of great distinction; as the counts Hoorn, Egmont, &c. The progress of commerce lowered the relative consequence of the divided and subdivided wealth, raised a faction in opposition to the crown, and discord and division ensued, and all was lost.

unhappy Louis XVI, and the preservation of the ancient government of France, appears to have been concerted between the two great potentates of the north and the king of Spain, early in the summer of 1791, though the execution of it was delayed during the remainder of the year; probably from a hope of additional assistance; and, perhaps, from some foreknowledge of what was to be attempted by the emperor at Pilnitz. Gustavus, at the head of six-and-thirty thousand Swedes and Russians, was to have landed as nearly as possible to Paris, for the purpose of marching directly to that capital; while the armies of other powers, hostile to what they considered as an usurpation, should penetrate the French frontiers in other quarters; or, if there should not appear to be such a co-operation on the part of either foreign nations, or the French themselves, as to justify so bold a measure, in this case the king of Sweden was to endeavour, by all means, to seize some considerable sea-port, and wait there the issue of a negotiation which was to be opened with the leaders of the French revolution. Spain, besides the co-operation of her troops, was to contribute fifteen millions of livres towards the expense of the expedition.

For the promotion of this design, by the collection of information, and uniting as great a force as possible in its execution, the king of Sweden, after establishing a conspiracy in his absence, at the

which was the prince twelve years of age, was to the German Spa, where he was conversed with the margrave on the subject of the

which he intended to carry into execution early in the spring of 1792. When the interview took place, early in August, at Pilnitz between the emperor, the king of Prussia, and the elector of Saxony, the plan of Gustavus was laid before those monarchs: but it was contrary to that of the above stated, was not approved. Soon after this, the new constitution of France in the September, began to the affairs of Spain began to original promise with Sweden to adopt a particular however, in which was wholly superior to perversion.

All the were sent out for Gefle, were told by a woman ed for visson; and he was advised to be aware of the month of ed and of the first person he with meet on leaving the palace. the person was Count Ribbing.* He was by orders from the King, collected the warning of the that the Count was taken custody, before he was mentioned among those who were accused to the conspiracy, by Anker-

Though the sufferings of the King must have been excruciating in the extreme, as the pistol had been loaded with seven nails, besides two balls, and some small shot, he bore them with unexampled courage and resignation, and displayed

tion, combined their own wrongs with those of their country. They reprobated the idea of entering into a confederacy against France, at a time when Sweden was oppressed with taxes. Why should the Swedes consent to weaken it still more, by an additional waste of its blood and treasure, in order to support or revive a government which had been so instrumental in fettering them with the chains of unlimited monarchy? Such were the avowed sentiments of the nobles. But secret councils and cabals were held, in which it was resolved, that their vengeance, which they dignified by the name of a love of their country, should be expressed otherwise than by unavailing words. And a ready instrument for their bloody purpose presented in the person of Ankerström. John Jacob Ankerström was a gentleman by birth, and had been an officer in the guards. He had been convicted of high treason, and sentenced to an imprisonment of twenty years; but afterwards pardoned. The prosecution for his crime made a deeper impression on his mind than his pardon. Nor did he affect to deny or conceal his resentment on this account; at the same time that

he professed to be guided wholly by patriotic views in his public conduct. Several attempts were made against the life of the king, without success. Suspicions began to be entertained of some lurking treason. The public mind was alarmed by reports of plots and conspiracies; and the king was, from time to time, cautioned by his friends not to expose his person unnecessarily to danger. To all such cautions he would not listen: but remarked, "that were he to give ear to every idle rumour of plots, he should be afraid to drink even a glass of water." On the 16th of March (1792) at supper with some persons of his household, before he went to the masquerade at the opera-house, he received an anonymous letter, written with a pencil in good French, advising him not to attend the masquerade that evening, as a plot was formed for his assassination.* He showed the letter to those who were about him, treated its contents with ridicule, and, in spite of the earnest entreaties of his friends, went to the Opera-house, which he entered arm in arm with baron de Es-sen, his master of the horse.—Scarcely had he taken two or three turns

* *Translation of the anonymous Letter to the King of Sweden.*

"Sire,

"May it please your majesty to listen to the warning of a man who is not in your service; asks no favour of you; does not flatter your errors, but wishes to avert the danger which threatens your life. There is, no doubt, a project to take away your life. People have been extremely sorry that it could not be put in execution last week, when the masked ball was countermanded. This day is resolved on to try the attempt. Stay at home, and avoid all future balls, at least for the present year. Keep also away from Haga. In a word, be upon your guard at least for a month. Give yourself no trouble to find out the author of this letter; chance made him discover the horrid plot which menaces your days. Believe me, he feels no interest to ward off the blow prepared for you. Had your hired troops at Gefle committed acts of violence upon the people, the author of this letter would have fought against you sword in hand—but he abhors assassination."

turns in the room, when he found himself surrounded by a crowd which pressed upon him violently, and was shot by a person behind him, in the left side. Gustavus was not killed on the spot; but, falling on a bench near him, immediately gave orders for all the doors to be shut, and every person to be unmasked. He was afterwards led to an adjoining apartment. On the floor of the room was found a pistol and a dagger; both of which the assassin was supposed to have dropped, after the perpetration of the horrid deed. Every person, as he left the room, was compelled to unmask, and give in his name. Ankerstrœm was the last person who left it, yet he left it without being discovered. Next morning the arms that had been found were submitted to public examination. A gunsmith of the city of Stockholm deposed, that he had repaired the identical pistol for Captain Ankerstrœm; and a cutler, that he had made the dagger at the request of the same person. The assassin was immediately arrested, and without hesitation confessed and gloried in his crime. He had intended, he said, to have dispatched the King, after the discharge of his pistol, with his dagger; but his hand trembling, as he tried to point it to the breast of Gustavus, he involuntarily dropped it on the floor. He denied that he had any accomplices; but afterwards, when threatened with the torture, he disclosed many circumstances of the conspiracy, and the names of several con-

spirators; among whom was the author of the anonymous letter, Mr. Lilejehorn, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Guards, and who had been brought up in the household of the King. Besides Lilejehorn, the following noblemen were arrested on suspicion: Count Horn, Count Ribbing, Baron Bielk, Baron Pechlin, two brothers of the name of Engerstroem, the one Counselor of Chancery, the other Secretary to the King. Baron Bielk, previously to his being arrested, had taken poison, and soon after expired. A curious circumstance is related by the Marquis of Bouillé, which shews, that even the strongest and most cultivated minds are not, on occasions of extreme danger and alarm, wholly superior to the influence of superstition. Just before the King set out for Gefle, his fortune was told by a woman named Harvisson; and he was advised to beware of the month of March, and of the first person he should meet on leaving the palace. That person was Count Ribbing.* It was by orders from the King, who recollected the warning of the woman, that the Count was taken into custody, before he was mentioned among those who were accessory to the conspiracy, by Ankerstrœm.

Though the sufferings of the King must have been excruciating in the extreme, as the pistol had been loaded with seven nails, besides two balls, and some small shot, he bore them with unexampled courage and resignation, and displayed

* Ribbing was one of three young men who conspired to put the King to death, and drew lots for the infamous honour of making the first attack on his person. The other two were Ankerstrœm, on whom the lot fell, and the Count Von Horn.

played a presence of mind the most astonishing.

While he waited for the arrival of his surgeons, in an apartment adjoining to the saloon of the opera-house, several of the foreign ministers presented themselves; to whom he said, "I have given orders, Gentlemen, that the gates of the city shall be shut. You will, therefore, not take it ill if you should be unable to send couriers to your courts until after three days. Your advices then will be more certain, since it will probably be known whether I can survive or not." His conversation then related to the effects which the accident might produce in Europe; and the love of fame, which was always his predominant passion, was perceptible in his remarks.

General Baron d'Armfeldt, one of his most affectionate friends, entered the room pale with horror, and unable to utter a word. As he approached, the King, stretching out his hand to him, said, "What's the matter, my friend? Be not alarmed on my account. You know, by experience, what a wound is." Thus flatteringly alluding to the wound which the General had received in Finland. Finding that he was not likely to survive, he settled all his affairs, as a man does who is preparing for a journey, with all the composure imaginable. He sent for his son, the Prince Royal, and addressed a

speech to him on the nature of a good government, in a manner so truly affecting, that all those who were present were dissolved in tears.

The wound which the King received was not at first pronounced to be mortal, and some faint hopes were entertained of his recovery: but on the 28th a mortification took place; and on the following morning, sensible of his approaching dissolution, he confessed himself according to the usage of the Lutheran church, to his High Almoner, with a sincere, but calm and unostentatious devotion. After which he said to his confessor, "I doubt whether, in the eyes of my Maker, I have any great merit; but at least I have the consolation to reflect, that I never wilfully injured any person." It was his desire to receive the blessed sacrament, and to take leave of his queen, who, by the advice of the physicians, had not been admitted to him while his fate remained undecided. That he might be prepared to support these important duties with dignity and fortitude, he endeavoured to compose himself for taking some repose; when, immediately after bidding adieu to the nobleman in waiting, he expired.*

The King, during his illness, appointed his brother the Duke of Sudermania, during the minority of his son, Regent of the kingdom. He gave it in strict charge to the Duke

* This murder of a king, at a time when the Jacobin rulers of France were in the habit of expressing the most marked execration of royalty, and were generally suspected of propagating their anti-monarchical and even king-killing principles in every country open to their intrigues, was, by many zealous opposers of the French revolution, attributed to the machinations of their emissaries. The account that has been given leaves no ground for such a supposition. Nevertheless, the death of Gustavus afforded a subject of great and savage triumph to the French revolutionists, both in France and other countries.

Duke to pardon all the conspirators not excepting even the assassin himself. But on the expostulation of the Duke, he agreed to the necessity of making him an exception. He was condemned to be deprived of his right of nobility, and of a citizen, with infamy, to be pilloryed and whipt in different places, to have his right hand cut off, and afterwards to be beheaded. Ankerström, until his strength was exhausted by his sufferings, shewed great firmness of mind, and read a paper, in which he declared his deliberate sentiments on what he had done, and was about to suffer. He justified the act he had committed, as the only means left for delivering the nation from a tyrant; and predicted a time when the present disgrace of his family would be compensated by the future applause and gratitude of the Swedish nation.

Gustavus III. was a prince of great natural talents, highly improved by education. To a great fund of easy and impressive eloquence, he united the most insinuating manners; and the extent of his knowledge and solidity of his judgment excited the admiration of all who had access to his conversation. The various journies which he made into different parts of Europe, as well as into almost every corner of his own dominions, made him thoroughly acquainted with mankind; and he

possessed sufficient sagacity to profit by his observations, and to apply them to the purposes of government. He seemed to inherit from his mother all that was most admirable in the character of his uncle, Frederic the Great, King of Prussia:—the same love of the arts and sciences;* the same fertility of invention, presence of mind, intrepid courage, and devotion to military glory. But whatever may be thought of the doctrine respecting the physical transmission of mental qualities, there can be no doubt but the character, conduct, and maxims of his illustrious maternal uncle were ever present to his mind, as well as those of his heroic predecessors on the Swedish throne. One maxim of Frederic he was wont to repeat to his confidential friends with great approbation: “That in great affairs, no man, however discouraging the circumstances in which he may be placed, needs to be afraid to strike a blow, provided that he does it with prudence and perseverance; as friends and conjunctures will arise, which, rightly improved, will carry him through all difficulties.” It is on this solid maxim that he seems to have acted from his accession to the throne in 1772; soon after which he destroyed, in the space of an hour, that powerful aristocracy which had imperiously ruled Sweden for near sixty years, and recovered the authority which had

* This extraordinary prince was not only a great orator, but a fine writer; of which there are abundant proofs, not only in private letters and memorials drawn up by his own hand, but in different printed pieces, though anonymous; particularly a publication which drew great attention, and whose object it was, to expose the licentiousness of Catherine’s private life, and the arrogance of her inordinate ambition. This was considered as a just retaliation for the intrigues of the Empress in Sweden.

had been wrested from his ancestors, to his attack on Russian Finland in 1788, and the more recent period, when he determined, and was prepared, to throw himself with only a small army, for the scale on which war is now made, on the coast of France.

It was this military ardour and thirst of fame, as we have had occasion before to mention, that formed his predominant passion; and which may seem to explain, if not to apologize, for his desire of power, and his invasion of what had become the actual constitution of his country: for this seemed absolutely necessary to the emancipation of himself, as well as of his people, from the overbearing pride and power of the nobility, and the danger and dread of the domineering ambition of Russia. It was not in order to exercise tyranny and oppression that a prince of so great humanity and clemency of disposition sought to strengthen his hands: but that he might be enabled to pursue what he conceived to be for the interest of Sweden: for although the real happiness and prosperity of a nation do not consist in pursuits of military renown, yet some great effort appeared to be necessary on the part of the Swedish nation, for securing their political independence, without which no state or kingdom can long enjoy the highest degree of excellence, virtue, or happiness: and as the Swedish nation would share with him in the glory of his exploits, he did not establish one standard of what was good and desirable for himself, and another of what might be good and

desirable for them; but proposed to exalt their minds to the love and pursuit of the great and sublime in moral conduct. For such a heroic system, and at such a juncture, when the two imperial courts threatened total destruction to the political balance of Europe, there were not wanting plausible arguments. In the inaugural oration which the King pronounced before the academy which he instituted at Stockholm,* he says,—“Such indeed is the nature of man, that he can be animated only by action, and must have his mental powers excited by strong motives. A state of tranquillity has a strong tendency to enervate the understanding; unless mankind are impelled to utility by the most powerful motives, and are prevented by the prospect of fame from sinking into a lethargic slumber, equally dangerous to individuals and to the community at large.” But though this Prince had determined to live, as it were, in the storm of war, as such a conduct was imperiously demanded by the circumstances of the times, he was not inattentive to the arts of peace. It was not only to the liberal arts and the sciences that he extended his attention, but to agriculture, commerce, and the mechanical or useful arts. He introduced sundry wise regulations into the various departments of government. He enforced the most perfect impartiality in the administration of justice; and, on the whole, the people saw with the greatest satisfaction, the power of an aristocracy, whose influence they had experienced, transferred into the hands of a monarch

* Of this academy the principal persons in his court were members, and the king himself was president.

narch who possessed their love and affection. So dangerous may the virtues of princes become to their people as their vices!

In every age there is generally one hero who commands a greater share of the public admiration than any other. Gustavus III. appeared beyond all doubt as the most heroic character among sovereign princes, after the death of his illustrious relation, the King of Prussia. If there be a region in the world where military campaigns roughen to the eye, and the hardships and horrors of war become more harsh and horrible than others, it is the ancient Scandinavia, Norway, Sweden, and the northern parts of the Russian empire. Bodies of armed men, now traversing a country intersected by mountains, morasses, glens, ravines, rapid rivers, and lakes; now on board of vessels, grappling with their enemies in narrow and tempestuous seas; and now descending into mines, and in those gloomy caverns seeking victory over their enemies, or death,—these appearances indicate a more than ordinary degree of human hardihood and courage, and are of such a nature that, if they had been reported to the Grecian poets, they

would have been wrought into fables of a race of beings of gigantic force and ferocity; living in the gloomy regions of Tartarus, and beyond the precincts of the habitable world, and accustomed to wage war against the immortal Gods, presiding over the different departments of nature. The enterprize, courage, and activity of Gustavus were highly distinguished, even in this daring and desperate mode of warfare.

The defects and blemishes in the character of this illustrious prince, were such as human nature easily pardons, being only the excesses of generous passions: a gallantry and fearlessness respecting his own person, carried to a degree of fatal improvidence; and a clemency of disposition carried not only beyond the bounds of just policy, but almost to the length of weakness. On the whole, Gustavus III. King of Sweden, endowed with many natural advantages, cultivated by a fine education, and emulous of the high renown of his relations, both by the paternal and maternal side, proved that the celestial fire of the human race is not extinguished by the lapse of ages; and to what exertions human nature might be animated by the love of glory, properly directed.

CHAP. V.

Rejoicings at Petersburg on Account of the Peace with Sweden. An Ambition of Conquest the ruling passion of the Empress. The Pacification of Werela a Countermine to the Convention of Reichenbach. Effects of this on the Minds of the Turks. Resentments against the Swedes. Misplaced. The King of Sweden's Conduct in making Peace with Russia vindicated. The haughty Spirit of the Empress reduced by the Allies within the Bounds of greater Circumspection and Caution. Cessation of Hostilities on the Danube. Vigorous Preparations

rations for War on the Part of the Ottomans. Naval Engagements. Heroic Atchievements of a Greek Squadron, under the Colours and Auspices of Russia, and of a Body of Greeks at Land. A Concert formed between the Czarina and the Greeks, for emancipating that Nation from the Mahomedan Yoke. Deputies from the People of Greece sent to Petersburg. How received. Great and extensive Plan of the Greeks for expelling the Turks from Europe. Approved by the Empress, who gives Earnest of future Succours in case of certain events. Russian Plan for a winter campaign on the Danube. Turkish army under Batal Bay, on the side of Asia, routed and totally ruined. The strong fortress and town of Ismailow taken by storm, after a noble defence, by General Suvarof. Dreadful and unheard-of massacre there. Various actions between the Turks and Russians. Treaty of peace concluded suddenly at Galatz.

THE respect in which the Russians had been forced to hold the Swedes, notwithstanding the contempt with which they had so recently affected to regard that gallant nation, was expressed by the public rejoicings on the conclusion of the peace at Petersburg; which were continued ten days and nights without intermission, and in a manner equally ingenious and magnificent. It is not certainly any part of our plan to amuse our readers with the splendor and pomp of courts and public diversions; yet it may not be improper to give a brief sketch of the Grand Gala at Petersburg, in the end of August 1791; as it serves, in some measure, to give an idea of the Russian court, the Russian empire at that period, and even of the mind of the Empress.

The Gala-days commenced on Sunday, early in the morning. The principal streets were lined with infantry. The square in which the equestrian statue of Peter the Great stands, was filled with troops. The blaze of arms, the sound of martial music, and military honours publicly conferred on certain regiments, at the same time that they were exhibited as expressions of joy at the

return of peace, carried an air of exultation and triumph. Catharine beheld her troops from the windows of one front of her palace: and from those of the opposite side, the galley fleet lying at anchor in the river, with all their flags and pendants displayed from every mast and yard. The decks of all the vessels were crowded with soldiers and seamen. Vast multitudes of the citizens were collected together upon the banks of the Neva to view the fleet; while others were assembled, in the great square, to see their Sovereign; who, after divine service, in which a grand *te Deum* was performed, came into the balcony attended by the ladies of the court. Catharine bowed to her subjects, who made the air resound with their acclamations. Medals struck to commemorate the peace, were thrown amidst the crowd, by two heralds on horseback. A *feu de joie* was fired by the guards, drawn up in the grand square, and ran from thence along the lines of troops to the most distant parts of the city. The cannon from the admiralty fired at the same time, and immediately afterwards, the whole galley fleet fired repeated broadsides.

These

These awful peals called the multitude, who were scrambling for the medals, to the river. Clouds of smoke mixed with the continual flashes from the mouths of the cannon, and the numerous ships and pendants, discovered at intervals through the dispersion of the smoke by the wind, gave, on the whole, no bad idea of real naval engagements.

In the evening the galley fleet was superbly illuminated with different coloured lamps, hung upon the masts, the yards, the sides, and among the rigging. The darkness of the night, and the wild irregularity of the lamps, which appeared like meteors in the air, had an uncommon but grand effect. The city, too, was illuminated in every quarter.

On Tuesday her Imperial Majesty dined in public with her naval and military officers. Upon Thursday the populace were entertained with oxen roasted whole, and two fountains of wine. The fountains, beautifully painted and decorated, were erected in front of the palace, and the oxen were placed on stages near them. The wine sprung into the air the moment that her Imperial Majesty appeared in the balcony. The populace crowded about the basins, which received the falling bounty; while another party, at the same signal, mounted the stages,

and pulled in a thousand pieces the silken cover which hid the bodies of the oxen; nothing of them being seen before, besides their heads and gilded horns. The oxen were then quickly dissected: and from their bellies, stuffed with every sort of viands, fowls, tongues, hams, joints of veal and mutton, &c. showered in great profusion. On the succeeding Tuesday a public masquerade was given at court, and all ranks were admitted by tickets. The Empress, the Grand duke and Duchess, with the young Imperial Family, the Russian ministers, the foreign ambassadors, the naval and military officers, and the principal inhabitants of the city, as well as the lowest classes, were assembled together. Besides the assemblage that appeared in characters and fancied dresses, or in dominoes, there was an equal number in their ordinary habits; which, however, were more curious and even various than the others. Russians, Moors, Finlanders, Poles, Danes, Swedes, Italians, French, Germans, English, Turks, Greeks, Persians, Jews, Armenians, and Tartars of various tribes, in their native dresses, and speaking the different languages of their nations, presented a group of singular variety.* And what was very striking, and particularly characteristic of the genius of these festivities,

* During the time of the Greek empire, the great (as it was the most natural) centre of communication between the European and Asiatic nations, was Constantinople. The gross bigotry, ignorance, and pride of the Turks, have given a check to this communication on that quarter; while a new point of communication and, as it were, contact has been formed by the more liberal sentiments and views of the court of St. Petersburg, and the immense extent of the Russian empire. To speak in a style familiar, but apt enough, St. Petersburg is a kind of half-way house between Europe and Asia, by land, as the Cape of Good Hope is by sea. There is not any station where human nature is to be seen in so great a diversity of character and

festivities, Swedish and Russian officers in their respective uniforms, were now walking side by side, or mixing in the dance. It might well appear to be a matter of wonder, were it not so common, and perhaps even of humiliation and regret, that men of liberal and cultivated minds, who have no manner of quarrel with one another, but who, on the contrary, are naturally inclined to mutual sympathy and good offices, nay, and that whole nations are so easily to be engaged in mutual hostilities, by the nod of one, or the intrigues of a few of their fellow-creatures! It depended solely on the wills of their respective sovereigns, whether those gentlemen should not, in a very little

time, be ranged on opposite sides in a field of battle.

The Gala-days ended with fireworks, which were played off in a field adjoining to the summer-gardens, which were superbly illuminated. In the front of the field, a small wooden building was fitted up for the accommodation of the Imperial family, and stages around it for the conveniency of the public. The firing of cannon announced the approach of the Empress: the temple of Janus opened its gates; the furies hissed within it, and tossed their flaming heads: the thunder of cannon and musketry declared the raging of war: the gates of Janus, after this had continued for some time, were shut: the

and appearance, as that residence of the "Russian monarchs" (it is observed by a very pleasing and profound writer) "is made up of a variety of nations, differing from one another in language, dress, and manners. The court-dress being wholly foreign, there are no circumstances that give to any one national dress of the empire the superiority over all the rest. Hence every tribe preserves its own: and as the capital naturally attracts to itself some individuals from every nation of which the empire is composed, the inhabitants of St. Petersburg are accustomed to see much greater variety of dresses than those of almost any other city. The diversity is as great in the manner of life as it is in the external appearance of those who inhabit this city. Foreigners generally continue attached to their native habits and predilections: and in St. Petersburg you may be entertained after the manner of almost every nation in Europe, as well as of most of the Asiatic tribes, from the Wall of China to the Mouth of the Ob, and from Constantinople to the Sea of Kamtschatka. In short, St. Petersburg presents a natural masquerade. In other cities the variety of strangers is not so distinguishable as here, owing to their accommodating themselves to the dress of the country in which they reside, or sojourn, in order to prevent the mob from staring at them. In this imperial residence of Russia, there is no need of such compliance. Let foreigners be dressed ever so oddly, they will find at every turning subjects of the Russian empire to keep them in countenance. She brings into this ball her various swarms from the snowy mountains near the Frozen Ocean, to the fertile plains of the Ukraine (a space of 4000 miles) Siberians, Tongusians, Finns, Calmucs, Cossacks, and an endless train of other Tartarian tribes. The masquerade is a favourite amusement at Petersburg: there are such great distinctions of ranks without doors, that they are happy at times to sink and forget these in a masquerade. In England, on the contrary, we are so much on a level without and within doors, that it would be no amusement or relaxation to repeat the same scenes: and this I take to be the reason that we have few masquerades."

the temple of Minerva blazed forth, and moved towards the place where her Imperial majesty was seated: the temple of Janus, at the same time removing to a distance. The Imperial initial was emblazoned, and appeared amidst a glory playing around it. Another temple displayed the blessings of peace, of science, of agriculture, and commerce, while two palm-branches flourished, one on each side.

But while the Empress was represented by these emblems, as enjoying the glories of the sciences, and all the liberal and useful arts, as well as that of war, and though it was thereby represented that the end of all wars ought to be the supreme blessing of peace, it was the love of military glory and of conquest that was still uppermost in her mind. She delighted more in the means than the end. If peace with Sweden was a subject of sincere joy to the Czarina, it was chiefly on account of the freedom at which it left the Russian fleet and armies, to pursue the favourite line of conquest in another quarter.*

The pacification of Werela, between Russia and Sweden, proved in a very considerable degree what it was intended,—a countermine to the convention of Reichenbach. The secession of Leopold from the confederacy between the Imperial

courts, seemed to be fully counterbalanced by that of Gustavus from the cause of the allies. The sanguinary temper of Catharine disposed her to contemplate the advantages to be expected from the undivided force of her empire, brought to bear against the Turks more than on those, that the Turks might on their part expect from their undivided force exerted against her. And as the peace with Sweden relieved her, on the one hand, from actual and most violent aggressions, so it lessened the danger to be apprehended from Prussia and Britain, whose menaces, indeed, had already begun to lose somewhat of their awe, by the delay of execution.

The joy and exultation which prevailed at Petersburg, were naturally contrasted with the disappointment, grief, and indignation which took place on the news of the peace of Werela, at Constantinople. The Swedes had just been comprehended among the most favoured of Christian nations. It was but a few days before intelligence of that heavy stroke was received, that an uncommonly fine and valuable diamond, sent by Gustavus, was presented to the Grand Seignior. Both the Swedish minister at the Porte, and the bearer of the present, were treated with peculiar marks of

* The victories which Catharine gained over the Turks in the war concluded by the Convention of 1784, were celebrated by an English artist in an allegorical painting now preserved at Czarsko-Zelo. In this painting the Empress points with her right hand to standards and other warlike trophies, which allude to the success of her arms. Greece, with her attributes, at the Empress's feet, seems on one side to implore her protection, while Apollo, at the head of the nine muses, advances with a suppliant air on the other. The rising sun illumines Catharine's forehead; and in the back ground arises the new city of Cherson; behind which is the Black Sea, covered with ships directing their course towards Constantinople.

of distinction and honour, such as magnificent presents in garments, fine horses, and money, at the seraglio: while the populace embraced every opportunity of expressing their approbation, applause, and even apparent affection. Forgetting, it is said, their usual bigotry and pride, they hailed the Swedes as their Christian brothers. All these circumstances, all the respectful and kindly sentiments, founded on the honour and heroism of the King, another Charles XII, their friend and ally, not their enemy, as well as on the native honour and generous fidelity for which the Swedes had at all times been renowned, served now only to exasperate the resentment of the Turks, with whom insincerity ranks among the least of their vices, and filled the public mind with a degree of indignation and abhorrence that could scarcely be restrained from acts of outrage.

It was not, however, the King of Sweden that was the proper object of their resentment, but the other allies of the Turks, particularly Prussia; though these allies, instead of taking blame, or shame, to themselves, joined in the cry against that magnanimous and heroic Prince, for what they called his shameful desertion of the confederation. While it was possible for the King of Sweden to maintain it, he persevered in a desperate conflict with the overpowering force of the Russian arms, agreeably to his engagements. If private interest and ambition had been the ruling principle of his conduct, he would have suffered the Russian fleet, in 1788, to proceed to its destination, the Mediterranean sea, by

which means the Swedish fleet would have remained mistress of the Baltic; and such precisely is the conduct that such a political and versatile court as his ally, Prussia, would in all probability have observed, if placed in a similar situation. The King, faithful to engagements, to divert and employ the naval force of Russia, performed those prodigies of courage and valour which we have above related. It was not until he had maintained the unequal contest with a constancy and energy of which (except perhaps in the Swedish history) there is no example, for three years; it was not until a general ruin had fallen on every denomination and division of the Swedish fleet, the Pomeranian light squadron alone excepted: it was not until all this had been beheld by the allies, if not with indifference, yet without any actual movement on their part towards his relief, that Gustavus listened to the voice of peace with a power which at least had not betrayed him.

The eyes of the Empress of Russia, as well as those of all sovereign powers, in the spring and summer of 1790, were fixed on the conduct of the new Emperor Leopold. He had at first rejected proposals made to him for a separate peace; but this was so strongly enforced by the necessity of his affairs, that Catharine very reasonably doubted whether he would continue long to persevere in rejecting them. If he should not, she would be left alone to support a contest with the allied powers, as well as with Sweden, Poland, and the Ottoman empire. Such a combination against her was sufficient to abate the ardour of her hopes

hopes, and to lower the tone of her conduct so far, as to contract it within the limits of greater caution and circumspection. She therefore suspended hostilities on the Danube, and foreseeing, or being quickly informed, of the intended treaty of Reichenbach, employed her active and comprehensive mind in bringing about a peace with Sweden, and forming plans for future military operations.

In the mean time, while the Russians rested on their arms on the principal theatre of war, hostilities were neither interrupted at sea, nor wholly in any other quarter at land.

The Grand Seignior, greatly encouraged by the strenuous interference of the allies in his behalf, made every effort for carrying on the war with the utmost vigour. He had recourse to all the expedients within the compass of his finances, or his authority in the state. He invited into his service strong and able-bodied men, by the amplest pecuniary allurements. He deprived himself of the Bostangis, or guards of the seraglio, a corps of about 10,000 choice men, and sent them to reinforce his army. Animated by his example, or fearful to offend him, opulent Turks, particularly those in public stations, vied with each other in their exertions to furnish men and money for the public service. The Pasha of Angora, led 4,000 men into the field, levied and accoutred at his sole expence. The very women, of high rank and circumstances, raised and sent soldiers to the camp, proportionably to their abilities. The mother of Selim, led the way on this occasion, by arming and pro-

viding with money and necessaries a body of 500 men. This enthusiasm of public spirit spread into the remotest, and even such as may be considered as little more than nominal parts of the empire; and roused the Algerine corsairs to resist, repress, and subdue a piratic squadron of Greeks, under Russian auspices and colours, in the Archipelago, which plundered the islands and coast of that sea, and was a great annoyance to the Turkish trade, particularly that with Egypt, the most valuable of any; as being that on which the capital chiefly depended for rice and other provisions.

The Czarina at the commencement of the present war, sent manifestos to all parts of Greece, as she had done in the former war, inviting the inhabitants to take up arms, and co-operate with her in expelling the enemies of Christianity from the countries they had usurped, and regaining their ancient liberty and national independence. By the peace at Kainargi, 1774, it was stipulated that a general amnesty and eternal oblivion of all crimes whatever, committed or suspected to the sublime Porte, should be granted and observed to the inhabitants of the Greek islands, comprehending the Greeks of the peninsula of the Morea, that neither the Christian religion nor its churches should be exposed to the smallest oppression; that no payment should be exacted from those islands, of the annual taxes to which they had been subjected, from the time during which they had been under the dependence of the Russian empire, in consideration of the great losses which they had suffered

ferred during the war, for the term of two years to come, reckoning from the time of their restoration to the Sublime Porte; and that permission should be granted to such families as should chuse to quit their country and establish themselves elsewhere, to depart freely in a reasonable time (the course of one year) with their goods. Notwithstanding this solemn engagement, the Russians had no sooner evacuated their conquests, than they fell upon the inhabitants, unprepared to resist them, and massacred an incredible number, particularly in the Morea, where their vengeance fell with all its weight.* Whole districts were left without a single inhabitant; and this fine country is now almost a desert. Yet such was the love of liberty that prevailed among the Greeks, that they were not deterred by the recollection that the Russians had withdrawn their arms, and left them under no stronger a protection than the faith of treaties. Such, notwithstanding all these circumstances, was the native ardour of the Greeks when excited and encouraged by a ray of hope, that when a fresh war broke out between the Turks and Russians, they again took up arms without hesitation, at the call of the Empress, who on her part assured them, that she was determined never

again to commit them to the faith of any treaty with the Ottomans. A Greek of the name of Sottiri, was sent to Albania to distribute manifestos, and form a concert with the chiefs of that extensive and maritime province, for an insurrection and revolt from the Turkish tyranny. A Grecian army was soon raised, their head-quarters being at Sulli. They marched against the Pasha of Janina, the capital of the ancient Epirus, and defeated him in a pitched battle, in which his son was killed, and despoiled of his rich armour.

The Greeks, encouraged by this success, collected a sum of money, by voluntary subscription of individuals, and fitted out at Trieste an armament of twelve small ships, under the Russian flag, and the command of one of their own nation, Lambro Canziani, which sailed, in April 1790, to the Archipelago. These adventurers, whose numbers were daily increased by the accession of others from various quarters, not only carried on with great success a predatory war at sea, and in occasional descents on the Turkish coasts; but seized the island of Zia, situated between Athens and the southern extremity of the island of Negropont, fifteen miles in length, and eight in breadth; well cultivated, and abounding in most of the necessaries of

* "A deliberate proposal was made in the Divan to slaughter them all (the inhabitants of the Morea) in cold blood, innocent and guilty, of whatever age or sex. It was, however, successfully opposed by Gazi Hassan (the Grand Vizier) on motives of both humanity and policy. The chief argument which he used, and which alone carried conviction to his hearers, was, "If we kill all the Greeks, we shall lose all the capitation they pay." Eton's Survey of the Turkish Empire, 2nd edition, p. 356.—It is to be observed, at the same time, that Mr. Eton, throughout the whole of his book (which is said to have been written at the instigation of the Russian merchants) speaks of the Turks in a strain of prejudice, and even of bitterness.

of life. The principal town, called also Zia, contained about fifteen thousand inhabitants. At this place, the Greek adventurers, in order to secure the possession of the island, constructed a fort, and garrisoned it with Albanian soldiers. They were everywhere victorious and excited so general an alarm and dread, as nearly to draw a considerable part of the Turkish navy out of the Black Sea, and leave the capital of the Turkish empire exposed to the attack of a formidable Russian fleet, then in the ports of the Crimea. Nor would the Turkish squadron have been able to resist the military ardour, and nautical skill of the Greeks,* if it had not been seconded by the Algerines, a race of men who unite the pride of Mahomedanism with the ferocity of Africans, and the hardiness and skill of experienced sailors; and who, perhaps, felt not a little indignation that their own province of piracy was intruded on, by men whom they were accustomed to consider as slaves, equally vile and spiritless.

On the 18th of May, 1790, seven Algerine corsairs being joined by the Turkish vessels, attacked the Grecian armament with great fury. The Greeks fought with the most undaunted, though not with superior bravery; but being equalled in courage, and exceeded greatly in numbers and weight of metal, they were at last overpowered, tho' not till the twelve frigates were sunk, and nothing remained but some boats, in which the gallant Lambro, with what remained of his followers, made their escape.

Lambro Canziani could not find resources for fitting out again more than one ship. The conduct of the Russian agents to this patriot and hero, was most flagrantly flagitious. The peculation of all those who were entrusted with money for the Russian service, had become so common and glaring, that they looked upon it as their own property. Lambro was suffered to be imprisoned for debts contracted for his armaments, and owed his release only to the contributions of his countrymen. The news of peace arrived; but Lambro, agitated at once with indignation and a thirst of revenge, found no rest to his troubled mind, but in violent and desperate action. He put to sea with his single ship, and attacked and sunk, or destroyed, several Turkish ships. He was disavowed by Russia, and declared a pirate. Still he persevered in his desperate course. Being again overpowered, he disdained to strike: his vessel sunk under him, and he again escaped in his boat, and took refuge in the mountains of Albania; where the Sulliotés, and other Greek christians, after seventeen battles and skirmishes with the Turks, maintained, and, as we have been recently well assured, still maintain their independence. Thus, in the Greeks of our times, as well as the Swedes, we have a conspicuous proof and example, how much the character and fate of nations depend on moral causes: how easily the spirit of former ages may be revived in various climates by circumstances of government; and that nature is not less propitious to
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* It is from the Greek nation that the Turks draw the best hands in their naval service.

any nation now, than it was to their remotest ancestors.

In making selections from that infinite mass of materials which lies before the writer of history, even of annals, one of its humblest species, he is naturally directed by the sentiments, views, and even passions, that are uppermost in his mind, in common with those of the age and country in which he lives. The new, singular, and almost whimsical situation in which the Greeks of our day, who have shewn themselves so well deserving of attention, are placed by the present coalition between the Turks and Russians (by the former of whom they have been so long oppressed, and by the latter repeatedly abandoned) will, we trust, plead our excuse with our ingenuous readers, if we take the liberty, even in this brief sketch of the passing years, of making a short digression to certain transactions between the illustrious Catharine and the Greek nation, during the period that forms the subject of the present volume.

The Venetians being unwilling to give offence to their neighbours the Ottomans, and desirous, above all things, according to the weak policy of old and enfeebled states to observe a strict neutrality, refused their consent to a communication through the Gulf of Venice, between the Russians and the Greeks in Albania, by means of the port of Prevasa,* the nearest to Mount Sulli, the great rendezvous of the Greeks, before mentioned. The Empress, therefore, sent Cap-

tain Psaro, with several other persons, to Sicily, to establish magazines for the fleet coming out under Admiral Greig in that island, and to furnish that people with money and ammunition. In this state of things, the Greeks sent a deputation of three leading men of their nation to St. Petersburg, with complaints against the persons commissioned on this service by the Empress. They presented to her Imperial Majesty the rich armour that had been worn by the son of the Pasha of Janina, together with a petition than which it is impossible to conceive any one more proper for the occasion; but by the intrigues of those who were afraid of a scrutiny into their peculations, were prevented, for several months, from presenting their petition, and explaining the business of their mission. But at length they obtained a private audience of the Empress, through the good offices of M. Zuboff, at that time the favourite. They presented a memorial in Greek, with a translation in French, setting forth in terms, and with professions, of the most profound respect, confidence, and submission, the circumstances that had emboldened them to prostrate themselves at *her*† feet,—the delays of her ministers to answer their memorials—the embezzlements of Psaro, and the other agents,—mistakes into which her Imperial Majesty had been led respecting the character and conduct of this man and facts proving the disinterested and generous zeal and efforts of the Greeks

* A sea-port in Albania, anciently Nicopolis; so called from the circumstance of its having been built by Augustus, after the battle of Actium.

† A stress, or emphasis, is laid on the words *your feet*, in contradistinction to the persons of her ministers, of whom they have *so much* cause to complain.

Greeks for the recovery of their liberty. "We never," say they, "ask for your treasures: we do not ask for them now; we only ask for powder and balls, which we cannot purchase, and to be led to battle. We are come to *offer* our lives and fortunes, not to *ask* for your treasures. Deign, O great Empress! Glory of the Greek faith! Deign to read our memorial. Heaven has reserved our deliverance for the glorious reign of your Imperial Majesty. It is under your auspices that we hope to deliver from the hands of barbarous Mahomedans our empire which they have usurped; to free the descendants of Athens and Lacedæmon from the tyrannic yoke of ignorant savages; a nation whose genius is not extinguished; which glows with the love of liberty; which the iron yoke of barbarism has not vilified; which has constantly before its eyes the images of its ancient heroes, and whose example animates its warriors even to this day." They proceed to touch on other animating circumstances; offer the sovereignty of the Grecian nation to her grandson CONSTANTINE, the family of their own emperors being extinct; and conclude an address, of which we should say, but for the air of submission and dependence unavoidably imposed by adverse circumstances, that it breathed the fire and eloquence of ancient Greece, by declaring themselves to be the **DEPUTIES OF THE PEOPLE OF GREECE**, furnished with full powers and other docu-

ments, and as such, prostrated before the throne of *her* whom, next to God, they look on as their saviour; and that with their latest breath, they would consider themselves her Imperial Majesty's most faithful and devoted servants. This memorial* was dated at St. Petersburg, April, 1790.

The empress received the deputies of Greece very graciously, and promised them the assistance they asked. They were conducted, after their audience, to the apartments of her grandson; where, on offering to kiss the hand of the eldest grand duke, Alexander, he pointed to his brother Constantine, telling them it was to him that they were to address themselves. They represented to him, in the Greek tongue, the object of their mission, and concluded by doing homage to him as their emperor. He answered them in the same language, *Go, and let every thing be done according to your wishes.* With their memorial they presented a plan of operation, proposing, among other particulars, that, being furnished with cannon, the means of augmenting the squadron under Lambro Canziani, and engineers for conducting the sieges of strong places, they should march from Sulli, where the Grecian congress was held, and from whence they had a correspondence with all Greece: to march in two divisions to Livadia, the ancient Greece, properly so called, and its capital Athens. In their march they were to be joined, at appointed places, by troops from the Morea and Negropont;

* See this memorial among our State Papers.

gropont; to which island the fleet of Lambro was to direct its course.* They were then to proceed in one body to Thessaly, and to Salonichi, the capital of Macedonia, a large, rich, and populous city, about ten miles in circumference; a considerable sea-port, and a place of great trade, principally carried on by the Greeks and Jews; the former of which have thirty churches, and the latter many synagogues. The whole army being then assembled, which they calculated at three hundred thousand men, they were to march to the plains of Adrianople, to meet the Russians, and proceed to Constantinople; where they hoped to find the Russian fleet arrived from the Crimea. But, at all events, they esteemed their own force to be sufficient for the reduction of that city, and the expulsion of the Turks both from their islands and the continent of Europe. In this plan, provision was made for the establishment and disposition of magazines, and for retreats in cases of disaster. A calculation was made of the Turkish forces in different quarters, and of the proper means for resisting and subduing them. All their resources, and the quota of troops which each place had engaged to furnish, were plainly stated, as well as the measures they had adopted for carrying on a secret correspondence with all parts of the country, both with respect to their own allies, and the movements of the enemy. In a word, the plan in agitation seemed a counterpart to the expedition of all the states of Greece against Troy.

The empress, giving the depu-

ties a thousand ducats for the expence of their journey, sent them to Prince Potemkin, commanding the army in Moldavia. They left St. Petersburg on the 20th of May, 1796. In August they were sent to Greece, by the way of Vienna, together with Major-General Iamera, who was to superintend the whole expedition, and to furnish them with the assistance they required. They were enjoined to prepare every thing, but to undertake nothing, till the proper moment should arrive for action. Which, they were told, depended on many circumstances, of which they were ignorant. The matter principally alluded to, and to which we must impute the slowness with which the projects of the Greeks were seconded, was the probable interference of the court of London in the war, as well as that of Prussia. We now return from the Greeks and Captain Lambro Canziani, to the naval operations between the Turks and Russians.

On the eighth of July, 1790, a Russian squadron in the Black Sea, took or destroyed the greatest part of a Turkish convoy, on its way to a port on the coast of Natolia. On the 7th of September following, a Russian squadron, of six ships of the line, and fourteen frigates, attacked a Turkish squadron of five ships of the line, five of fifty guns, and four frigates. After a well fought action on both sides, the Russians were obliged to retire with the loss of two frigates; and the Turks remained masters of the sea. But, on the next day, the Turkish admiral having fallen a great way to leeward of his fleet, was surrounded

* As we have found, in fact, that it did.

rounded by ten Russian ships. He maintained a long and vigorous, though unequal conflict, until finding all farther resistance vain, he fastened on one of the largest Russian ships, and blew it up, together with his own, in the air.

The Turkish fleet still kept its station, but the Russians withdrew to the mouth of the Niester, on the coast of Bessarabia, near to which this engagement happened.

While these things came to pass, during the state of inaction which took place on the borders of the Danube, during the summer of 1790, at sea, the Turks made an attempt to penetrate into the southern provinces, or conquests of the Russians, between the Black Sea and the Caspian; hoping, by this means, at least to draw part of their attention, and perhaps of their forces, from the grand scene of action. In prosecution of this plan, the Serasquier Batal Bey, a Pacha of Three Tails, advanced with an army of forty thousand men on the Russian government of Caucasus; but were met, as they were passing the river Cuban (early intelligence of their design having been received by Prince Potemkin) about the beginning of October, by a select body of Russians, commanded by General Herman, by whom they were completely defeated, and put to rout. Five thousand were slain in the field; great numbers were drowned in the Cuban; their artillery, amounting to above thirty pieces, with their whole camp-baggage and ammunition, and Batal Bey, their commander, were all taken by the victorious Russians. Thus the design, formed by the Turks, of making a diversion on the south and eastern provinces of the

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Russian empire, was totally frustrated, and Prince Potemkin was left at liberty to pursue the scheme he had proposed; which was forwarded also by the reduction of Kilia Nova, a place of very considerable strength on one of the mouths of the Danube, towards the end of 1789, as mentioned in the volume of this work for that year.

Prince Potemkin was by birth a Pole, and entered on the career of fortune in the character of a non-commissioned officer in a regiment of Russian guards; of which he rose to be the Lieutenant-Colonel. Her Imperial majesty was herself Colonel of all her regiments of guards; and, on particular days, appeared in the uniform of those regiments. Potemkin having the good fortune to find favour in the sight of his sovereign, had been raised to the highest rank and authority to which a subject could aspire; being at this time Commander in Chief of the Armies, and Prime Minister of Russia. He possessed great natural abilities, though but little cultivated, as well as great decision and firmness of character; and, what was of no less importance as a General, he had been almost uniformly successful. It would be difficult to conceive any circumstances or situation more fitted to call forth all the latent energy of the human mind, and to stimulate it to great designs and actions by the most powerful passions, than those in which Prince Potemkin was now placed, at the head of a great and victorious army, on the frontier of the Turkish empire. The vast riches and honours that had been lavished on him by his sovereign mistress, were only preludes to something greater intended. The sovereignty of the

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fine provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, already conquered, was to be his splendid share in the Russian conquests from the Ottoman empire.* To justify the confidence and attachment of so great and bountiful a benefactress; to merit and even extend the reputation he had acquired; and, finally, to be exalted to an equality of rank with sovereign princes: all these were no ordinary motives of action; nor could they fail to produce on the mind of Potemkin, naturally ardent and lofty, their full effect. It is customary with the Asiatic troops, which form the best part of the Turkish armies, at the approach of winter to repass the Hellespont, and return to their native countries. Those men, though as brave as any troops in the world, not being subjected to discipline†, or inured to habits of a military life, but accustomed to live in ease and luxury, are ill calculated to endure the constant toils and hardships of winter service. The Russian General, therefore, by a cessation of hostilities during the summer and autumn, and reserving his force entire for a winter campaign, gained the double advantage of falling on the European Turks when left by the Asiatics to contend with the Russians alone, and, as it were, single-handed; and at a sea-

son as favourable to the Russian as it was unpropitious to the Ottoman army. For neither are the European Turks, though equally brave and robust, to be compared in point of hardiness with the Russian soldiers; who, being bred in the frozen regions of the north, considered a Thracian winter, so dreadful to the antients, as a kind of summer, and even preferred a winter campaign on the Danube, to a campaign in any other season.

Actuated by these considerations, Prince Potemkin began to set the Russian armies in motion towards the end of October, 1790. His plan seems to have been as follows: To reduce and take possession first of Ismailow, and then of Braklow, on the Danube, which would complete the conquest of Wallachia; to pass the Danube; to place himself between the Turkish army and Constantinople, as Count Romanzow had done in 1774; and thus compel the Vizier either to risk an engagement, or to accept of a peace on terms prescribed by Russia, before he could possibly bring back his Asiatic troops, and before the powers desirous to support the Turks could make any effectual movement for their assistance. The Russian armies by possessing the spacious and fertile provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, prevented all

* It was in the same style of expressing favour, which was truly imperial, that Catherine raised Stanislaus (Count Poniatowski) to the throne of Poland.

† The leaders of those troops, like our barons in former times, advance to battle at the head of their vassals. The Turks, like other warlike nations, who, issuing forth from Tartary at different times, and under different leaders, overran the Roman empire, introduced into the countries they subdued, the military or feudal system. The General of the army became King of the conquered country, and divided the land amongst the great officers of his army, who again parcelled out their several territories, in smaller portions, to the inferior soldiers that had followed them into the field, and who became their vassals, enjoying those lands for military service.

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all supplies of provisions from that quarter; and farther, were ready to intercept all succours from Servia and Romania, by seizing on the avenues to those provinces: so that if the communication should be cut off between the Vizier and Constantinople, he would be completely surrounded by the Russians, and reduced to the alternative just stated.

The affairs of the Ottomans were now in a dangerous and deplorable situation. The main army, under the conduct of the Grand Vizier, Calabee Aga, Governor of Wid-din, who had succeeded to that important office on the death of the celebrated Hassan Ali, was reduced by the departure of the Asiatic, and by the desertion among the European troops, to less than fifty thousand. While the Russians were victorious in the field, factions and conspiracies arose at Constantinople. A tax having been imposed from which the Ulemas, or interpreters of the law, had not, as usual, been exempted, a cabal of that class determined to sacrifice the Sultan himself to their revenge. They repaired to the imperial mosque while he was at his devotions, and endeavoured to force their way to him through his guards; but were prevented from executing their design, and all of them seized and put to death. Yet in these disheartening circumstances, the divan, in conformity with the ancient maxims of the Ottomans, remained inflexible in their determination to make no concessions to their enemies but in the last extremity. In this determination they were vigorously supported by Selim, who, notwithstanding the perilous situation of his affairs, cherished a firm

hope that, by the mediation of the powers whose ministers were about to assemble at Sistovia, in order to treat with his own for a general pacification, the pretensions of Russia would be restrained within moderate bounds. The firmness of Selim was seconded by the new Grand Vizier, an officer of great courage, and a strict and even severe disciplinarian; who maintained the posts occupied by his army with great resolution, and opposed the movements of the Russians with a degree of vigilance and activity that threw more obstructions in the way of the Russians, elated with past victories, and eagerly bent on farther conquests, than they expected.

The town of Ismailow, the first and immediate object of the Russian arms, having been always considered as the key to the Lower Danube, had been rendered, according to the Turkish ideas, a place of considerable strength: and of late years the fortifications had been enlarged and strengthened under the inspection of a very able Spanish engineer. The town was surrounded by two walls, each of them covered by its proper ditch; all the ditches of considerable depth and breadth, and capable of being filled by the waters of the Danube. For the defence of this fortress, a select and numerous garrison had been early appointed, with an artillery amounting to more than three hundred pieces; and on the approaching season of threatened danger it was reinforced with thirteen thousand chosen troops; so that Ismailow might now be said to contain the flower of the Turkish army. It was not unreasonably hoped by the Vizier, that the Russians would not be able to
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take so well fortified and strongly garrisoned a place, without a long and ruinous siege; during which he might collect a sufficient force to harass, and perhaps compel them to raise it; or at least that they would probably suffer such a loss of men in its reduction as must considerably weaken their force, and greatly retard the opening of the next campaign. The Russian forces on the Danube were formed into three divisions: one under the immediate command of the Generalissimo, Prince Potemkin; a second under Prince Repnin; and a third under that of General Suvaroff. The reduction of Ismailow was allotted to this last, strengthened by a select number of the bravest soldiers from the other two divisions. General Suvaroff's army consisted of thirty thousand regular troops, besides several thousands of those savage and ferocious nations that inhabit the wild track extending along the borders of the Russian and Ottoman empires: unequal indeed to the former in discipline, yet hardy and indefatigable, and ready to encounter every danger in the hope of plunder. These wild troops were stationed chiefly on board the numerous vessels that blockaded the town on the side of the Danube. Here the Turks had also a quantity of shipping, and opposed them a while with great courage, but they were at length overpowered by superior numbers; and all their ships were either taken or destroyed. The batteries which they had erected along the river, after the ruin of the shipping, were assaulted and taken, though not without a bloody contest:—and, opposite to the lower parts of the town, on the land side, which were of easiest access,

the assailants had already made a lodgement.

General Suvaroff, encouraged by these successes, surrounded the place with batteries constructed on every spot of ground which would answer the purpose, and these loaded with forges for heating the balls, with the heaviest battering artillery and mortars, as well as every other engine of destruction hitherto invented. This tremendous artillery began to play on the unhappy town of Ismailow at five o'clock in the morning of the 22nd of December 1790, and poured a terrible shower of red-hot balls, bombs, and carcasses, into every part of the town and works. At the same time, in the midst of the consternation and ruin accompanying this terrible bombardment, and while the savage Cossacks were bursting into the town on the side of the river, the assailants gave a general assault. The General divided his besieging army into as many bodies as there appeared to be places practicable for an attack. It was the manner of this General to converse much and familiarly with the soldiers. On this occasion he said at different times to his officers, and all the soldiers within hearing, "My brothers, no quarter; provisions are dear." In eight columns (the principal of which was led by General Suvaroff in person, the others by their respective commanders, and each column appropriated to its particular point of attack) the Russians assailed Ismailow with all the fury of men who had put their lives in their hands, and knew that they must succeed in their attempt, or perish. The Turks, on the other hand, animated by equal resolution, received them with an intrepidity

intrepidity which, even, in the course of the present destructive war, had never been exceeded. Repeatedly were the Russians repulsed, to the number, it is said, of six, and even eight times, from every quarter they had assailed, with a slaughter that seemed to have diminished their strength so far as to put it out of their power to continue the attack. In this extremity General Suvaroff, in order to supply the place of the slain, ordered the horsemen to dismount, and to take an equal share in the desperate assault with the infantry; and snatching a standard, ran up a scaling ladder, and planted it with his own hands on the top of a Turkish battery. The attack was renewed with redoubled vigour; but still the defenders of Ismailow met the assailants with unshaken firmness. The first parapet was at length carried, after a long and dreadful conflict. The Turks, abandoning all thoughts of personal preservation, fought with the fury of despair. But the Russians, being constantly reinforced by fresh troops, and the Ottomans exhausted by such long and continual action, the besieged were, after a long succession of fierce and bloody conflicts, driven back to the defence, first of the second, and then of the third parapet; which were finally carried about six o'clock in the evening; when the Russians poured, without resistance, into the very heart of the town, and joined the Cossacks, who had already begun the work of such a merciless and insatiate carnage as had not for many ages been known in Europe, and was equalled only by such horrors as are recorded in the history of Numantia and Saguntum; to which indeed those of

Ismailow bear a close resemblance, both in regard to the implacable fury of the victors, and the indignation and despair of the vanquished, who asked for no quarter, but rushed on the protended bayonet, or plunged into the Danube; or, in other modes sought relief from evils greater than death. The rising sun exhibited to the eye of the appalled spectator, the effects of that undistinguished carnage which in the darkness of the night was announced only by the roaring of artillery, the groans of the wounded and dying, and the lamentable shrieks of the women and children. About 24,000 of the Turkish soldiers, including those who threw themselves into the Danube, perished from first to last in this bloody contest. Among those who fell was a number of the most renowned commanders in the Russian army; and six or seven Tartar princes of the illustrious line of Gherai. The Serasquier, the Governor of Ismailow, was found covered with wounds. About three hundred Circassian women, consisting partly of those belonging to the governor's haram, and partly of others who had fled thither for refuge from other harams, were preserved and protected by an English gentleman in the Russian service, Colonel Copley, who commanded the dismounted cavalry, when they were on the point of throwing themselves into the Danube to escape violation from the Cossacks and Russian soldiers. The whole number of Turks, as appears from an inquiry made by an Ottoman commander of rank, including inhabitants of all ages, sexes, and conditions, amounted nearly to thirty-one thousand. The engineers in the Ottoman

Ottoman service, the whole of them Europeans, and the chief of them, Mackenzie, a native of North Britain, were all of them cut off. Some hundreds of prisoners were preserved for the purpose of spreading the heavy tidings of what they had witnessed, and inspiring a dread and terror of the victors.

In the month of February Prince Potemkin quitted Jassy and returned to Petersburg, where the bloody trophies taken at Ismailow, in order to gratify the vanity of that favourite, were displayed with an ostentation unworthy of the magnanimity of the Empress. The Prince, as a mark of his sovereign's satisfaction with his conduct, received, in addition to all his other palaces, that of Stuckhoff, which had cost four hundred thousand roubles, with a magnificent dress, valued at two hundred. By an official account published at St. Petersburg, the Russians boasted of having killed 92,816 Turks in the assault and sacking of Ismailow, with the loss of only 1,815 men on their side: a statement which, were it true, would fix an indelible stigma on the Russian arms. For such a slaughter, with so trifling a loss, would plainly shew that they had met with very little resistance, and wantonly sacrificed men whose only crime was an attempt to defend their country. But the truth is, that the besiegers lost upwards of ten thousand men, with a very great proportion of their best officers.

The Empress was so elated with the reduction of Ismailow, that the first time Sir Charles Whitworth, the English ambassador, appeared at court after intelligence was received of that event, she said to him, with an ironical smile, "Sir,

since the King, your master, is determined to drive me out of Petersburg, I hope he will permit me to retire to Constantinople."

The Grand Vizier had made dispositions for marching to the relief of Ismailow when he was apprized of its fate. Compelled by the panic which had seized his army, to make the speediest possible retreat, he withdrew to the mountainous country to the south of Bulgaria. But even here his position did not appear secure; and it was foreseen that he could not long maintain himself in this post, from the continual desertions in his army, and for want of provisions. So extremely dangerous was the situation of the Vizier, that he was generally considered as unable to make any resistance without a reinforcement of not less than fifty thousand men. He dispatched repeated expresses to the divan, requiring such an aid with the utmost expedition. But his solicitations were ineffectual; the people, from his misfortunes, being generally averse to enlist under his banners. The divan, in the present alarming situation judged it expedient to sacrifice to the common prejudice of the Turks against unsuccessful commanders. He was deposed, and condemned to the bow string; a sentence which seemed to derive some sanction in justice as well as policy, from his cruel treatment of the Greek Prince Maurojeni, Hospodar of Wallachia, whom, though neither his fidelity and zeal in the Ottoman service, nor his activity and courage had ever been suspected, the Vizier, without the participation of the Turkish government, had ordered to be strangled, merely because his exertions for the

the defence of Bucharest and the fortress of Cranitz had been, as already mentioned in the course of this Register, unsuccessful.

In order to revive, if possible, the spirits of the Turks, their wishes and good opinions were carefully consulted in the choice of a new Grand Vizier. At the accession of Selim to the throne, the chief administration of affairs, with the hearty approbation and concurrence of the nation, was committed to Joseph, or, as they pronounce the word, Jussuf Pacha; who had been for several years superseded in his office, notwithstanding the abilities he had displayed at the beginning of the war with the late Emperor. He was now again invested with the dignity of Grand Vizier, to the universal satisfaction of all orders of men. Recruits came in from all parts: and he took such effectual measures for reinforcing the army, that in a short time he was able again to face the Russians.

The Russian armies, previously to the commencement of hostilities, amounted to upwards of 400,000. By the Turkish and Swedish wars, they were reduced to a great deal less than half that number: out of which the apprehensions entertained from Prussia, obliged Prince Potemkin to send detachments for the defence of Livonia, and the other provinces situated on the Prussian frontiers. Still, however, he found himself at the head of 130,000 men, including garrisons and troops employed in various services. This deficiency of the army had been in part made up by about 100,000 recruits. But these, raised in the hurry of emergency from an exhausted kingdom, could but ill supply the flower of the whole Russian empire, selected in the lei-

sure of peace out of those multitudes which, in pastoral and agricultural countries, were fit for military service. For these reasons, the Russians remained more inactive after the reduction of Ismailow and the excision of its garrison, than they had been before. They had sacrificed upon that and other occasions, a great number of excellent officers and soldiers; and were now under a necessity of making a pause in their military progress, in order to discipline the new levies that had been sent for recruiting the army. For this end, Prince Potemkin distributed his troops after the fall of Ismailow, into winter quarters; in such stations, however, as to be able on the shortest notice to re-assemble and form a force capable of resisting whatever might be brought against them. Their positions, too, were chosen in so masterly a manner, that the Turkish armies were kept in perpetual alarm, that they might not recover from the panic with which they had been struck by the Russian conquests, and particularly the massacre at Ismailow.

We have already observed that the second step proposed in the conduct of the war, was an attack on Brahilow. On the reduction of Ismailow and slaughter of the garrison, four prisoners of note were liberated, on the condition that two of them should repair to the Grand Vizier's army, and the two others to Brahilow, with an account of what had happened at the former fortress. This was done for the purpose of striking terror into the garrison of Brahilow; with the siege of which place the Russians proposed to open the ensuing campaign.

The Russians, in the spring of 1791,

1791, frequently crossed the Danube, kept the Turks in constant alarm, and routed them whenever they came up with them :—and two fortresses of considerable importance, Tulkza and Issatzi, situated on the Danube, fell into their hands without much resistance.

Prince Repnin, who had now the command of the army in the absence of the General in Chief and Prime Minister Potemkin (whose presence in the present critical conjuncture was thought necessary in the councils of Petersburg) had taken post, by orders from Potemkin, at Galatz in Bessarabia, at the conflux of the Pruth and the Danube : whence he might afford protection to the Russian conquests on the north of the Danube, and invade the Turkish possessions on the south, as opportunities might offer.

The Turks had assembled a large force on the side of that river, with an intention to enlarge their quarters, by passing over into the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia. But their design being observed by General Kutuson, an active officer, was prevented. Passing the Danube himself, at the head of a chosen body of men, he attacked them on the 15th of June, 1791, with such vigour, that the Turks, after a well-disputed fight, were completely routed, with the loss of 1,500 men, a large quantity of ammunition, and an immense magazine of provisions.

Animated by a constant course of success, Prince Repnin proceeded now to attack the strong fortress of Brahilow. He approached this place with the flower of his army ; hoping to take it, as Ismailow had been taken, by storm. But the fire

of the garrison, whom the accounts respecting Ismailow had inspired with a spirit of revenge and not of terror, was so well directed, and did such execution, and the explosion of a mine in that quarter where they began the assault, occasioned so much destruction among them, that they were compelled (after losing 3,000 of their bravest soldiers, and many of their best officers) to retreat with the utmost precipitation.

Prince Repnin, who had expected to find the Turks dispirited and panic struck, equally disappointed and mortified at this repulse, resolved to repair as expeditiously as possible that disaster, collected the best troops from the various bodies of Russians stationed along the banks of the Danube ; and at the head of this select body, on the 9th of July, crossed that river, and attacked the Asiatic division of the Turkish army, encamped on the southern bank, near Maczyn. The Turks were not wanting in a very brave resistance : but through their inferiority of discipline, they were thrown into such confusion, that they were entirely defeated, with the loss of 4,000 killed and taken, and all their camp-artillery. This was a critical day for the Russians. Had they not obtained the victory, the dispositions made by the Grand Vizier would have reduced them to the greatest straits. The Russians were so conscious of this, that from the battle of Maczyn, none of their principal officers were absent. Besides Prince Repnin, Commander in Chief, Prince Gallitzin, General Kutuson, and several others, who, in the course of the present war had acquired a very high reputation, headed the different

ent corps that were employed on this occasion in person. The number of the Turks are stated by Prince Repnin to have exceeded 70,000.

As soon as the Grand Vizier was apprized of this important engagement, he advanced to the succour of the Asiatics, at the head of 15,000 European infantry. But the extreme disorder into which they had been thrown, added to the unskilfulness of their commanders, frustrated all his efforts to renew the combat. He was under the necessity of retiring to his fortified camp, from the works of which he annoyed the enemy for a time; but on the approach of this, he was compelled to abandon it, and make a speedy retreat.

About the same time, a party of Russians, under the command of General Goodowitch, invaded the province of Cuban, and attacked a body of Turks and Circassians about 20,000 strong, entrenched in a fortified camp, at the town of Anapa, in Circassia, on the borders of Circassia in Asia. The Turks and Circassians made a gallant defence with great resolution; but at length, both town and camp were taken on the 3rd of July, by an assault, which lasted for five hours, and in which great numbers were slain on both sides. But it does not appear that this victory was stained by any of those cruelties which so deeply disgraced the Russian arms at Ismailow. A great number of Turks, including the commanding Pasha and several other general officers were made prisoners. Seventy-one pieces of artillery likewise fell into the hands of the victors. As the wealth of the adjacent country had been deposited at Anapa as a place of safety,

the booty of which they became the masters, was immense. Among the prisoners was the celebrated Shaik Mansour, whose enthusiasm, whether feigned or real (though most probably real) had, some years previous to this event, excited in those parts considerable commotions.

Anapa being the last place of any importance held by the Turks in Cuban, a road was opened for the Russians into the fairest parts of the Turkish dominions in Asia.

The Grand Seignior himself, who was the animating soul that had hitherto supported the present contest with Russia under so many disasters, as well as the Divan, hard pressed and menaced with the most imminent dangers on the side of both Asia and Europe, and alarmed by the violence of popular clamour and some symptoms of a spirit of insurrection and revolt in the Asiatic provinces, began now to abandon all ideas of continuing the war, and to listen to the terms of peace which had been proposed by Prince Potemkin at the end of the campaign 1790, but which had hitherto been rejected, from a confidence in the vigorous and armed interposition of the allies, according to the treaty of Reichenbach. But Sweden had been detached from the confederation; Poland was in an unsettled and even distracted state; Prussia could not act, even had she been more forward to action against Russia without the co-operation of the English navy:—and in England, after all the preparation that had been made, and all the zeal that had been displayed by the minister, in favour of the Turks and in opposition to the court of St. Petersburg, the

the clamour of the manufacturers and merchants engaged in the Russian trade was so great, and an aversion to war, especially with a power that was considered as an old, a natural, and a beneficial friend, so prevalent throughout the nation, that though the majorities in favour of the minister on the questions relating to the armament against Russia amounted almost to a hundred, he thought it prudent to relax, and to persuade Prussia and Turkey to accommodate all differences with the Empress, according to the plan which she had proposed. By a peace suddenly concluded at Galatz, on the 11th of August, 1791, Russia retained Oczakow and the country between the Bog and the Dnieper, which had belonged to Turkey before the war. The latter of these rivers was to be the boundary of both powers: each to be equally entitled to the free navigation of the river; and each to erect fortifications on its respective shores. Concerning the value and importance of this new acquisition to the Russian empire, various and opposite opinions were entertained, at least various arguments were urged on the different sides of this question; for an account of which, we refer our readers to our Sketch of British History, and the Debates in Parliament.

It is a fact well known to all who were best acquainted with the af-

fairs of Russia, that the Empress in all her plans, whether of negotiation, alliance, or war, had constantly in view the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and the restoration of the Greek empire: an idea that was first conceived by the great and comprehensive mind of the Czar Peter; and of which the cabinet of St. Petersburg has never lost sight during the succeeding reigns, to this day. Her interference, soon after her accession to the throne, in the affairs of Poland, and during the whole course of her reign, was connected with her grand plan. It was necessary in her wars with Turkey, to secure for her armies the resources which Poland afforded, and still more, that the Poles should not take part with the Turks against her. The political circumstances and situation of Europe, as we have already noticed, were so favourable to the ambitious and vast designs of Catherine when she began to make preparations for a war with the Turks, that it is probable she did not think at that time of sheathing the sword until she should be in possession of Constantinople. The resistance of the Turks, more vigorous than was apprehended, contracted her views to the erections of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bessarabia, into an independent sovereignty for her great favourite Prince Potemkin,* who had become an object of great jealousy

* As a consolation to Prince Potemkin under his disappointment of an independent sovereignty, for the present, he was appointed by the Empress, Hetman of the Cossacks, an office of the greatest trust and power in the empire, and which likewise carried in it a shew of sovereignty; and which had never been filled up since the days of the celebrated Mazappa. Potemkin, soon after the peace, died suddenly, by an apoplectic stroke, to which, from his manner of life, he must have been peculiarly predisposed.

lousy and envy to the Russian court, even the Grand Duke and principal nobility not excepted; and she persevered to insist on the retention of Oczakow, notwithstanding memorial on memorial, and remonstrance from the allies, not, it may be fairly presumed from any idea

from its value, when balanced with the expence and the danger too attending a protraction of even the most successful war, but from the haughtiness and pride of her character, which could not brook an appearance of constraint in any part of her conduct.

C H A P.

From the concurrent testimony of different writers of credit, it sufficiently appears that there are many sovereigns who do not possess revenues equal to those which Potemkin spent; and that his luxury equalled that of an ancient Persian Satrap, or Roman Pro-consul. Few princes gave an audience with more state. Some Livonian gentlemen, of very high rank, who went to Petersburg on affairs of importance, found him in an undress, playing at cards with his nieces. When they were announced, he scarcely deigned to look at them; and, continuing his game, dismissed them without any other compliment or ceremony than an ordinary salute. When he thought proper to enter into conversation with strangers, they found him both instructive and entertaining. So rapid and so long a career could not indeed have been supported but by a man of great talents and firmness of character.—Having become master of the Russian empire, he increased its internal weakness, while he added to its external glory. We have already seen that he was encouraged by the Empress to aspire to the throne of Moldavia and Wallachia. Disappointed of this, he is said to have formed several other plans of independence, such as being raised to the Duchy of Courland, &c. He died at the age of fifty, leaving to his heirs the rich territory of Simla in Poland, which contains 30,000 serfs. His whole property amounted to about seven millions sterling.—As the repeated use of strong cordials prevents the natural effect of ordinary refreshment, so a satiation of riches, pleasures, honours, power, and almost of great and successful enterprizes, left Prince Potemkin in a state of dissatisfaction, uneasiness, and melancholy, and inspired his mind with longing desires after some gratification yet unknown—somewhat new, vast, and unbounded. The caprices and eccentricities of Potemkin gave credibility to what we read in Suetonius and other ancient writers, of the freaks and extravagancies of so many of the Roman Emperors.

C H A P. VI.

Situation of Poland at the Close of 1790. Poland treated with insolence by the Courts of Petersburg and Vienna. Sound Policy of an Alliance between Poland and Prussia. Unusual Condescendence of the Courts of Vienna and Petersburg. Awakened Spirit and Patriotism of the Polish Nation. Abolition of the permanent council, and Establishment of a permanent Diet in Poland. Concessions to the Poles by the Russians and Austrians. Augmentation of the Military strength of Poland. Situation of Northern and Eastern Europe at the Commencement of 1790. Sketch of a New Constitution favourable to the Liberty and happiness of all ranks. Excites Jealousy and Alarm in the Courts of Berlin and Petersburg. King of Prussia demands the Cession of Dantzick and Thorn. Character, Circumstances, and Conduct of the King of Poland. Patriotic Ardour of the Poles of all Ranks. Decrees of the Polish Diet in favour of the Commons. The Meeting of the Polish States changed into a Diet of Confederation; in which all questions are to be decided by a Majority. The Diet opened by the King in Person. The Diet absolves the King from his Coronation Oath. Debates in the Diet. The King and the Diet accept, with the Solemnity of an Oath, the New Constitution.

THE situation of Poland at the close of the year 1790, was become extremely critical. The Polish nation was full of resentment at the thralldom in which it had been held, ever since the dismemberment of the kingdom in 1773, by its three neighbouring powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and had, from that fatal epocha, been watching with indefatigable diligence for an opportunity to break the fetters of this ignominious bondage; but near fifteen years elapsed before the least ray of hope appeared. It was not until the ambition of the two principal oppressors of Poland had involved them in a war with the Turkish empire, that the patriotic party in Poland, long silent and inactive through the consciousness of its inability to speak or to act to any effectual purpose, began at last to conceive that the period was come when an attempt might be made

with some confidence of success, to throw off the yoke of those oppressors.

The courts of Petersburg and Vienna had recently exhibited a striking proof of the contempt in which they held the Polish government. Without condescending to the usual formality established between separate states, of requesting permission, or even giving previous notice, they had stationed two large bodies of their respective troops on the Polish territory. Such an infringement of territorial rights, had been further aggravated by a proposal to assemble a diet, in order to enter into an alliance against the Porte with those two powers; whose intentions to expel the Turks from Europe, had raised no little alarm in this part of the world, particularly in Poland: which, for obvious reasons, could not view without the most serious concern, the depression of a power, of which it

it was the evident interest to contribute as speedily and vigorously as possible to its emancipation. Fortunately for the projects entertained by the Poles, that power which had co-operated with the two others in their subjugation, was not at this time on the like terms of union with his former associates. The dread of that increase of their power which must arise from the conquest of the Turkish dominions in Europe, had awakened his jealousy of them, and disposed him, for his own sake, to unite with Poland in counteracting a scheme, which, if carried into execution, would render Russia and Austria the arbiters of those parts of the European world, and establish a superiority over him, the consequences of which it was easy to foresee.

Prompted by these considerations, the court of Berlin resolved to act an opposite part to that which it had taken at the dismemberment of Poland. That spacious, fertile, and populous country, now appeared in its true light; a formidable barrier to the ambitious designs of Russia to extend its empire to the west, and to stretch its influence at once into the north and into Germany. The Poles were no less convinced, that if the Prussian monarch conducted himself on principles of sound interest, he would always regard them in the light of a most useful ally: one from whom he could not reasonably entertain the least apprehension of instability in his determinations to remain faithfully such, and whose interests were intimately blended with his own, while the insatiable thirst of increase of territory continued to actuate the two imperial courts.

This indeed was the invariable opinion of most politicians, who foresaw that whatever acquisitions the house of Brandenburg might make by a partition of Poland, they would never contribute so firmly to its strength and preservation, as the integrity and independence of the Polish monarchy. The largest shares in that partition would, as in the antecedent dismemberment, be those of Russia and Austria: the power of which would increase much more than proportionably to that of Prussia. Thus, all circumstances duly weighed, the court of Berlin would gain more by making a common cause with Poland, than by entering into a confederacy against it with its enemies, who probably would find pretexts to unite afterwards against him. The rapacity of Russia, on the one side, and the resentments of Austria on the other, might not only deprive the house of Brandenburg of its newly-acquired possessions in Poland, but even of its German conquests from the house of Austria, and reduce it at last to its electorate and mere title of Margrave. Nor were the Poles ignorant of the jealousies entertained of Russia by the two northern kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden. This latter, through the enmity subsisting between the nobility and the King, was in a state of internal dissention, that greatly weakened its natural strength; and the former had, for a series of years, laboured under the influence of Russia. But the spirited exertions of the Swedish monarch had completely defeated the attempts of the nobility to restore the former aristocracy; and his equitable and patriotic regulations in favour of the commons,

commons, had entirely secured them in his interest. Denmark too, it was well understood, would gladly embrace an opportunity to throw off its dependence on Russia. Thus it appeared that, with a proper degree of policy and good management, many enemies might be opposed to Russia in the north, while occupied in the south with the Turks; who, though frequently defeated, still maintained the contest with both the Austrians and the Russians with unabated courage and vigour.

In the diet that opened in October 1788, the preponderance of the Prussian over the Russian party, had been so strong and manifest, that the court of Petersburg had been compelled explicitly to give way to the resolutions of the Poles as well as that of Vienna. These powers had been requested to withdraw their troops from the Polish territories, and to indemnify the inhabitants of the districts where they had been stationed, for the damages they had suffered. They promised compliance in a style of conciliation and regard to which they had been long disused. What doubtless contributed to this condescendence in those two haughty courts, was the remonstrances to that of Petersburg by the King of Prussia, in behalf of the Poles, and the apprehension of his hostile intentions if they were not duly attended to. Encouraged by the part which he had so ostensibly taken, the diet and the whole nation felt a renovation of that ancient spirit which had once so strikingly characterized the Polish nation. They took a step on this occasion, which proved how earnestly they were determined to pursue the 'most vi-

gorous measures. They resolved that their sittings should continue till the military plans that were for the public defence had been completed; they instituted a new department for the organization of the army, from which every one was excluded that lay under suspicion of partiality to Russia; and a scheme of taxation was framed, to provide for the maintenance of the numerous forces that had been voted. These different resolutions were carried with a vigour and decision that overwhelmed every species of opposition. The few partisans of Russia remaining in the diet, whether they acted from sordid motives, from the dread of offending Russia, and of not being able finally to resist her vengeance, or whether they suspected the sincerity of the Prussian declarations in favour of Poland, notwithstanding their warmth and frequency, or from whatever cause their opposition might proceed, they were constantly overpowered by a vast majority.

There still existed, however, a powerful impediment to the patriotic zeal of the diet; namely, the permanent council, instituted in 1775. This council was invested with the whole power of the state during the intervals between the sittings of the diet; which, meeting only once in two years, and sitting only six weeks, could exercise but little control on this council. It owed its institution to Russian policy; and its members at this period were not considered as sufficiently inclined to support the measures of the popular party. For this reason the diet came to a determination to suppress it, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the

the King, who endeavoured by every argument he was able to allege, to prevent their giving so marked an offence to the court of Petersburg. In lieu of this council, they proposed to establish a permanent diet, similar to that of the Germanic empire, the members of which should continue their sessions till the meeting of another. Thus the power, as well as the government of the nation, would remain in the hands of its representatives; by which means it would be rendered highly difficult for any foreign court to influence the internal affairs of the kingdom. The disapprobation expressed by the King at this conduct of the diet, arose from his apprehensions that the ardour with which the majority was at present animated, might lead them to still more precipitate measures, before the various plans that had been resolved upon had been carried into a sufficient degree of trial, to warrant the hopes that had been formed from them, and to encourage their prosecution.

The year 1789 was consumed in a variety of discussions by the diet, on the means of obtaining those ends which the patriotic party had now more earnestly in view than ever, and of which the situation of Europe, especially of the belligerent powers, seemed to countenance their sanguine expectation. Russia and Austria, the two powers of which only they stood now in dread, were too deeply engaged in their Turkish schemes, to think of any other. This appeared, therefore, the most auspicious season to enforce their demands, that the Russian troops should evacuate Poland, and the Emperor indemnify the inhabitants of the Polish dis-

tricts, occupied by his soldiery. Both of these demands were punctually complied with, to the great satisfaction of the Poles, who now began to feel a consequence, to which they had many years been utter strangers, and no less to the astonishment of their neighbours, who had so long been used to behold them as a nation subdued both in spirit and the means of commanding respect.

Various motives concurred, in the mean time, to render them as expeditious as their finances would permit, in augmenting their military strength, upon which they daily became more conscious their ultimate reliance must be placed. One hundred thousand men was the necessary compliment insisted on by the patriotic party; nor did this appear to the clear sighted more than a bare sufficiency to co-operate with their Prussian ally, on a presumption that he would continue unshaken in his new connexion with Poland. The two imperial courts would, it was not doubted, rather sacrifice their projects of aggrandizement on the side of Turkey, than give up the possession of those large and valuable provinces they had acquired in Poland, and the loss of which they looked upon as inevitable, were the Poles to establish a more orderly government in their country and retain their connexion with Prussia. The Porte was no less apprized of these apprehensions on the part of those hostile courts than the other European powers seemed also to be at this period, and derived from thence the strongest motives to bear up undauntedly against the pressure of those formidable enemies. It had recourse

recourse at the same time to negotiations with Prussia and Sweden; and with these powers contracted an alliance, to which the consideration that Poland had now attained, entitled it to become a party.

Such were the circumstances of those parts of Europe at the commencement of the year 1790. So confident was the popular party in Poland in the hopefulness of their actual situation, that they now ventured to take a step which at once disclosed their views, and proved no less satisfactory to their well-wishers than alarming to their enemies. The spirit of liberty that had been studiously diffused through all classes of the community, was now risen so high, that the only method of securing their attachment and fidelity to those who were projecting the alterations in government, was evidently to accompany them with such benefits to the middling and even to the inferior classes, as might deeply interest them in their support. Happily for the leaders of the popular party, the Polish nation, though highly desirous of such changes in the government as should put an end to the oppressive powers of the great, were at the same time sincerely inclined to be satisfied with a moderate degree of freedom, and harboured no other propensity than to be delivered from that personal thralldom in which they had been so tyrannically held for ages. This was the disposition precisely required for the introduction of those liberal plans in contemplation with those active but prudent individuals, to whom all men now looked up for the accomplishment of the general wishes of the nation.

Conformably to these sentiments, the friends of the people knowing that they were preparing an address to the diet, wherein they proposed to claim a number of immunities hitherto denied to them, exerted their influence with so much ability and discretion among the popular classes, that no claims were made but those to which they were in strict equity entitled; not subversive of any justly-established rights, and duly and strictly consistent with legal subordination.

They demanded security of person and property, both for natives and foreigners of their degree. Freedom to possess landed property; the abrogation of the laws excluding the commons from civil, ecclesiastical, and military preferments; that inhabitants of cities should be subject only to the jurisdiction of their own magistrates, and these to the assessorial courts of the king; that the commons should have the liberty of communicating their ideas on trade and commerce to the commissioners of the treasury, and to those for foreign affairs; and that what those declared just and reasonable, should be made law: that every city should have the right of sending deputies to the diet, and of charging them with proper instructions; that the ancient privileges of the cities, securing to them a certain influence in the government, should be carefully preserved to them, and occasionally increased according to the propriety of circumstances; that in all commissions wherein mercantile knowledge was required, commoners should be appointed as well as nobles; that the supreme courts for cities should consist of an equal number

number of nobles and commons; that the order of nobility should no longer regard that of the commons with contempt; that a noble should not derogate from the rights of his birth, when, either to obtain an honest subsistence, or to be usefully employed, he embraced a profession hitherto reputed fit only for a commoner; but that these rights should avail him in all respects as before, and that he might also succeed to the families of commoners as they in return might inherit of nobles, when any portion of inheritance fell to them by contract of marriage.

There was a time and that not distant from the memory of every member of the diet, when petitions of this nature would have been treated with the utmost scorn and indignation: but this unhappy time was no more, and the rights of human nature had so far prevailed in the minds of the Polish nobility, that to the high credit of their understanding and integrity, the demands of the commons were received in the most gracious manner. But while they met with the most favourable reception at Warsaw, the intelligence of this transaction, as soon as it arrived at the courts of Petersburg and Berlin, excited the highest displeasure and alarm. It now became obvious to the Russian and Prussian ministries, that the heads of the Polish nation were determined to go every length for the attainment of independence; and that, unless the speediest and most powerful impediments were thrown in their way they would inevitably carry their point. So earnest indeed was the diet in the prosecution of this design, that in a plan drawn up by count Potocki for a

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reform of the Polish constitution, all those parts of it that had occasioned the confusions and misfortunes of the kingdom had been cautiously rejected, and a system formed that would effectually obviate them in future. This plan, though it retained the article of election to the crown, included a number of precautions to render it secure from disorders, and to preserve the tranquillity of the kingdom. It also held out material privileges to the people at large, by conferring on landholders the right of giving their suffrages in the election of representatives. It limited the duration of diets to the term of two years; at the expiration of which, the members were to lay an account of their conduct before their constituents. It required the unanimous consent of the diet, in framing all fundamental laws; but three-fourths only of the votes in the enacting political decrees, and in questions of foreign alliances and treaties: two thirds in the business of taxes and impositions; and a simple plurality in civil and criminal cases. It assigned the preservation of the laws, and the whole powers of the executive department to the King and council, the members of which should be responsible to the diet. The tribunals acting by the authority of this assembly were to remain, but the limits of their jurisdiction to be strictly defined and ascertained.

This was an outline of government that afforded universal satisfaction to the patriotic and well-intentioned part of the Polish nation. Few indeed were those not included in this number. Still, however, the uncertainty attending all great enterprizes, occasioned much

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much anxiety in the councils of those who governed the motions of the diet. A treaty of alliance and reciprocal defence had been concluded between Poland and Prussia, towards the close of march. Stanislaus on this occasion wrote a letter to the Prussian monarch, which was conceived in the warmest terms of amity and confidence: it chiefly related to some disputed points of commercial intercourse between the Polish territories and the city of Dantzic, by means of the river Vistula. In the answer to this letter the King of Prussia attributed all the inconveniences attending the trade of Poland with that city, to its remaining subject to the dominion of Poland; and he explicitly requested its cession, together with Thorn, to himself; in consideration of which he offered a large abatement of the duties on the Polish commerce to that city through his dominions. This open avowal of his expectations from Poland was not calculated, however, to increase the confidence of the King and the diet in the strong protestations of his attachment to their interests, with which he accompanied this letter. They plainly perceived what a price he exacted for the friendship he had shewn them, at a time when it was apparent that he no less needed theirs, if he meant to act wisely in his own behalf, and secure himself from the future dangers to which it was far from improbable he would be exposed from the conjoined ambition of the two imperial courts. Nor did the present period seem in the least to countenance the disjunction of his interests from those of Poland. One of those two powers was negotiating a peace

with the Porte, and it was generally expected that the other would shortly follow that example; in which case the court of Berlin would be reduced to make its option between a renewal of its former connexion with those powers, or a confirmation of its present engagement with Poland. Another motive, no less weighty, occurred at this very time to press upon Prussia the propriety, if not the necessity, of making a common cause with the Poles. The King of Sweden, notwithstanding the spirited exertions he had not ceased to make against Russia, in the course of the preceding and the present campaign, had met with so many disasters, both at land and sea, that he was compelled to relinquish his Turkish ally, and conclude, as already noticed, a peace with Russia; which was by those means delivered from the fear of an enemy, whose proximity to the Russian seat of empire, and whose personal abilities and resentments would, notwithstanding the inferiority of his strength, always render him an object of alarm. But the court of Berlin, blinded by its usual rapacity, still adhered with undiminished pertinacity to the acquisition of the two cities in question, to the deep concern of the diet, which was convinced that Prussia was not warranted by the actual circumstances of things, to insist that Poland should consent to make a joint sacrifice of its interest and dignity, in order to procure an ally whose fidelity it had every reason to consider as extremely precarious. This conduct of the King of Prussia convinced the Poles that they must place their chief reliance on themselves in the present exigency of their affairs; and that, although the court of Berlin might

might cherish the prospect of rendering Poland instrumental in forwarding its own designs, it would not take an active part against its former allies; and would even expect a remuneration for its forbearing to thwart the plans that were now in agitation in the diet. Thus they found themselves in reality alone and unsupported in the spirited resolutions they had taken, partly from the expectations of meeting with a warm, as well as powerful friend, in the Prussian monarch. But they had now gone so far, that they judged it equally disgraceful and imprudent not to proceed. Such were the sentiments of the leading men in the diet. Conscious that Russia would wreak its resentment upon them as soon as it was disengaged from its contest with the Turks, they clearly saw the indispensable obligation they were under of hastening, with all celerity, to the crisis they had fixed upon, and which they manfully hoped to render, through their unanimity and courage, the basis of the future prosperity of their country at home, and of its effectual preservation against all attempts from abroad. Certain it is, that Poland at this interesting period abounded with individuals of the most determined resolution to make the most desperate efforts for the recovery of their former independence. Nor was the diet deficient in men of equally splendid and solid abilities. The great occasion for which they were wanted seemed to have called them forth, and they were justly reputed equal to the task they had undertaken, and fully capable of performing it, if possible, amidst the innumerable difficulties it was clearly foreseen

they would have to encounter. The King, by his personal character and accomplishments, was well qualified to preside over such an undertaking. His understanding was sound, his manners were most affable and engaging; his disposition sincere, frank, and generous; and he possessed the advantage of a ready and commanding eloquence. He was not understood, by those who knew him best, to possess any extraordinary degree of political resolution and firmness; but there are circumstances in which these abilities are of no avail, and in which they might be carried to the length of a foolish obstinacy. Such were the circumstances in which Stanislaus was placed. He appears to have done all that could have been done in prudence, or with any reasonable hope of success. He owed his exaltation to the good offices of the Empress of Russia; and he repaid the obligation with all the gratitude of a prince who could not forget the stronger ties that bound him to his people. But fortune, that placed him on a throne, left him, as it were, to fill it without any other support than that of his own innate worth and dignity: every eventual circumstance militated against him. He was surrounded at home with confusions and discords, which he was not invested with sufficient authority to controul; while he was assailed from abroad by the conspiracy of the three greatest potentates in the north, linked together by the basest motives that ever disgraced the councils of Sovereigns. Dissimulation, duplicity and treachery, were the weapons with which they first endeavoured to compass their iniquitous designs.

When, through patience and prudence, he had nearly blunted these, they attacked him with open force, and compelled him by irresistible violence to yield to the most shameless combination of fraud and oppression that ever was witnessed in Christendom. Risen by his invincible perseverance superior to this long and arduous trial, he now began to flatter himself that fate had possibly reserved him to repair the shattered fortunes of his ruined country. But in the warmth of his zeal he judiciously resolved to tread with an equally cautious and firm step in the most dangerous path wherein the ardent wishes of his people had engaged him. It was not without difficulty he was able to restrain the impetuosity of many of his associates in this perilous undertaking, and to impress them with the propriety of adopting no measures but after the most patient and mature deliberation.

Influenced by the King's advice and example, the diet proceeded with the utmost circumspection in the adoption of the divers measures offered to their consideration. It was not till the close of August that explicit mention was made of the succession of the Elector of Saxony to the throne of Poland. So wary had the King shewn himself in this business, that he waited to declare himself till the consent of the diet to this proposal had been formally obtained. He then informed them, that, conformably to the laws, he had resolved never to have brought forward any person as successor to the Polish crown; nor would he countenance such an idea, unless he were convinced it met with the general concurrence of the nation. For this end he would propose a

convocation of the Provincial Assemblies, in order to afford an opportunity to the people of Poland, lawfully convened, to declare in a public and solemn manner their resolution to acquiesce in the nomination of a successor to the crown during the life of the reigning Prince. Pursuant to this admonition, the meeting of these Assemblies was decreed by the diet; but so great was the affection of the public for the King, that a majority of the leading members in the diet, and the principal people in the provinces, requested that one of his own nephews should be nominated to the succession; but the King gave them to understand, that were such a nomination to take place, he should lay himself open to the suspicion of being the author of this great innovation, with the sole view of aggrandizing his family, and not from patriotic motives. He therefore advised them to let their choice fall upon the Elector of Saxony, a prince whose personal character was highly esteemed, whose rank, power, and family connexions rendered him greatly respected, and who was born a Pole, and known to entertain a predilection for his country.

This extraordinary instance of disinterestedness in a monarch, who might with the strictest equity have availed himself of the partiality of his countrymen, did him the most singular honour, and confirmed that opinion of his patriotism and moderation, so long and so justly established in Europe. But the measure itself occasioned the deepest alarm in the three courts interested in perpetuating the effects of an ill government in Poland. They could not fail to perceive, that the
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motive which actuated the Polish nation in this fundamental infringement of their constitution, was, to exclude their neighbours from all interference in their domestic affairs, and to recover that independence which they had lost through those intestine confusions that invariably arose on the demise of their Kings, or proceeded from the disorderly construction of their government. This first and most essential step to emerge from a situation which had so long subjected them to the tyrannical controul of those imperious neighbours, was accordingly viewed by them as an attempt against their usurpations, which, if not timely repressed, might terminate finally in a total overthrow of that domineering system which had at first prompted the dismemberment of Poland; and probably would never cease until it had accomplished the total destruction of that unfortunate kingdom, by a final division of all its remaining parts among those rapacious invaders.

Such being the intimate persuasion of the Poles, and indeed of all Europe, it was now incumbent on them, after this unequivocal manifestation of their designs, to prepare against the worst that might happen, and to put themselves in a posture to resist the efforts that would infallibly be made to replace them in a state of subjection. The augmentation of the army continued with indefatigable diligence on the part of those who were entrusted with that department; and the commonalty at large seemed no less eager to second the intentions of their rulers. The levies of troops were made with all facility, and consisted of the choicest men in the

nation. The ancient inveteracy between the Russians and the Poles operated powerfully among the latter, and animated even the very lowest classes to come forwards and partake of the honour of becoming the champions of their country. Ideas of this nature pervaded the whole nation. Those who were witnesses at this time of the prodigious ardour that inflamed people of all denominations, have since repeatedly asserted, that could a sufficient quantity of arms and military necessaries have been provided at this juncture, and a competent degree of discipline introduced among the vast multitudes that offered their services, their resistance would have proved invincible; the calamities that afterwards ensued have been effectually prevented; and Poland at this day have been an independent kingdom.

This aspect of affairs marked the commencement of the year 1791. To the spirited determination of the Poles, to risk a contest for their liberties, a fresh motive was added at this period, by the prospect of a quarrel between the courts of London and Petersburg. The patriotic party in Poland had formed the greatest expectations from an event of this nature; which, had it taken place, must undoubtedly have been highly favourable to their cause. The latter court quickly perceived the consequences of such a rupture, and how strongly it would operate against the meditated subjugation of this country. Hence, probably, the relinquishment of the conquests made over the Turks and the affected moderation with which that ambitious court accepted of the cession of Oc-zakow in lieu of the vast pretensions

sions it had formed, and would in all likelihood have enforced, had not the danger of its designs on Poland being frustrated so opportunely interposed for the preservation of the Turkish provinces.

In this critical situation of Poland at this time, it sincerely regretted the unbounded confidence that had been placed in the promises and expectations held out by the Prussian court, and which had induced the diet to accelerate some measures that might, perhaps, have been more prudently deferred. The necessity of not standing alone in the difficult attempt that was projected, rendered the wisest of the patriotic party willing to enter into any accommodation with the court of Berlin, not inconsistent with the clearest right and propriety on the part of Poland. But the peremptory demand of both Dantzic and Thorn was so evidently offensive to the interest, as well as to the dignity of the Polish nation, that the diet could not prevail on itself to acquiesce in so unjust and so unreasonable a request. Additionally to the disagreeable necessity of a refusal to comply with the demands of Prussia the diet beheld with much concern, that a power, of whose mediation they had long been desirous for a favourable settlement of their affairs, had, contrarily to their expectations, declared its concurrence with the views of Prussia. Great pains had been taken by those who befriended the pretensions of the court of Berlin, to represent it as so intimately connected with this power, that to disoblige the one would also offend the other.

The power alluded to was Great Britain. A publication appeared

about this time at Warsaw, universally ascribed to the British minister at that court. This publication represented the cession of Dantzic to Prussia as a matter of prudence on the part of Poland which could reap little benefit from the value of the place, while in its possession; but that by the cession of its sovereignty, great utility might be derived to the Polish trade to that city, were the court of Berlin, in consideration of this cession, to diminish the duties laid upon it. The commerce of Poland to this great mart, when freed from the incumbrances now attending it, would become an ample compensation to Poland for what Prussia had acquired by the treaty of partition. Dantzic was described as a city deprived of its port while it retained its present connexion with Poland; but which would quickly flourish and recover its former splendor, when once annexed to the Prussian dominions. Commercial arrangements of the greatest importance were announced in this publication between Great Britain, Holland, Prussia, and Poland. This last country was in particular to reap the highest advantages from those arrangements. The commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Russia was to be transferred to Poland, of which the productions would replace those which Great Britain drew from Russia. But, in order to facilitate this intercourse, and render it beneficial to both parties, those obstructions must be removed that intercepted a free communication between the two countries. The only method of effecting this, was to lessen the heavy exactions imposed on the Polish articles of trade, in their passage through the Prussian

Prussian territories, on their way to Dantzic; but this end was attainable by no other means than ceding that place to the King of Prussia; on whom the court of London engaged to prevail in such case to lower the duties two thirds of their present amount; and to insure a perpetual right to Poland to transport its commodities through his territories to the ports of Dantzic, Elbing, Koningsberg, and Memel. Of this right Great Britain would remain the gaurantee. Poland, it was suggested, could not in its present condition rely with any degree of confidence upon its own strength; a powerful ally was needed; and Prussia from its situation seemed the most proper to be chosen at this juncture. Were the present opportunity neglected, and the court of London to be reconciled to that of Petersburg, the detriment to Poland, both in a commercial and political light, would prove immense; it would lie, as heretofore, exposed to the continual insults and depredations of its neighbours; whereas, by consenting to the proposals of Prussia and Great Britain, it would acquire two potent allies, who for their own interest would support it against all external enemies, and enable it in the course of not many years to attain such a degree of internal strength, what through the opulence arising from trade, what through the melioration of its government, as would place it on a footing of complete independence of any power whatsoever.

These were the principal reasonings of this celebrated publication. Many of them were doubtless well founded; but the suspicions entertained of Prussia, enfeebled every argument produced in favour of

the proposals made by that court, which had, by the hesitation and instability of its conduct, obliterated that confidence in its friendship which had, till lately, rendered the Poles so implicitly attached to its politics, and so ready to be guided by its councils. The reverse had now taken place; and though not only a civil intercourse, but even the fairest appearances of intimacy subsisted between the courts of Berlin and Warsaw, it was no longer attended with the same degree of cordiality. The diet could not listen with temper to the reiterated suggestions of the Prussian ministry about the propriety of ceding Dantzic. In this matter the Poles seemed to consider their interest much less than their dignity. Dantzic had for ages enjoyed freedom and a species of sovereignty under the protection of Poland: a reciprocation of good offices had uninterruptedly been maintained between them; and that city had remained invariably faithful in the worst of times. This had produced a mutual attachment, which neither the one nor the other was willing to renounce. The inhabitants of that city claimed, on the one hand, the assistance of their ancient protectors; and these, on the other, felt the strongest repugnance to forsake those loyal adherents in the day of need. Notwithstanding the position of Dantzic in the midst of what might be reputed an hostile territory, still the vicissitude of things might emancipate it from such a situation; it would argue, therefore, an ill-timed despondency, to resign it to the pretensions of a power that had no right to make so unreasonable a demand. These, and a variety of other considerations,

tions, prevented the diet from yielding to the incessant solicitations of the court of Berlin to part with a place which appeared of such importance.

The patriotic party was busily occupied in the mean time in preparing and digesting the several regulations that had been proposed in favour of the people at large, whose attachment and zeal in the common cause they prudently took every method to secure. In the month of April divers decrees were passed, extending to the commons many of those rights that had heretofore been appropriated solely to the nobles. This order of men was no longer viewed with that jealousy and secret dislike which their undue privileges had created. As they now admitted the other classes to a participation of those franchises on which both public and private liberty are founded, they justly obtained the respect and esteem of all men, and became in fact possessed of more influence and power than ever. The harmony resulting from these arrangements was visible through the whole kingdom, and proved an additional motive of encouragement to those who were employed in framing the constitution that was intended shortly to be brought forwards for the acceptance of the nation. Though not only the Poles, but their neighbours entertained an idea that something of this nature was in agitation, the business itself, and those immediately concerned in it, remained in profound concealment. This was the more necessary, that Warsaw contained at this time a multitude of spies, who were commissioned to pry into every transaction that came within their

cognizance, and to give immediate notice of all they were able to discover, to the public ministers and agents of those powers in whose service they acted. But, notwithstanding their vigilance and activity, they could not penetrate into the designs that were forming; so inviolable was the secrecy of those to whom they were intrusted.

It was not without reason that the patriotic party acted with so much caution. It was rumoured and universally believed, that the three partitioning powers had come to a secret determination to conclude all their differences by a final division of Poland. Had the Poles been accurately and certainly informed of all the particulars of this transaction, it was generally supposed that they would immediately have protested jointly against them, and possibly have taken more active methods to prevent the accomplishment of the great business that was intended. The intelligence received from time to time from the Polish ministers and agents at foreign courts, was, that no reliance ought to be placed on the assurances of good-will from any of the powers with whom they resided; a general combination being formed, either actively to concur in the destruction of the Polish monarchy, or passively to remain spectators of its subversion, without interposing to prevent it.

Intelligence of this nature necessarily quickened the operations of the patriotic party:—convinced that every obstruction would be thrown in their way that artifice as well as force could devise, they had done their utmost to provide against both. No time had been lost in adding strength to the army;
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by increasing its numbers, and bringing it under the strictest discipline. - But a measure no less effectual at the present juncture, was a precaution taken at the calling of the diet now sitting. Foreseeing that if the long used privilege of breaking up its sessions by a single dissentient voice were still allowed, all their designs might in one moment be defeated, they had previously taken care to change this meeting of the states into a diet of confederation, and to agree at the same time to decide all questions by a majority. This alone was so material an alteration in the form of the Polish government, and so clearly evinced a resolution to make further changes, that the alarm was instantly taken by the three partitioning courts. They fully comprehended the meaning of this measure, which was obviously calculated to defeat all their intrigues. Actuated by that resentment which arises from offended pride and disappointed ambition, they immediately suspended their reciprocal animosities, and employed themselves in concerting measures for opposing the designs obviously in contemplation. But the patriotic party had so well guarded against their machinations, that they found themselves arrested at once in the career formerly so successful, and leading so directly to the object at which they aimed; a few, and often a single individual, had sufficed to defeat the best and most national purposes, and even to put a stop to all proceedings of the diet: but they were now constrained to adopt a new plan, and to extend their bribes and promises wherever they hoped to procure their acceptance. But, to the great honour of the

Polish character, they fell much short of their expectations; and at a considerable cost obtained but very few partizans. This was a circumstance of which the public in every part of Europe took much notice at the time. It proved, unanswerably, that to the *liberum veto* all the calamities that had so long afflicted Poland were to be imputed, and that the only prevention to their return, was to abolish it for ever. But it also admonished the partitioning powers, that nothing was now left them to execute their projects on Poland, but a speedy and united exertion of their force.

A pacification was settled between the Porte and Austria: and the near prospect of the reduction of the Netherlands to their former obedience to this family, had enabled it to resume its ambitious spirit. Russia too was on the point of terminating its prosperous war against the Turks, with the additional splendor of having successfully resisted the mediation in their behalf, of the greatest maritime power in the universe. Prussia, with finances improved by a long duration of peace, and an army formed under the discipline of the great Frederick, was, after his example, meditating new acquisitions. This was certainly a perilous season for a people diminished in numbers and extent of territory, to enter on so bold an attempt as that of casting off the yoke of that interfering influence over them, which, though manifestly an usurpation, still had been established by treaties; and these, however compelled by the sword, would always be pleaded by those who had thus enforced them.

It required, therefore, very uncommon

common fortitude to venture on resistance against three such powers combined, every one of which was sufficiently formidable to require the whole strength of Poland to encounter it. But, as desperate cases authorize desperate remedies, the Poles were so thoroughly convinced that resolute measures, however hazardous, were the only resource remaining to them in their present situation, that it was the universal wish of the nation to commit their fortunes to a trial, whenever their leaders might be of opinion that an auspicious opportunity was offered. The heads of the patriotic party, though men of the most daring disposition, united nevertheless so much coolness to the impatience and indignation with which they perceived the certain though disguised preparations intended against them, that they kept in the deepest silence the project they were forming, until they were convinced that the moment had arrived when it ought to be brought forward, without any further delay.

The people, they were conscious, were unanimously with them. This, in so bold and venturous an undertaking, was an indispensable encouragement. They knew also, that in the cause for which they were going to contend, soldiership and discipline were on the side of their enemies: but these they doubted not speedily to acquire; nor were they without hopes that causes of discord might produce such effects as to embroil their neighbours with each other, and so retard their operations, as to give time to other powers to reflect on the impolicy of permitting three such overgrown potentates still fur-

ther to augment their dominions. Were sentiments of this sort to succeed to that ignominious apathy, with which Europe had so unaccountably beheld the iniquitous proceedings of the three partitioning powers, it was more than probable that a stop would be put to their encroachments, and that Poland would be preserved from their projected depredations. Considerations of this nature gave additional spirit to the resolution they had now taken to enter immediately upon the execution of the plan; which, after assiduous deliberation, they had at length brought to maturity.

Among those who were chiefly concerned in framing it, it has been said, none acquitted himself with more diligence and capacity than the King himself, who, in the course of his travels into various parts of Europe, had acquired an intimate knowledge of their different systems of government. What is more certain, there was not any one who had a greater share in the formation of this system than Abbatte Piatotti, formerly his Majesty's private secretary.

When the King and his associates in this great work had completed the scheme of government that was to be presented to the public, they reciprocally agreed to stand by each other to the last, in procuring its acceptance on the very day of its presentation. Cogent motives of every kind induced them to form this resolution. The capital swarmed with the emissaries of those powers that were inimical to the undertaking. Were the diet, once met, to be prevailed upon to postpone the matter to another sitting, the patriotic party well knew

knew that every effort would in the interval be made to obstruct it. Bribes, promises, threats, entreaties, in short, every endeavour, friendly or hostile, would be used, in order to dissuade or to deter the members of the diet from giving their concurrence. Though the majority might remain inflexible, yet some might be intimidated, or yield from other motives. This, by diminishing the majority, would detract from the weight of the decision. The only method, therefore, to obviate this difficulty, was evidently to bring the business to a conclusion in a single sitting. The third of May was fixed upon for this purpose. Early in the morning, a large company of those members, whose courage and determination in the cause were well known, assembled in the king's palace, where, in his presence, they solemnly swore to carry the business through on that very day; and pledged themselves to each other not to separate till it should be completely effected.

The meeting of such numbers in the royal palace at three o'clock in the morning, naturally excited universal curiosity. The public had been some time in expectation of a great event, which they now looked upon as at hand. Without being able to ascertain precisely what that event would be, they rightly conjectured it to be of the highest importance to the nation. The inhabitants of Warsaw crowded, in consequence, to the hall where the diet was held. Instead of the usual ceremony of the marshals opening the session, the king on this great occasion thought proper to open it in person. He laid before the assembly the critical state

of the nation. He observed, that notwithstanding the friendly assurances of foreign powers, he was well informed that a resolution had been taken to make a final partition of Poland. The only way to prevent such a calamity and disgrace to the nation, and to secure it from future attempts of this kind, was without delay to establish such a form of government as should produce an union of the whole strength and energy of the Polish nation, and thereby enable it to resist the interference of foreigners in its domestic affairs, and preserve its natural independence and dignity. In order to effect this salutary purpose, he had consulted the English and the American constitutions; and avoiding what he thought erroneous, extracted from these such parts as he judged best adapted to the present circumstances of Poland. The plan being read, a spirited and long debate ensued: but, through the king's prudent management, was conducted without violence or restraint of the fullest liberty of speech. One member in particular, whether excited by foreign influence, or moved by his own propensities, seemed by his behaviour determined to provoke harsh treatment. On his rising to speak, many voices endeavoured to drown him; but he was protected by the king, and permitted to declare his sentiments with the utmost freedom and safety to his person.

After many hours deliberation, a great number of the members supplicated the King to accept and swear to the constitution proposed. But he judiciously reminded them of the oath he had taken at his accession to the crown, to maintain the

the Polish constitution on its actual footing, and that he could not legally comply with their request, unless he was previously absolved by the formal consent of the diet, of the obligation then imposed upon him. A majority of the diet immediately arose, and after discharging him, in a regular and solemn manner, from the observance of that article in his coronation contract, which made the crown elective, they also bound themselves not to adjourn till the proposal before them was finally adopted.

The marshal of the diet was, in consequence, ordered by the King to collect individually the opinion of all the members, that the sense and will of the nation, assembled in its representatives, might thus be made a matter of indisputable notoriety. But that part of the new constitution which rendered the crown hereditary, met with a violent opposition, even from those who approved of all the others. Mr. Sucherzewski, one of the most zealous promoters of all the popular plans, earnestly besought the King to recede from this point; asserting with great warmth, that hereditary succession was the tomb of public liberty. The deputies from Volhinia and Podolia, objected altogether to the new constitution, and others pleaded the instructions of their constituents for referring the decision to a future day, and a longer deliberation. But the majority insisted that the system proposed should be forthwith adopted; nor was the minority less positive in refusing its consent. On the former declaring they would not quit the hall until they had accomplished their object, the latter replied with

equal obstinacy, that they would not depart till it was abandoned.

This was the critical moment. Both parties appeared ready to proceed to immediate violence. In the mean time, the King sat in silent suspense how to act, and in anxious expectation how this sudden contest would terminate; when the deputy from Livonia, Mr. Zabiello, suggested, that a decree to decide all questions by a plurality of votes, having passed at the opening of the present diet, the most proper method to settle the dispute between both parties, would be by referring to their respective numbers. Those who approved of the plan proposed, being more than ten to one comparatively to those that opposed it, the King, he said, ought not to hesitate in giving his sanction to the constitution. Animated by this deputy's words and example, the majority rose instantly from their seats, and surrounding the throne, requested the king formally to accept and to swear to the observance of the constitution, so willingly and zealously received by an incomparable majority. The King readily seized this auspicious opportunity. He called to him the bishop of Cracow, officially to witness what he swore, and mounting on the throne, the better to be heard and seen, he pronounced with a loud voice the oath requested of him; and the majority holding up their hands did the same. This ceremony performed, he exclaimed that those who loved their country should follow him to the cathedral, and renew their oath at the altar. He was accordingly accompanied to church by the diet, only thirty or forty of the members, to which the opposition

sition amounted, declining attendance. After the re- of the oath, with solemn s and addresses to Heaven for prosperity of the new constitu- t was announced to the public discharge of all the artillery in metropolis. The minority in mean time, though unable to se these proceedings, resolved countenance them to the ut- of their power. They drew protest against them, which ublished in the form of a ma- o. But their conduct ex- universal dissatisfaction; and h, through the moderation patriotic party, no insult was d to their persons, yet the e could not forbear to view with an eye of indignation. at and unfeigned was the joy ssed by all orders of men at hange in the constitution. It ntly tended to meliorate the ion of all classes indiscrimi- , and to place the nation on a prosperous footing, as in a time to command the respect ir neighbours, and to bid de- to their secret machinations urb the internal peace of the om, as well as to their open pts to tyrannize over it. It ot, therefore, without the most ant and indefatigable strug- prevent this alteration in the system, that those who had ch benefited by the divisions ad fomented in that country, l its deliverance from their is interference. So keen and erving had their efforts been ruct the plans of the patriotic that on the very eve of the rable third of May, a foreign er at the court of Warsaw was reported, and firmly be-

lieved, distributed 50,000 ducats among those whom he imagined of sufficient weight and influence to impede the measures in agitation. But the patriotic party were too vigilant to be taken by surprise. It discovered his intrigues, and obviated them, to his great disappointment and mortification.

A confirmation took place on the 5th of May, of what had been transacted on the third. The constitution was again read over to the diet, and received the signatures of all the members present, after every sentence had been solemnly revised, and examined with the strictest attention. By this constitution, the sovereignty was formally recognized to reside in the nation, acting by its supreme will, expressed by its representatives. The government consisted of three distinct powers, the legislative, the judicial, and the executive. The first exercised by the diet, which was to be elected every two years out of the order of nobles, and divided into two houses, the one of Nuncios, or deputies, and the other of senators. The former of these houses to possess the pre-eminent prerogative of framing laws, which, when accepted by the latter, became valid and binding: but if negatived, remained suspended till re-enacted by the house of nuncios at the next diet; when, without consent of the senate, they became of force.

The crown was declared hereditary respecting individuals, but elective as to families. That of Saxony was elected to the succession, at the demise of the reigning monarch. The execution of the laws was assigned to the King and his council. The royal person to be inviolable. He was vested with the

the privilege of pardoning all offences but those against the state. He commanded the military force of the kingdom, and appointed the generals and officers in the army. He nominated ministers, bishops, and senators. But no minister or senator could be elected a Nuncio.

The judicial power consisted of primary courts in every separate district, courts of appeal from the former in each province, and of a supreme tribunal for the trial of crimes and misdemeanors committed against the state.

Estates and possessions in land were purchasable by all citizens indiscriminately; and whoever purchased a village or township, paying two hundred florins land-tax, was ennobled. Thirty citizens were to receive the same honour at every new diet: and all citizens, without exception, were admissible to all preferments in the law, the church, and the army. Foreigners were allowed to settle in any part of the kingdom without restraint, and with the fullest security to their persons and property; and the same liberty was extended to those natives who had emigrated.

The peasants were declared entitled to every benefit of the law, and to claim the punctual performance of every contract between them and the proprietors of the lands which they cultivated:—and they were no longer to be considered or treated as in a state of slavish subjection to the will of the lords of the manor, and owners of the estates where they resided.

A perfect freedom of religious

opinions, and an entire and complete toleration of every mode of worship, was permitted to all and persuasions. 'This will appear an act of singular beneficence,' the barbarous zeal of the professors of the Romish faith on occasions is duly recollected showed how essentially altered were at the present, from what had been at a former period very distant; and that the dictates of humanity had obtained the ascendancy over those of religious intolerance.

The happiest circumstance attending this revolution, was the peaceable manner in which it was effected. The dismemberment of the British colonies in America from their parent state, was accompanied with great bloodshed and devastation; and the subversion of despotism in France has been followed by the most sanguinary and lamentable consequences. Portugal had the honour, and seemed to have the felicity, of attaining its end it proposed, without the loss of a single life. Whether the constitution it embraced was the best that could be framed, has been a matter of doubt and dispute among politicians; but this is certain, that on a retrospect of the situation of the Poles, antecedent to this constitution, it wrought a most advantageous and desirable change in their circumstances, and was calculated, in the reign of violence had not intervened, gradually to produce most of the national improvements and benefits that can only be expected from the progress of time.

C H A P. VII.

Exultation of the French at the Confederation. Satisfaction of the Assembly at the Applause it meets with from the Popular Clubs and Societies in England. Suspicions occasioned in France by the English Armaments against Spain. Jealousy entertained against the Emperor. Deliberations in the Assembly concerning an Alliance with Spain. Domestic confusions. Continuation of Disturbances in the Colonies. Several Regulations for the Internal Government of the Kingdom. Disorders in the Navy. Discontents in the Army. Motion in the Assembly by Mr. Duval. Its Consequences. Critical Situation of the King. Designs imputed to the Heads of the Popular Party. Charges against the Duke of Orleans and M. Mirabeau. Both acquitted. Coalition of the Parliaments with the Noblesse against the Assembly. Resistance of the Parliament of Toulouse. Compelled to submit. Zeal of the Parisians for the New Constitution. Confirmation of the Decrees relating to the Civic Oath. Refractory Disposition of the Noblesse. Pecuniary Embarrassments. Fabrication of Assignats. Researches into the Civil and Religious Establishments in France. Number of Seminaries and Convents belonging to the English Roman Catholics in that Kingdom. Discovery of the Profusions under the late Government. Efforts of the Court-Party to procure a Junction with Spain against England. Debility of that Party. Decrees in favour of the Descendants of French Protestant Refugees in Foreign Parts. Resolute Behaviour of the Adherents to the Noblesse and Clergy. Conspiracy at Lyons. Anxiety of the Court of Rome at the Transactions in France. Decree of the Assembly concerning Episcopal Elections. Opposition of the Court Clergy to this and other Decrees. Address of the University of Paris to the Assembly. Attachment of the French in Foreign Countries to the New Constitution. Zealous Perseverance of its Enemies in opposing it. Duel between M. Lameth and M. Castries. Other Quarrels and violent Proceedings. Reforms in the Administration of Justice. Public Revenues before and since the Revolution. Satisfaction of the Popular Party at the present situation of Affairs.

NO event in the French history was ever attended with so much exultation in every part of the kingdom as the National Confederation of the 14th of July 1790. It seemed to the generality of people, an epoch from whence they were to date uninterrupted happiness. France was now represented as perfectly regenerated; the fetters by which it had so long been bound were entirely broken; the

genius of the nation was set free; and the French might indulge the hope of becoming as flourishing a people as any recorded in ancient or modern ages.

England, it was now said, would no longer boast its pre-eminence over its ancient rival, France, in asserting the cause of human freedom, and teaching nations their just rights. The French, after a long period of ignorance and slavery,

very, had at length profited by the salutary lessons and noble examples set them by the English; and had imitated with a spirit and success that had excited the admiration of all Europe; and would probably kindle an emulation of so illustrious a precedent in all enlightened people, and rouse them in due time to a laudable imitation of the two first nations in the universe. Such was the opinion entertained at this time of the French revolution, not only by a majority of the French nation, but by many people in every nation in Europe.

The National Assembly received with uncommon applause the intelligence of the warm participation in this formal establishment of liberty in France, expressed by the various clubs and societies in England, instituted for the support and propagation of the principles of freedom. The sentiments contained in the several discourses delivered in these meetings, were, by the majority of the assembly, declared to be congenial with their own, and to form the truest motives of a solid amity and conciliation between the people of England and France. There were others, however, who alleged that the armaments fitting out by the English were objects of too much magnitude to be viewed with tranquillity. The old enmity, so long subsisting between both nations, was not so far extinguished as to have eradicated the inclination of the English to act an hostile part to France when opportunities invited them to do it effectually. Ideas of this nature were suggested by a report, which had been industriously circulated, that the fleets equipped in England, on the pretence of a war with Spain, were intended for a far different purpose; which was, to

unite with the naval force of Spain, and to act jointly for the restoration of the royal authority in France to the exercise of its former prerogatives. This strange report gained such credit, that it influenced the conduct of multitudes in all classes. It raised a strong spirit of jealousy in the seafaring people, who warmly manifested their resolution to oppose with all their might any enterprize that tended to injure the constitution established by the National Assembly. Besides the designs imputed to England and Spain, others were suspected on the part of the Emperor. The conduct of Prussia was recollected on this occasion. As the Prussian monarch had espoused the cause of his sister in Holland during the disputes between the Stadtholder and the party that opposed him, so it was affirmed the Emperor had secretly resolved to act in the present conflict in France between the royal and the constitutional parties. What in some measure corroborated these surmises, a body of Austrian troops, on its march to the Low Countries, had demanded and obtained a free passage through some French towns on the frontiers of the kingdom, which happened at this time to be in a situation wholly defenceless. Another circumstance contributed to the confirmation of these alarms:—The Prince of Condé had published a manifesto, directed to the malcontents in France, inviting them to take up arms against the National Assembly, and assuring them of being speedily and strongly supported. These incidents appeared so menacing, that it was moved in the National Assembly to call the Minister at War to account for the permission granted to the Austrian troops;

troops; and to sequester the estates of the Prince of Condé, unless he disavowed the manifesto imputed to him*. Both these proposals, however, were negatived, to the extreme indignation of the popular party; which complained that an undue influence subsisted in the assembly in favour of the partisans of the ancient government, and defeated every measure that was necessary for the safety of the present constitution.

In the mean time the assembly was occupied with deliberations on the propriety of assisting Spain in the contest wherein that kingdom was involved with England. After a variety of debates, it was at length determined that the fleet should be augmented to forty-five ships of the line. The motives on which this determination was formed, were at the same time conceived in such terms, as to leave it undecided whether France meant to espouse explicitly the cause of Spain or no. The preservation and security of the French commerce and colonies in the critical situation of Europe, were assigned as the chief reasons: all views of conquest and aggrandizement were utterly disclaimed in the connexion that was allowed to remain between France and Spain, and which was specified to be merely defensive, and contracted for the sole end of promoting general peace on the strictest principles of equity.

Such was the purport of the ce-

lebrated declaration made by the National Assembly on this occasion. It was received with much satisfaction by the temperate part of the French, and at that time forming a great majority of the French nation, which was totally averse to a war with England. Exclusively of the mischiefs unavoidably attending hostilities, the majority dreaded the authority which would necessarily accrue to the court from the immense patronage that must of course be lodged in the royal hands. The power of bestowing so many commissions and places in the navy and the army, would infallibly prove such a temptation in the present circumstances of the kingdom, as would not be resisted by those who disapproved of the revolution, and who could not, therefore, consistently with its preservation, be intrusted with so many means of bringing it into the most imminent danger. There were also other serious causes that militated against a rupture with England, or indeed with any other power. The kingdom still continued to be agitated with internal commotions of the most sanguinary nature. They were chiefly occasioned by the continual suspicions that subsisted between the royal and popular parties, and which broke out into disputes that were frequently attended with great bloodshed. The jealousy between the royal and popular parties communicated itself to such of the lower classes

* Ideas of liberty were so universally diffused at this time among all ranks, that the Prince of Condé, in a reply which he made to these proceedings, protested, *the love of liberty was in his blood*; in allusion to the revolt of his great-grandfather. The friends of monarchy were anxious to disclaim any inclination to despotism. In fact, there was nothing more at heart with the King and Royal Family, than to satisfy the people by every reasonable concession.

classes as were, through the tempestuousness of the times, reduced to penury and hardships. A disorderly spirit arose, which became so outrageous, that in several parts mobs were collected by ill designing people, for the purposes of riot and plunder; and would have carried their designs into execution, had not timely succours arrived for the protection of those places exposed to their depredations. These domestic confusions were aggravated by the intelligence brought to the National Assembly of the continual disturbances still prevailing in the French islands in the West Indies. The people of colour, who formed a large portion of the inhabitants, were determined to throw off the yoke of that absolute power which was exercised over them by the white people. But those who were the chief proprietors of the estates in those settlements, dreading the result of such an emancipation, were resolutely bent to oppose any innovations: hence arose disputes that terminated in the bloodiest hostilities.

In the midst of these disorders the National Assembly was taken up with consultations how to remedy the various complaints that were occasioned by the stagnation of business in many parts of the kingdom, and in perfecting the regulations for an impartial administration of justice, and the enforcement of the police. Among the many decrees that were enacted for this end, that which best deserves to be recorded, is the abrogation of that oppressive law by which the effects of foreigners dying in France were appropriated to the crown*, August 1790.

Meanwhile the armament voted by the assembly was carried on at Brest with as much diligence as the pecuniary circumstances of the kingdom would admit; but it was accompanied with continual murmurs and tokens of discontent among the seamen; who conceived that their officers were too much inclined to the royal party to be trusted at a time when every measure inimical to the present government, ought to be guarded against with the utmost vigilance.

The National Assembly could not be displeased at these proofs of attachment from a class of people whose numbers and utility rendered them of the highest importance. But the necessity of having a powerful fleet, occasioned on the other hand no small anxiety at the tumultuous and turbulent proceedings resulting from such a disposition. The friends to the old government insisted that nothing would restore order and obedience in the navy, but the re-establishment of the royal power in its former plenitude; but they were vehemently opposed by the popular party; which proposed that, in compliance with the temper of the times, the national colours should henceforth be hoisted in the navy in lieu of the white flag. This proposal occasioned one of the most violent debates that ever was known in the assembly. M. Mirabeau, who supported the introduction of the national colours, was loaded with reproaches by his adversaries; but the popular party prevailed: and it was decreed at his instigation, that not only those colours should be used, but that the sailors should hereafter unite

* The Scotch and Swiss were excepted from this law.

with their other countrymen the acclamation of "Live the King, the Law, and the King," was one of the most remarkable triumphs of the popular over the royal party. It was attended with salutary consequences in the army, where the seamen shortly returned to their duty, and fully complied with the regulations that had been enacted; to which others were added for a more prompt and speedy payment of their arrears, and a larger allowance of provisions.

During the agitation of this business, another took place of no consequence, and which seemed to revive the drooping spirits of the opposite party. The royalists, being discouraged at the immense majority that approved the revolution, had resolved to make no exertions that might in any way thwart the measures of their opponents. To this end their friends emissaries were employed in circulating throughout the kingdom a spirit of opposition to the revolutionary powers. It was chiefly among the military that they were successful in spreading it; and they succeeded so far, that numbers of regiments refused to admit persons reputedly opposed to the revolution; dismissing at the same time all those whom they suspected of such an intention. The number of individuals dismissed on this account, amounted to near thirty thousand; increased by a representation laid before the National Assembly. An instance of this nature was a strong proof of the great interest the royal party retained in the affair, which was determined by its principal supporters in the assembly, to ascertain how far a spirited at-

tempt in its favour might be attended with success. With this design it was moved by M. Duval Depresminil, one of the warmest adherents to the court, that the King should be restored to his former power; that the princes of the blood, and all who were in exile in consequence of the revolution, should forthwith be recalled; and that the proceedings against the enemies of the constitution should be annulled. For this purpose the King should be supplicated to grant a general amnesty for all that was past; and to give his royal assent to those proposals, which should be laid before him by the whole assembly. So sudden and extraordinary a motion could not fail to excite the utmost astonishment in all but those who were privy to it. An universal cry of wrath and indignation burst from the popular side of the assembly. An immediate arrest and imprisonment was threatened to M. Depresminil, and he was represented as an incendiary, furious through despair, and resolved at any rate to throw the house into confusion. Some of the members considering, or affecting to consider him as out of his senses, moved that his proposal should be regarded as proceeding from insanity, and as such consigned to oblivion. Depresminil's friends took fire at this insinuation; and, not content with words, had recourse to violence. They rushed in a body upon the President, whom they treated with great indignity, tearing off his robes, and insulting him in the grossest manner. Never had the assembly witnessed a greater scene of confusion: it lasted above an hour; and it was with much difficulty that the moderate

among the members could prevail on the others to break up the meeting with any remains of decency.

The consequence of this riot was a duel between M. Cazales, its principal promoter, and M. Barnave, one of the staunchest friends to the popular party; and who wounded his antagonist in a dangerous manner. Great was the alarm excited in the public mind by this event. It exhibited the invincible determination of the royal party to persist at all hazards in the prosecution of every possible plan for the restoration of the former government; and it operated as a warning to the popular party to remain incessantly on its guard against the intrigues of enemies who were not to be deterred by threats or dangers, nor to be allured by invitations or promises, from abiding by their resolution never to accept of any terms of reconciliation. Nor indeed was it to be expected, that men, who had lost not only their privileges, and part of their fortune, by the suppression of feudal duties, but employments either in the church or the law, could be easily reconciled to the revolution. Such was the idea now more than ever entertained of the royal party throughout France. Every man suspected of favouring it was viewed with additional hatred by the popular party: his conduct was watched as that of an insidious enemy, and no reliance placed on his warmest professions of amity or submission to the present constitution. But the most pernicious consequence of this unseasonable proposal was, that it raised a strong mistrust and jealousy of the King's ministers, who were by numbers represented as privy to this trans-

action, and therefore undeserving of the confidence of the nation, and unfit to occupy their stations. A motion was even made in the National Assembly for their removal; and though negatived, it left a powerful impression to their prejudice in the minds of multitudes.

As M. Neckar, the chief member of the ministry, had already resigned his employment, stung by neglect, and despairing probably of ever being able to accomplish the restoration of the finances, his coadjutors in office were now no less desirous of relinquishing their places. When they found themselves liable to imputations injurious to their character, they addressed a letter to the King, wherein they complained of the suspicions under which they laboured, and requested him to accept their resignation. The situation of the King was peculiarly critical. The present ministry, which he had formed at the æra of the revolution, had acted with so much circumspection as to have hitherto retained at once the good opinion of the public, and the royal approbation. To change it at a crisis of discontent and turbulence was highly dangerous, from the obvious difficulty of doing it in such a manner as to please all parties. The popular party were shrewdly suspected of intending to substitute the committee of finance, composed entirely of its most devoted members, to the department intrusted with the administration of the finances. The object of this measure was, to pave the way for a substitution of all the committees in the National Assembly to the other departments in the state, by which

means all official as well as executive power, would ultimately be in that body. A scheme of this nature was however so unpopular, as being evidently repugnant to the fundamental principles of a constitution, that if it was in contemplation of the leaders of the popular party, they were too prudent to manifest it. The ministry of too great condescendence for the royal party rather sought to obviate the consequences of such a disposition than openly to invade the executive functions; which would have been a direct invasion of executive power.

It behoved them now to proceed with more caution, that heavy measures were brought against their opponents. A strict and minute enquiry had been instituted respecting the transactions of the 5th and 6th of October the preceding year.

Upwards of 300 depositions had been made relative to that period.

Several of them tended directly to criminate the Duke of Orleans and M. Mirabeau, as principal authors and promoters of the disorders that had been committed on the two days. The Duke of Orleans was represented as aspiring to sovereign authority in the kingdom; and M. Mirabeau as the instigator and abettor of his criminal

design. The investigation of this matter was referred to the committee of reports; which, after a long examination, declared, that neither the Duke of Orleans nor M. Mirabeau had incurred any criminality by their respective conduct on that occasion. The propriety of this verdict was warmly contested by their adversaries; but the Duke of Orleans insisted, that the chief cause of the outrageous behaviour of the mob of those two days, was their persuasion of a plot to carry off the King. This, he alleged, together with the wretched condition to which they were reduced by the scarcity of provisions at that disastrous time, which they attributed to the machinations of the Court-party, had rendered them desperate, and fitted them for any mischief. He threatened, at the same time, to prosecute his accusers as guilty of perjury.

The suspicions thrown out against the heads of the popular party, were further aided by the spirit of discontent that actuated many parts of the kingdom. The dissolution of the parliaments, and the suppression of the nobility were severely complained of by the aggrieved parties. Their numbers and influence were still dreaded, though they were deprived of ostensible power; nor did they omit any

under the title of Regent, or perhaps Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. He could declare the King imbecile, and his brothers traitors.

On the 5th of October the King received warning of the design of Orleans, and he was hunting the stag,—his favourite diversion. Some of his servants, alarmed at the danger, had provided carriages for his escape: which he might have effected without any difficulty, as the people at a small distance from Paris were devoted to the King, and would not have suffered him to be arrested. But Louis, who was an affectionate husband and father, rather than abandon his wife and children, chose to return to Versailles. The cause assigned for this conduct, by his enemies, that he wanted sufficient spirit or courage, is a malicious falsehood. The King is naturally intrepid and fearless.

any occasion of venting their dissatisfaction, and of expressing their readiness to concur in any project that might replace them in their lost situation. The National Assembly were thoroughly aware of this disposition; but as it aimed at a conciliation of all parties, without recurring to violent methods, it silently connived at the complaints of these two orders of men; leaving to time the cure of the mortification they felt at the loss of their authority and privileges.

But while the majority seemed to acquiesce in what they could not prevent, numbers boldly asserted their former rights. Among these the parliament of Toulouse signalized itself in the most conspicuous and spirited manner. In defiance of the danger to which it would be exposed by such an act of temerity, it ventured explicitly to condemn, in the most pointed and harshest terms, the proceedings of the National Assembly. Such, however, was the attachment of the people to the Assembly, that a great number of the municipalities in the neighbourhood of Toulouse, embodied their militia with a determination to inflict the heaviest chastisements on the parliament of that city. Nor was it without the strongest remonstrances of the more considerate among them, that they were prevailed on to desist from such a resolution, and to leave the decision of so weighty a matter to the National Assembly. This body, equally astonished and incensed at such a manifest contempt of its authority, thought it necessary to make an example of the most refractory. A tribunal was immediately formed for the trial of crim-

nals guilty of high treason; and a decree passed to arrest the members of the parliament of Toulouse, concerned in the declarations against the National Assembly, and to bring them before this tribunal. This determination was highly applauded by the popular party. The city of Paris took this occasion to request the assembly to inform the King that his ministers no longer possessed the confidence of the nation, and that it would at the same time appoint a special court for the examination of offenders against the constitution, and restrain ministers from quitting the realm, or even the metropolis, until their conduct in office had been duly investigated.

Encouraged by these testimonies of the general determination to support them, the Assembly embraced this opportunity to confirm their decrees relating to the civic oath. It ordained, that all persons employed in the public service abroad, should transmit to the Assembly, certificates of their having taken that oath, under the penalty of dismissal from their places. But notwithstanding the irresistible hand with which the National Assembly carried all its measures, various individuals had the courage openly to resist them. That loftiness of spirit which had so long characterized the French nobility prompted numbers of them to declare their sentiments with no less explicitness than the parliaments of Toulouse. This was the more deserving of notice, that they acted singly and without that reciprocal encouragement which is found in a body of men formally concurring in the same opinion. Among those noblemen

noblemen who distinguished themselves in this manner, none was more conspicuous than the Duke of Fitz James, grandson to the celebrated Duke of Berwick, the natural son to our unhappy James II. He addressed a letter to the King, wherein he avowed, with the utmost firmness and decision, his resolution to abide by the interest of the throne, and to maintain the royal authority against all opposers. This letter was conceived in terms remarkably nervous and elegant, and did great honour to the illustrious writer.

In the mean time, the National Assembly was anxiously intent on the means of restoring the finances and credit of the kingdom. The ill success that had attended the endeavours of M. Neckar, rendered the public extremely mistrustful of the several schemes that were successively proposed: the reputation he had borne, of an able financier, operated as a material discouragement, when it was considered, that notwithstanding his experience in this department, his repeated efforts had been fruitless. It was certainly time to bring the pecuniary affairs of the state into some order. So fluctuating and precarious were the resources arising from the ordinary revenue, that the receipt for the month of August had yielded a sum not less than 40,000,000 short of the expenditure during that period.

The heads of the popular party were convinced that bold measures alone were adequate to the re-establishment of the national finances. It was here they chiefly apprehended an opposition from the adverse party, which threatened to be the more formidable that it

would be seconded by numbers; who, though not enemies to the revolution, still dreaded to venture much in pecuniary schemes, that, if unsuccessful, might increase the difficulties under which the nation so heavily laboured. Compelled, however, by necessity, they proposed a fabrication of paper money, to the amount of 50,000,000*l.* sterling, to be issued in the state notes, called assignats; the security of which was to rest on the sale of as much of the national property, already decreed to be sold by auction, as would produce an equivalent to that amount. The date of this important measure, pregnant with utter ruin to the monarchy and endless revolution, was, September 1790. It was not without a long and animated contest that this motion was carried. M. Mirabeau exerted his talents on this occasion in the most forcible manner: but the indispensable necessity of providing for the immediate demands and wants of the public, was the main argument that prevailed in the Assembly. Such was the eagerness of people to learn the decision of this matter, and their wishes that it might prove favourable to the popular party, that all Paris, as it were, crowded to the doors of the house of Assembly, and testified by the loudest acclamations, how deeply it participated in the success of the motion. These pecuniary transactions were attended with the strictest researches into the nature and administration of all the civil and religious establishments in every part of the kingdom. Among the particulars that were brought to light in consequence of these inquiries, it may not be amiss to mention the number

ber of seminaries and convents occupied by Roman Catholics of the British dominions, who were settled in France, and had embraced an ecclesiastical, or a monastic life. These amounted to twenty-eight. The persons resident in them were computed at more than a thousand, and their annual income at 15,000*l*. The representations that had been made in their favour by the English Ambassador, were duly attended to on this occasion, and prevented their suppression. They were confirmed in the enjoyment of their possessions by a solemn decree of the Assembly, which declared them to be the exclusive property of British subjects. These various investigations into the state of the nation, brought to light the most undoubted, as well as manifold circumstances and proofs of that profusion with which it appeared that the revenues of the kingdom had been dissipated under the late government. Previously to the revolution, the public treasury was, it seems, considered in many respects as the private patrimony of the Róyal Family: whatever was required in their name, was instantly delivered; there was no settled regulation of any respective income, or it was merely nominal; no person daring to risk a refusal of what was demanded. This prodigality of the Court, which the strict inquiry into its former expenses had laid open to the public inspection, was now more than ever become the subject of conversation and complaints: and the wantonness with which the nation's money had been lavished upon the meanest individuals, excited an indignation which greatly alienated the minds of men

from the former system of ruling; and disposed them strongly to oppose the royal party.

During these proceedings, close attention was paid to the armament intended for the assistance of Spain. It was carried on with uncommon vigour and expedition, from the multitude of seamen destitute of employment in the mercantile shipping; numbers of the most eminent merchants being either taken up with the internal disputes of the places which they inhabited, or deterred by the disturbances in their colonies from carrying on their usual trade. It was remarked at the same time, that, notwithstanding the general repugnance of the French to go to war with England, many of their politicians were of opinion, that the family compact ought to be punctually fulfilled, were it only to prevent the English from obtaining the uncontrolled sovereignty of the seas. But this opinion was suspected by many, to originate from the machinations of that in opposition to the ruling party. Though a multiplicity of reasonings were adduced to support it in the disputing clubs at Paris, yet the generality of people imagined that the court was at the bottom of those measures that tended to make France a party in the dispute between England and Spain; and that it hoped to derive from thence, opportunities of recovering much of its former power, through the influence it would acquire from the continual exercise of that authority and command indispensably annexed to the executive power during the prosecution of hostilities.

In order the more effectually to engage the French nation to coincide

cide with those designs that were inimical to England, the proceedings of the English in the East Indies were painted in the most alarming colours; and the necessity of guarding against the great superiority which they had acquired in those parts, was insisted on in the warmest terms. With this view, a deputation from Pondicherry, the most important of the French establishments in India, waited upon the National Assembly to remonstrate the defenceless situation of that settlement, and to request that it might be put on a respectable footing, as well as the other possessions of France in that part of the world. In compliance with these remonstrances, several vessels with warlike stores, escorted by some ships of force, were ordered for the East Indies. But the generality of the French did not consider the English as inimically inclined to them, at a time when they had adopted political principles which tended to prevent them from entering into altercations with their neighbours, especially with a people whose particular interest it was that France should forswear those pursuits which had formerly rendered it so odious, and should cultivate a good understanding with all Europe. It was chiefly indeed, in consequence of the disapprobation the public expressed of the readiness of ministry to adopt hostile measures, that some of its most active members judged it necessary, in condescendence to the popular opinion, to resign their places notwithstanding the king's reluctance to part with them. The fact was, that the royal party had suffered such a diminution of interest in the assem-

bly, that the antagonists of the court found no difficulty in compelling those whom they suspected of too much attachment to it to relinquish those employments that enabled them to exert their abilities in its favour.

The next step taken by the popular party, in virtue of the power of which they felt themselves possessed, was to annul the collations to church-livings that were not in conformity to the regulations made by the assembly. This proved a most severe blow on the court and church-party; these collations forming the strongest chain of the connexion subsisting between the clergy and the nobles, who were the principal collators. To humble the ecclesiastical body more decisively, and to gratify at the same time the desires of a very considerable portion of the community, the national assembly determined, in pursuance of those ideas of universal toleration in religious matters, which were now prevalent, to restore to their estates and possessions in France, the descendants of those families that had been forced to abandon them through the persecution which they had endured in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, during the reign of Louis the Fourteenth. The decree for this purpose, October, 1790, was worded as favourably to the remaining representatives of those long exiled families as circumstances would admit. It held out every facility and advantage that could enable them to make good their respective claims to the inheritance of their ancestors. The enlightened world very highly applauded the liberality and justice of this celebrated decree. The power acquired

acquired by the National Assembly could not, however, suppress or daunt the spirit of its opponents. In defiance of menaces and danger, the disaffected still continued to hold their meetings, wherein they expressed their enmity with the most unlimited rancour. It was principally in the southern parts of the kingdom that this bold spirit made its appearance: here the adherents to the noblesse and the churchmen were the most numerous; and they were continually watching for opportunities of effecting a change of affairs in their favour. They even carried their daringness so far, as publicly to establish clubs in opposition to those that supported the present measures. At Aix, the chief city of Provence, they formed one which was intitled, "the Society of Friends to the King and Clergy." The proceedings of this society were so offensive to another, styled "The Constitutional Club," that it resolved, by force, to impose silence on the former. This produced a quarrel, wherein the partisans of both bore a share. Notwithstanding the interposition of the magistracy, all endeavours to quell it were ineffectual. An outrageous mob arose, and seized three gentlemen pointed out as aristocrats, whom in their fury they instantly put to death, in spite of all supplications for mercy. The principal cause of the rage of the revolutionary mobs at this period, was, a report strongly founded, that a design was in agitation to introduce the exiled princes of the blood into the city of Lyons, where a number of their adherents were ready to join them, and to take up arms against the National Assembly. The municipality of

Lyons secured those persons who lay under suspicion of being concerned in it; and the National Assembly, on reading this intelligence decreed that the civic oath should immediately be administered to all individuals of the royal blood, and to all persons in public stations, or on the pension list, under pain of forfeiting their income and privileges, if they refused or neglected to take it.

This conspiracy seemed to have been formed upon a very extensive plan. The French emigrants in Italy had opened a large correspondence with their well-wishers in France, in more than one province. In that of Auvergne, their friends were so numerous, that a strong party, consisting entirely of noblesse, set out from thence for Lyons, in expectation of being supported by a formidable insurrection; but hearing on their way that the design had been discovered, they thought it safest to disband and fly homewards: this body was so considerable, that in the hurry and precipitation of their flight, they left behind them upwards of 300 horses. Designs of a similar nature had been some time carried on with profound secrecy in the country of Avignon, belonging to the Pope. But it transpired at last, that preparations were making to arm upwards of 50,000 men. The court of Turin was considered as the chief abettor and assistant in these matters. The court of Rome beheld at the same time the transactions in France with the deepest anxiety and terror. Whether from bigotry or interested motives, it strongly reprobated the alteration in that kingdom relating to the church. The examples of those countries

countries which had shaken off the Romish yoke, raised the strongest apprehension that they would be imitated by a nation which was justly reputed as enlightened as any in Europe. This motive obliged that circumspectful court to temporize, and to refrain from that impetuous severity with which it had been used in former days to hurl its spiritual thunders on those parts of Christendom that were disobedient to its dictates. It was through the unseasonable violence and precipitation of the conclave, that England was lost to the holy see by the establishment of the Reformation. This was a circumstance anxiously recalled, and strenuously dwelt upon in the councils and deliberations held at Rome upon the affairs of France.

The principal cause of solicitude at this court, was the decree by which the Assembly rested their rights of electing their bishops in the inhabitants of every diocese. This was evidently the most irrecoverable wound ever given in France to the spiritual power. It was indeed for that very reason the popular party was so resolute in adopting, and the French nation at large so ready to receive this decree. Great was the consternation of the court of Rome at a transaction which utterly annihilated the vast authority it had for so many centuries possessed in France. After many consultations, the Pope addressed a monitory letter to the King of France; wherein that decree was represented as a preliminary measure to the dissolution of all further ties between the church of Rome and that of France. Whatever the private inclination

of the king of France might have been at this juncture, the popularity of this edict was such, that he was too prudent to disapprove of it. He informed the Pope, that he could not refuse his assent to an act so warmly enforced by the approbation of the public; and that he confided in the prudence and moderation of the papal councils for the preservation of harmony between the Roman and Gallican churches.

The court of Rome had not for many years been addressed in such a manner by any of the princes of its communion. It occasioned uncommon anxiety among the adherents to the Pope, both at Rome and in other parts. The liberty of thinking, which had long reigned in France among the literati, had of late been so extensively communicated to all ranks and professions of society, that it was evident the papal power in that kingdom stood on a very tottering foundation. Many were the meetings that took place among the cardinals and the principal dignitaries at Rome, on the arduous business of recalling France to its former obedience. But the wisest heads seemed of opinion, that unless the ideas of the French on matters of government could be altered, no reasonable expectation could be entertained of their returning to the former dependence on the church of Rome. These vigorous measures of the Assembly did not however deter numbers of those ecclesiastics who adhered to the see of Rome, from soliciting the king to withhold his sanction to the decree that imposed upon them the civic oath, until the matter had been referred to the

the Pope. But the king thought it more advisable to coincide with the wishes of his people.

This application of the clergy was violently reprobated by the public. As the civic oath was in nowise repugnant to the principles of religion, the motives that induced them to refuse it, were construed as proceeding from an attachment to those privileges with which they had been invested, under the arbitrary system which they seemed so zealous to restore: but these privileges were incompatible with the obedience which they owed to the state. It was to deprive them of the pernicious independence they had so long and so improperly enjoyed, and to reduce them to the rank of other subjects, that this oath had been imposed upon them in common with their fellow-citizens. They were at the same time reminded of the well-founded odium they must incur by a denial of allegiance to that power that paid them as professional instructors of the community. Nothing, it was said, could convey a worse opinion of the priesthood, than their repugnance to give so reasonable a security for their good behaviour: it tended to insinuate that the clergy were not to be trusted, as they seemed disposed to think they would be worse priests for being better citizens.

By the tenor of the civic oath prescribed to the French clergy, they swore to watch with diligence over the flock committed to their charge; to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king; to maintain, to the utmost of their power, the constitution of the kingdom; and particularly to observe the decrees relating to the clergy. The

expediency and necessity of imposing this oath was zealously maintained by many clergymen who had seats in the National Assembly. It was not however without excessive displeasure that the court of Rome beheld such a dereliction of its interests, among a body of men in whom it had so long experienced the promptest acquiescence in all its dictates. But it ought to have known, that among the multitudes of ecclesiastics in France, there were many no less ready to embrace freedom of opinion in religious than in civil matters.

The next measure to this enforcement of the civic oath, was to procure the king's consent to the civil constitution, decreed for the national clergy. Various endeavours were used to put a negative on this act of the Assembly; but it insisted so firmly on its passing, and the public seemed so determined in its favour, that the king was at length induced to signify his compliance. The National Assembly had at the same time the satisfaction of receiving a solemn assurance from the university of Paris, that it would faithfully educate the youth under its care in the principles of the established constitution. This proved a material accession of strength to the popular party, as it led the way to similar addresses from the other universities of France. That body had no less reason to be satisfied with the intelligence that came from the neighbouring countries, of the warm approbation bestowed on the new constitution, by the French who were settled in those parts; and how zealous they were in the maintenance and propagation of the principles on which it was founded. In many places they

they had solemnly met and taken the civic oath.

But the successes of the revolutionists could not depress the courage of the royal party; they still continued undaunted, and daily exhibited a spirit that was not to be broken by any disappointment. They seemed rather to derive fresh resolution from their constant defeats; and displayed a daringness in their words and conduct that shewed they were proof against all intimidation, and that convinced their enemies they were determined to keep no measures with them.

Among the various quarrels which were produced by these reciprocal animosities, one took place between Messrs. Castries and Lameth*, that was attended with very dangerous consequences. The latter of these gentlemen, who was a warm member of the popular party, was dangerously wounded in a duel by the former, who was a zealous royalist. In revenge, his house was demolished; and himself escaped with difficulty from the fury of the multitude, who imagined the court-party had concerted this method to take off the principal champions of the revolution. The partizans of the court were, on the other hand, equally violent in those few places where they happened to bear the most influence.

The defence of religion became the motive or pretext of several bloody transactions. The inhabitants of a city in the province of Languedoc, denounced immediate death to the purchasers of the ecclesiastical estates, ordered for sale by the National Assembly: three gentlemen, or who were reported to be such, were murdered, it was said, by an outrageous mob.

These violent proceedings very strongly proved how radically fixed the minds of multitudes were in their primitive habits and notions; and that time and forbearance only would convert them to the opinions propagated with so much industry by the promoters of the new regulations in ecclesiastical matters. It behoved, therefore, the National Assembly to proceed with the utmost caution in the prosecution of a business that threatened to be extremely dangerous wherever it thwarted long-established ideas. For this reason, the enforcement of the measures resolved upon was first directed to those parts of France only that manifested a disposition, or at least no marked averseness, to receive them. But it was not only in the government of the church that changes were carried forward with so much determination:—another department, once almost as formidable, was now brought under

* Of the Lameths there are four brothers. The eldest never took any share in public affairs. The parts acted on the political theatre by the other three, have been important. They have always been united in the strictest bonds of harmony, confidence, and affection, as well as by the ties of blood. They have never swerved from their principles, from motives of either ambition or interest: nor indeed have they ever been charged with such deviation. Alexander is endowed with the greatest talents. But the whole of the three are equally distinguished by fidelity in friendship, and a sacred regard to their word, and to the truth. These men are entitled to a high place among the honourable victims of the French revolution. As to their family, it is one of the noblest in France. The celebrated Mareschal de Broglie is their maternal uncle.

under the consideration of the Assembly, with a view to still greater alterations in it than in the former. This was the administration of justice, which now underwent a complete reformation, and was transferred from the tribunals long in possession of that important branch of the civil power, and consigned to others more consistent with the genius of the new government. In executing this design, numbers of individuals possessed of employments in the courts of law, were of course dismissed. Through a strange perversion of ideas, many of those employments were become hereditary and saleable: this abuse, of which the nation justly complained as an intolerable grievance, had been originally introduced in the reign of Francis the First, a prince in some respects generous and noble minded. The wars in which he was involved by his insatiable ambition, had so drained his coffers and exhausted his resources, that, forgetting the respect and duty owing to his people, he publicly put up to sale the offices in the courts of judicature, together with the privilege of selling or of bequeathing them, as it suited the convenience of the purchasers. Thus they were to all intents a patrimony and personal estate. This custom was now of more than two hundred and fifty years standing. The National Assembly resolved to put an end to this scandalous practice; but was aware at the same time, of the impropriety of depriving individuals of their property. In order, therefore, to reconcile public justice with private interest the determination was taken to reimburse the possessors of those offices, on their resignation of them.

The sum required for their indemnification was more than 50,000,000 of livres. As it was inconvenient at the present time, to appropriate so much money to the intent proposed, that sum was made part of the public debt, and the interest of it assigned to the proprietors of the offices just abolished.

These arrangements were highly acceptable to the public. They were also viewed as indispensably necessary for the safety of the Assembly and the constitution itself, as they silenced the clamours of a numerous class of individuals, whose influence and resentments might have created much confusion, had they not received a due compensation for the losses to which they were compelled to submit for the convenience and better ordering of the sale.

In addition to these popular measures, an object of the highest advantage and importance to the nation was laid before the Assembly. This was a calculation of the respective amounts of the public revenue under the present and the late government. According to the report of the committee of taxes and impositions, seven hundred and thirty millions were annually levied, antecedently to the revolution; but since that event, no more than five hundred and sixty: a difference of one hundred and seventy millions. It appeared also, at the same time, that the emission of the paper money, termed Assignats, was put into a due course of liquidation, pursuant to their primitive plan; and that a million of them, which had been returned, would forthwith be publicly burned. Nevertheless, as the taxes were not paid with any tolerable degree of regularity; and
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as there was a kind of stagnation in the collection of the revenue, arising from the want of a sufficient number of proper agents and clerks, there had arisen a deficit in the ordinary income, to which the emission of assignats afforded only a temporary remedy. On the strength of these various operations, it was exultingly asserted that the Assembly had made the most auspicious progress in the execution of its designs. France, said the revolutionists, had successfully struggled against every obstacle that hatred and perfidy could oppose to the courage and virtue of the nation. She had retrieved her finances from the utmost confusion; and by prudent

regulations had placed them out of the reach of speculation and rapacity. She had, through wise alterations in her government, laid the firmest foundation of national prosperity; and notwithstanding the calumnious representations of her foreign or domestic enemies, was now become a model for the future imitation of all enlightened nations.

Such were the sentiments and persuasions of the people of France at the close of the year 1790. The friends to the revolution considered it now as fixed upon an immoveable basis; and its enemies were in so reduced a situation, that no danger could reasonably be apprehended from them.

C H A P. VIII.

Dissatisfaction of the European Princes at the Proceedings of the French National Assembly. Complaints of the German Princes. Letter from the Emperor to the King of France. An Augmentation of the French Army voted by the Assembly. Affairs of the King's Aunts. Tumult at Vincennes. Insurrection in Brittany. The King limited to the Nomination of Six Ministers. Apprehensions of Hostile Intentions to France from the Emperor and the other Absolute Sovereigns in Europe. The Assembly demands an Explanation of his Conduct, and orders Preparations to face its Enemies. Zeal of the Revolutionists for the Public Service. Consequences of the Decree for the Civic Oath. Ecclesiastical Affairs. M. Mirabeau President of the Assembly. His Address to the Deputation from the Quakers. Right of Primogeniture abolished. Sequestration. Dissatisfaction of the Pope at the New Arrangement of Church-Affairs in France. Death of Mirabeau. Progress of the Assignats. Confidence of the Assembly in their Strength and Resources. Suspicions of the King's Designs. His Complaint of ill Treatment, and Declaration to the Public. Conduct of M. la Fayette to the National Guards. Menaces of the German Princes. Altercations with the Pope. Enmity of the Spanish Court to the Revolutionists. Suppression of the Duties on Provisions brought into Paris. Progress of the Assignats. Scarcity of Cash. Apprehensions from the Emigrants and Foreign Powers. Message of the Assembly to the Prince of Condé. Claims of the German Princes taken into Consideration. Decrees against the Authority of the Pope. Various Decrees for the Security of the Assembly and the Constitutional Government of the Nation. Increasing Popularity of the Assembly. Discontents of

of the People in Spain at the Government. Progress of the Spirit of Liberty in various Countries of Europe. Forwarded by the Exertions of the French. They become odious to Foreign Princes on that Account. Political Opinions current at this Period. Hopes and Projects of the Enemies of the Revolution. The King's Flight from Paris, and Recapture. Circumstances attending that Event. Conduct of the Assembly on this Occasion. Declarations of the King and Queen. Royal Manifesto. Assembly's Reply.

THE conduct and politics of the National Assembly, and its uninterrupted successes, began at this time to excite the serious attention of most of the Sovereigns in Europe, who appeared to be highly averse to its proceedings, and to consider it as a body of men inimical to the rights of all Sovereigns (January 1791). Several of the petty Princes in Germany complained that it violated the treaties subsisting between France and the Empire. At their desire the Emperor wrote to the King of France, requiring them to be punctually fulfilled, and requesting him to interpose his mediation for their due observance. By these treaties, some territorial rights in the provinces of France bordering upon Germany, principally in Lorrain and Alsatia, were vested in those Princes.

The King communicated this letter to the Assembly, informing them, however, that the purport of it was pacific, and that no hostile intentions were entertained against France by the Princes of the empire. But such was the apprehension of malevolence from that quarter, that an addition of 100,000 men was immediately voted for the army, and every species of preparation was directed to be made upon the frontiers, in order to

meet the approach of an enemy: What was principally dreaded in this conjuncture, was, that these foreign foes would be joined by the malcontents at home; though incomparably less numerous than the friends to the revolution. They consisted of resolute individuals who had remained unsubdued in their principles amidst all threats, and who only waited the occasion of opposing the present government with some prospect of success.

The conduct of the violent royalists excited everywhere jealousies and suspicions. The machinations of the Princes of the royal family abroad were no secret, and those at home were equally mistrusted: a flagrant instance of the little confidence reposed in them, happened in the case of the King's two aunts. They had received his permission to retire to Rome, in order, as it was alleged by those who were well affected to them, to live there in more tranquillity than they could enjoy in their own country: it was strenuously insisted on by others, that they were deep in the plot which had been concerted at Lyons, and were for that reason hastening to secure themselves from the resentment of the public, as a discovery had been made of all the parties concerned*. The King on

* These particulars are not to be confounded with the horrors which took place at Lyons, about two years after, under the tyranny of Robespierre.

on their departure had given notice of it to the assembly, expressing his expectation that their journey would meet with no obstructions; but they were thrice stopped by the magistrates of the places through which they were travelling, and twice liberated by the intervention of some officers and soldiers. This flight of the king's aunts, as it was termed, was taken up very seriously by the Assembly; where it was proposed to pass a law, to determine how far it might be the right of royal personages to travel out of the kingdom. It was while they were deliberating on this matter that intelligence was brought that the princesses had, by a party of the military, been released from those who had arrested them, and were continuing their journey. Fired at this contempt of the civil authority, they ordered a prosecution of the offenders, and passed a formal censure on the secretary of state who had countersigned the king's passport to his aunts, as he knew the case was under deliberation. They did not however think proper to authorize the detention of those princesses; and it was at length declared, though not without a violent and tumultuous debate, that no law existed, empowering any person to detain them. In consequence of this declaration they were permitted to leave the kingdom.

This was one of the most critical occurrences that had fallen out since the revolution. Though numbers suspected those ladies of being privy and aiding to the conspiracy at Lyons, yet respect for their high rank and sex induced people to wish them safe out of the king-

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dom; where, if proofs had been brought of their participating in that affair, it might have proved difficult to preserve them from the ill treatment of the multitude. So great, in fact, was the fury of the populace at Paris on the first news of their setting out, that they crowded into the garden of the Tuilleries, and demanded of the king that he would send immediate orders for their return. They grew at length so outrageous, that the magistracy of Paris was obliged to call in the national guards, in order to disperse it.

(February 20th, 1791). This incident was succeeded by another still more alarming. Some repairs being ordered to the castle of Vincennes, in the neighbourhood of Paris, the multitude were seized with an apprehension that it was to be converted into another Bastile. They repaired thither in crowds, fully determined to demolish it, when the national guards arrived in time to quell the insurrection. As soon, however, as the people were informed of their mistake, they desisted and withdrew; but when that body of national guards, which had been dispatched from the Tuilleries to Vincennes, returned, the gates were shut against them. They quickly however forced them open, and found the place filled with persons armed with swords and pistols, and who said they were come to protect the royal family. This allegation did not prevent the national guards from insisting they should immediately withdraw, and resign the king to their own protection. The consequence of this transaction was, that none but the officers of the royal household and
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their attendants were afterwards admitted into the palace, until the time when the constitution was completely formed and accepted.

The assembly were in the mean time deliberating on the means of putting a stop to the emigrations that were the continual subject of complaint. But however desirous to accomplish this object, it appeared so inimical to personal liberty, that it met with an unsurmountable opposition.

Tidings of a more serious nature were now laid before them. The province of Brittany was represented as in a state of actual rebellion. The decrees relating to the clergy were insulted and opposed with the utmost rancour; considerable sums had been subscribed, in favour of those clergymen who declared against the acts of the National Assembly: and crowds had gathered in several places, reprobating them as impious and clamouring for their repeal. They insisted at the same time on the supremacy of the pope, and denounced all purchasers of church-property, as guilty of sacrilege. But their fury was not exhaled in words alone:—Priests, it was said, having in the warmth of infatuation exhorted the inhabitants of the district to revenge the cause of religion on those who had profaned it, a deluded mob proceeded towards the town of Vannes with the most fatal intentions; but they were happily repulsed by a body of national guards, assisted by a regiment of regulars fortunately at hand. As disorders of this kind were threatened in many places, the Assembly resolved to adopt the speediest methods of prevention, as from the enthusiasm

which actuated numbers, the most terrible effects were to be apprehended. A temporary tribunal was therefore instituted for the immediate trial of those who should be guilty of rebellious acts against government.

The suspicions that were daily increasing, and from which none of the royal blood were exempt, afforded an opportunity to the enemies of the prerogatives hitherto exercised by the crown, to propose that the king should be limited to the nomination of six ministers only, who were to be the ostensible depositaries of his authority, and answerable for his public conduct. In order to prevent unnecessary procrastination in passing judgment on their merits or delinquencies, they were to be accountable during the space of a year only, after quitting their respective offices. This latter regulation was framed with a view to bring the guilty to justice as expeditiously as possible. These ministers were to be placed at the head of six different departments. The first was that of justice, which was to preside over all the others. It was afterwards settled, that the oldest minister should preside as premier of the departments; and not the minister of justice exclusively: the possessor of this office was to act as prime minister, and to enjoy a larger salary than the rest. The other departments were, the internal government of the kingdom, colonies, marine finance, and foreign business. This proposal was received with great approbation by the popular party, but warmly opposed by those who disapproved of any further limitation of the royal prerogative

tive in the appointment of ministers. It appeared indeed of so much importance, that its supporters did not insist on its passing until it had evidently obtained the concurrence of the public at large. This, however, was soon after so strongly manifested in its favour, that it was adopted and carried into execution without delay.

In the mean time, great apprehensions were entertained on the side of the empire. The Emperor, it was well known, beheld with unrestrained indignation, all that had been done in France in favour of the revolution. Nothing, it was firmly believed, prevented him from entering immediately into active measures against France, but the consciousness of the danger that would attend them. His subjects in the Netherlands had been reduced to obedience; but this was in a great measure owing to their own dissensions: had the nobility and clergy united cordially with the other orders, they would, it has been thought by able judges, have formed such a union of force as would have effectually resisted all efforts. Pondering on these circumstances, and fearful of giving an exasperated people any opportunity of resentment, he wisely abstained from hostilities with a nation newly emancipated from despotism, and full of the animation which usually accompanies men under that circumstance. Nor was it improbable that, in case of a rupture with the French, these would instantly have invited the inhabitants of the Austrian provinces in the low countries to unite with them, and to make one common cause against him. Surmises of this sort were

widely diffused, and were so acceptable to his enemies in those countries, that they seemed earnestly desirous of such a quarrel breaking out, not doubting that it would produce the effects above mentioned.

But the emperor was not the only potentate inimical to the system prevailing in France. The other princes in Germany viewed it no less with an hateful eye; as it held up to their own people an example which, it was apprehended, they might imitate. Hence they were anxious to co-operate for the extinction of a spirit so dangerous to their personal interests; and which, if not suppressed in time, would probably, sooner or later, find its way into Germany, and be productive of the same consequences as in France itself.

The French were intimately persuaded of the aversion borne them by every arbitrary prince in Europe. The proximity of their country to those under absolute governments, its extensiveness, strength and celebrity, the long established custom among Europeans of making it the chief object of their travels, and its ways and fashions the model of their imitation,—all these motives combined, rendered them the most dangerous of neighbours to the despotic rulers of the surrounding nations. The example of the English had undoubtedly long been highly odious to these: but the situation of England was not sufficiently central to cause much alarm among them. Its insular position on the extremity of Europe diminished the influence of its affairs on those of other countries, and rendered the

character of its inhabitants less liable to be copied. The English were, during a long time, considered as a peculiar and extraordinary people, and their government as a singularity, which was indeed a natural subject of speculation, but not an example to be imitated in practice.

Such was the idea entertained formerly by most foreigners, and carefully propagated by those who disapproved of the English constitution. But the case of France being evidently quite different, the impressions resulting from the changes in that Kingdom were justly dreaded; and it was not surprising that those who reproached them should exert their utmost vigilance to arrest their progress.

Aware of this hostile disposition in most of their neighbours, the National Assembly was deeply solicitous to put the frontiers of France in a defensible condition, particularly towards Germany; and to require at the same time, with proper spirit, that the Emperor should assign the reason for his assembling such a number of troops in those parts.

So fully satisfied were the French of an intended attack from that prince, as soon as he thought himself duly prepared, that no sort of precautions were omitted for defence. Peculiar signals were invented, by which it was reported that intelligence in twelve hours could be received from, or forwarded to the extremities of the kingdom. The partisans of the revolution displayed on this occasion much alacrity and promptitude in coming forward to action; the

numbers of those who offered themselves for the public service were immense. Notwithstanding that their discipline was not comparable to that of the imperial troops, yet experience has shewn that those who place their chief reliance upon that circumstance are frequently disappointed. But had only the regular forces in France been employed, they were sufficiently numerous to face those of its enemies. They amounted at this time to about two hundred thousand men; the half of which was stationed on the frontiers towards Alsatia and the Low Countries.

Whether it was with a design to put the French off their guard, or that no hostilities were intended against them, the National Assembly received an official information from the ministry, that such pacific assurances were given by the foreign courts as appeared deserving of trust; but the assembly did not seem inclined to build upon them, and determined not to relax in the vigilance with which it watched the motions of its enemies abroad, and the more dangerous machinations of those at home.

Meanwhile the decree of the National Assembly enjoining the civic oath to be administered to ecclesiastics, occasioned many of them to be deprived of their livings. It had been so framed as to affect only clergymen doing public duty; no others were obliged to take it, nor was any other punishment inflicted on recusants than a simple deprivation of their office, of which their disobedience of the injunction was construed into a formal resignation. What is very remarkable, though it may be easily accounted

accounted for, the resistance of the clergy was far less, and their ready compliance with the ruling power greater in the metropolis than in any other part of the kingdom; so that while the purest and most zealous Catholics most earnestly exhorted every soul to be subject to the higher powers (*) the clergy of the most pliant principles were the readiest to recommend "obedience to the powers that be, by their example." The people of Paris were also the most determined of any in carrying the decree into the strictest execution. The truth was, that being the most enlightened of all the French, and therefore the least subservient to the doctrine of passive obedience, they readily perceived the inutility, or rather the impropriety of leaving either temporal or spiritual matters to the jurisdiction of a foreign tribunal; nor did the municipality of Paris consider the parochial government of the city as any ways independent of the civil magistrates: on this principle it reduced the number of parishes from sixty to about thirty, forming them nearly into equal divisions. To the credit of the inhabitants, the rectorships and clerical functions were placed on a liberal and munificent footing.

The most conspicuous of those dignitaries in the Gallican church who rejected the civic oath, was Cardinal Bernis, celebrated for his ministry under Lewis XV. He was at this time ambassador at the court of Rome, and in high favour with the Pope and the grandees of the Roman church, as well as justly esteemed by all classes for the excellence of his personal character,

and the dignity with which he filled his station. As soon as it was apprehended at Rome that his disobedience of the National Assembly's decree would occasion a dismissal from his employments, it was resolved at a meeting of cardinals to indemnify him for the loss he might incur through such a deprivation, by a pension of adequate amount. Many other dignified clergymen were sentenced to deprivation for a like refusal; and nearly all the episcopal sees being vacated in this manner, they were in consequence filled up by popular elections, on the same principle as the parishes. This was certainly an innovation of the most decisive nature, as it altered the whole system of the hierarchy, and tended, from the most submissive adherents to courts and princes, to render them the firmest assertors of the people's liberties.

In this light the policy of the National Assembly operated more for the interest of the popular party than any measure it had yet adopted. It gained the concurrence of a body of men, whose influence would hence forward be necessarily directed to the maintenance of the constitution; and, what was no less essential, it weakened proportionably the adverse party, by detaching from it those who otherwise would have proved its very warmest supporters. It ought however to be noticed, that in this objection of the non-complying clergy, they were not bereft of the means of subsistence: an allowance was assigned to them, which, though not plentiful, still preserved them from want. This was the more deserving

* Rom xiii. 1.

ing of attention, as men are apt in their religious dissensions to lay aside all generosity, and even compassion for those who differ from them. It was happy therefore for the discarded clergy that the National Assembly was composed of men who considered theirs as a civil case: had it consisted of priests, or of individuals actuated by religious enthusiasm, it is highly probable the clergy would have been treated with much more severity.

This destruction of the power formerly exercised by the church, was carried on with the more resolution, and effected with the greater facility, that it was accompanied by a measure highly acceptable to the nation, and long desired in France. This was an unreserved concession of freedom of opinion in religious matters to all that professed subjection and fidelity to the state; the Quakers, a sect hitherto little known in France but by report, were on this occasion placed on the same footing of toleration which is granted them in England. The behaviour of M. Mirabeau, when the decree for this indulgence passed, was very remarkable; he had just been raised to the chair of the president, an honour of which he had long been desirous. He had often said, it ought to be the summit of a freeman's ambition. The discourse he delivered to the deputation of the Quakers abounded with the most liberal sentiments, expressed with that brilliancy which was peculiar to him. Among other particulars he asserted that the intercourse of man with the Supreme Being is independent of political institutions; and that no government should presume to

interpose between God and the human mind. These various proceedings, so repugnant to the late notions and practices, filled the adherents to these with the utmost indignation; but the popular party approved of them with the loudest applause, and made it apparent that they were perfectly conformable to their ideas and wishes.

As a farther gratification of what it understood to be the general desire of the French nation, the Assembly resolved to pass a decree, long recommended to the public by the friends to republican principles:—this was, to abolish the right of primogeniture; by which means alone it was said the feudal system had been so long upheld to the oppression of the many, and the tyranny of the few: this, it was asserted, would give the finishing blow to despotism of every kind: not only the crown would henceforth be limited, but the power of individuals, who had hitherto engrossed the wealth of whole families, and lorded it over the rest of the community, would also be at an end, and the native rights of every member of a family would be duly respected.

Actuated by these maxims, which were loudly extolled, as forming the securest foundation of liberty, the National Assembly determined that the property of parents should be divided between their posterity of both sexes, in equal proportions to each of them, conformably to the idea of diminishing personal influence by the reduction of private property. The public began about this time to turn its attention to the immense lordships and domains still in the possession of those individuals

dividuals of the royal family that had fled the kingdom. Their refractory conduct, together with the vast sums which the sale of their estates would raise, seemed a double invitation to seize them for the use of the state. Some of them accordingly underwent a sequestration: and the emigrated princes were threatened with an entire confiscation of their estates, unless they submitted to the decrees of the Assembly.

In the mean time the episcopal elections, in the room of those prelates who declined the civic oath, were carried on in most places with the evident approbation of a prodigious majority:—a circumstance that proved, beyond all others, to what a latitude of thinking the French had attained, and how prepared their minds had been for the changes that had happened in their country. In order to display the supreme power and sovereignty of the state, in ecclesiastical as well as in civil matters, the newly elected bishops were installed in their cathedrals by the magistrates of their respective sees, and afterwards conducted with great formality and magnificence through the principal streets, to receive the respectful acclamations of the people. Such of the bishops as acted conformably to the directions of the Assembly, incurred the severest reproaches of the court of Rome, as having basely betrayed the rights of the church: but the censures of the Roman Pontiff had now lost their influence among the French; and those who were still disposed to shew them reverence, were themselves held in derision by the nation. A prelate of the highest rank in the church,

the Cardinal Delomenie, was among those who took the civic oath. This proved a deep mortification to the Pope; who reprobated his conduct in the bitterest terms, and wrote him a letter, admonishing him to retract, under pain of forfeiting his ecclesiastical honours.

In the midst of this constant success of the popular party, it was suddenly deprived of the principal framer and conductor of all its motions, the celebrated M. Mirabeau, who died in the beginning of April. No man ever attained to a greater height of popularity among those of his party, nor was held in more odium by his adversaries. As he was considered as the chief author of the revolution, the friends of the old system represented him in the most opprobrious colours; but the people at large looked upon him as the intrepid and indefatigable champion of their liberty; and the National Assembly, though it occasionally thwarted him, was always ready to do justice to his eloquence and fertility in expedients, and to adopt most of his proposals. He died with astonishing coolness and fortitude, solicitously devoting his last hours to the public. With his parting breath he dictated reasons for taking from individuals the power of making wills that favoured unequal inheritances; earnestly intreating that these his last words might be read in the Assembly. This was considered as a debt due to his extraordinary abilities and merit. Every possible proof of respect was shewn to his memory; he was honoured with a funeral oration in the Assembly: orders were issued for a national mourning; and he was interred with the
utmost

utmost magnificence. And what was very remarkable, all the members of the Assembly, even the most zealous loyalists, assisted at his funeral: a circumstance which gave credit to the opinion, of which there is now no doubt, that Mirabeau had been secretly gained over to the side of the court. His death was, on the other hand, accounted by his numerous enemies a great deliverance to the kingdom; which they accused him of having embroiled, from motives of personal ambition. As he had left no man so eminently qualified as himself to act a chief part in the popular cause, they were not without hopes that it would suffer considerably through the deprivation of such a supporter: but the minds of men were so deeply fixed in the principles now prevalent, that there appeared little probability of any alteration. Had not those principles been long operating before the æra of the revolution, it could not have taken place: the exertions of a mere individual, however great his courage and abilities, would certainly not have been adequate to the accomplishment of so surprising an event as the transition of the most populous nation in Europe from a state of bondage to a free government, unless a concurrence of antecedent courses had powerfully contributed to so mighty a change. In the mean time the progress of the popular cause was highly interesting to its well-wishers: the business of the assignats had been carried on so prosperously, that more than fifty millions of them had been brought in and burned; which was an extinction of the same proportion of the public debt.

The National Assembly, from these causes, was at the same time so resolute in asserting its dignity and importance, that in the deliberations that were held, in consequence of the fleet which was then expected to sail from England to the Baltic, fifty sail of the line were ordered to be equipped, with a view of maintaining the respect due to the French flag. More than half of this armament had sometime been ready for sea. The suspicions that had arisen, in consequence of the king's aunts leaving the kingdom, began afresh to gain ground: what brought them forward was, a circumstance highly displeasing to the public in its present temper. The king had, it seems, received the sacrament usually administered to him at Easter, from the hands of a refractory priest. This indisposed the whole city of Paris, and occasioned the most unfavourable speculations upon his account. It was also noticed, that in a late promotion, some officers, inimical to the revolution, had been advanced to posts of great trust: to which particulars were added the rumours of an invasion, and that the king was preparing to abandon the capital. During the fomentation excited by these various reports, it was given out that the king intended to spend the Easter holidays at St. Cloud, a palace not three miles from Paris. But on the morning of the 18th of April, as the royal family were stepping into their coaches with that view, they were prevented by an immense crowd, which refused to let them proceed, insisting they should remain in Paris, and alleging that in the present circumstances, it was

was the King's duty not to absent himself against the wishes of his people. Mr. Bailly the Mayor, and M. la Fayette, as head of the Parisian military, used every effort to pacify the people; but the national guards refused to listen to them on this occasion; and when commanded to enforce the peace, they laid down their arms, and in concert with the multitude exclaimed, That the King should not be suffered to depart. Those two gentlemen waited on the King, and respectfully informed him of the surmises current among the people, and of the necessity of complying with their requisition. The King was induced to give way to their remonstrances, on finding it impracticable to contend with the inflexible obstinacy of the crowd. On the ensuing day the city of Paris sent up a formal address to the King, stating the reasons that had influenced the people to detain him, together with their suspicions that too many of his closet-attendants were their enemies, and gave him counsels contrary to the interests of the nation. It besought him to banish from his councils

those courtiers who had suggested such measures as laid him open to the mistrust of the public.

The King, in answer to this address, delivered a spirited speech to the Assembly; complaining in bitter terms of the insulting treatment he had experienced and demanding the freedom of his person and actions, in order to make it evident that he was under no coercion in the acceptance and sanction of their decrees: this he insisted was essential to their authority. For these reasons he persisted in his resolution of repairing to St. Cloud. He concluded with assurances that he was resolved to maintain the constitution, conformably to his solemn engagement at the Confederation. *

The official reply to this address, on the part of the Assembly, apologised for what had happened by pleading the apprehensions of the people on account of the menacing circumstances from divers quarters. It reminded him of the efforts that were made to circumvent the Assembly, of the designs that had been carried on against it, and of the necessity of his uniting with it for

* As the counter-revolutionary party, both within and without France, had evidently a great interest in the establishment of any proof that the King was not a free agent, but under the restraint of an overbearing force, it was not unnatural to suppose that they might lay a train for the production of such a proof. It was therefore surmised on no unplausible grounds, by not a few of the revolutionists, that the opposite party had industriously fomented all those reports and rumours of the King's intended flight, for the purpose of assembling a mob, the irregularities and violences of which they might turn, in some shape or other, to their object; or, at all events, into a convincing proof that the Royal Family was not in a state of freedom; and consequently that the royal sanction given to the decrees of the National Assembly was not valid. How was it possible, it was said, otherwise to suppose that the Royal Family, who was at liberty to take an airing in carriages in and about Paris every day, might not have gone to St. Cloud, at the distance of only two English miles, if they had only communicated their design, and concerted matters with Bailly and La Fayette? But their leaving Paris without the knowledge of those chiefs, naturally bred great mistrust in the minds of the suspicious and credulous people.

for his own interest and the good of the public. The remonstrances of the metropolis and the assembly produced their effect : several dignitaries of the church, and courtiers of high rank, who had incurred the displeasure of the people were dismissed from their places at court, and other methods taken to remove the cause of popular dissatisfaction.

But that step for which the King was most applauded, was the dispatch sent by his orders to the French ambassadors and ministers at the foreign courts. It contained a recapitulation of the events that had led to and followed the revolution ; which was described as having wrought a most favourable change both for monarch and people. The new constitution was extolled in the highest terms : the motives alleged for its establishment were fully approved :—the efforts that had been used to overthrow it were strongly condemned, and the royal approbation of it was expressed in the most pointed manner. The King contradicted at the same time the assertions of those Frenchmen in foreign parts, who complained that he was compelled to disguise his sentiments, and averse in reality to what he seemed to approve. Had the King, in short, been completely satisfied with his present condition, he could not have chosen terms more expressive of such a meaning than those of which he made use on this occasion.

This memorable despatch was communicated on the twenty-third of April to the National Assembly, who received it with the loudest applause, and ordered it to be posted up in the most conspicuous places

of every municipality in the kingdom, to be read at the head of every regiment and company in the army, and on board of every ship in the navy. The Assembly voted at the same time a deputation to the King, solemnly to congratulate him on the happy similitude of his sentiments to those of his subjects. Their address was worded with singular eloquence and energy ; and gave him to understand that he could not act more wisely than by coinciding with the ideas that were now so firmly established throughout the nation.

Thus ended an affair which threatened at first to be more serious. The circumstance that rendered it perhaps chiefly remarkable, was the disobedience of the national guards, who had hitherto punctually obeyed the orders of their commander, M. La Fayette resented it so deeply, that he resigned his commission to the municipality : but this body was too sensible of the necessity of maintaining the strictest discipline at the present juncture, to accept of his resignation. The Parisian military were no less conscious of the impropriety of their behaviour ; and united their supplications, with those of the magistracy, for his remaining at their head. It was not, however, with facility that he was prevailed on to comply with their requests ; rightly observing, that they ought to respect his office rather than his person, and obey him from motives of duty more than of attachment.

The resolution displayed by the National Assembly in the enforcement of its several decrees, did not in the meanwhile deter numbers of the Royalists from explicitly speaking of them with the utmost asperity,

asperity, and loading the members themselves with the most opprobrious language. What emboldened them to assume such dangerous liberties, was the expectation that the German courts would take up, with a high hand, the business which they had already begun, respecting the rights and possessions claimed by some of their princes in Alsatia and Lorrain, and which they complained had been usurped by the present government in France. These complaints made, however, but little impression. They were considered as intended for a mere pretence to interfere in the affairs of France, and were for that reason but little noticed. The inhabitants of the countries alluded to were, in general no less attached to the principles of the revolution than those of the other provinces. While they remained in that disposition little was to be apprehended from the displeasure of the petty German princes who claimed any species of authority over them. Another subject of complaint against the Assembly and the popular party, was their treatment of the Pope. The court of Rome had been officially apprized by the French minister, that the Cardinal Bernis had been recalled from his embassy there for having refused to take the civic oath. The Pope made answer, that he would receive no ambassador that had taken it. The French ministry endeavoured to evade the Pope's objection, by nominating, in the room of the Cardinal de Bernis, the Count de Segur, who, before the revolution, had filled with great distinction the important station of ambassador to Russia. As he was not an ecclesiastic, the oath in question did not in the least concern him. The Count was equally

unobjectionable upon the score of birth, talents, and moral character: he had not held any public office since the revolution; and he had always openly declared it to be his opinion, that in the present circumstances of France, measures of conciliation alone were suitable to those of Rome. He accepted the place; but on the frontiers of the ecclesiastical states he was interdicted from entering the papal territories by the court of Rome. If the Constituent Assembly had not been more moderate than any of their successors, the refusal of his Holiness to receive their Ambassador would have provoked a declaration of war. The Pope was hereupon given to understand, that if such were his final resolution, the spiritual connexion between France and Rome would necessarily be broken, and no Nuncio hereafter be permitted to set his foot in that kingdom. He was warned to ponder seriously on a matter of such importance, and to weigh the consequences that must ensue, should he resolve not to recede from his declaration.

But whether from a conviction that the court of France still retained too much veneration for the see of Rome to abjure its authority in so peremptory a manner; whether from a persuasion that the majority of the French themselves were too firmly attached to the Romish doctrines of supremacy to suffer peaceably so violent a secession; or whether from a conscientious belief that spiritual censures were indispensably requisite at such a juncture, and might possibly produce some effect; the Roman Pontiff proceeded to a formal excommunication of those bishops who admitted the ecclesiastical con-

constitution established by the National Assembly. This measure, which in former times would have thrown the whole kingdom into the most terrible confusion, only served to expose the vanity of the papal comminations, and show how low the papal authority was fallen. The sentence was made an object of derision: the people of Paris resolved on this occasion not to be outdone by the most violent contemners of Popish power. In imitation of what has of late years been disused in London, they publicly burned an effigy of the Pope, clad in his pontifical robes, and holding in his hand the brief of excommunication he had fulminated against the French prelates of the popular party.

So contumelious a treatment of a person reputed by those of his persuasion the vicegerent of the Author of Christianity, could not fail to excite the indignation of all the Roman Catholics professing that opinion. In Italy and Spain the astonishment of the public was extraordinary. Though long used to consider the French as rather lax in their reverence for the pontifical chair, they were struck with amazement at this instance of their contempt and rancour for one whom, in common with themselves, they had hitherto acknowledged as head of the Roman church. Reflecting people united everywhere in condemning the precipitation with which the court of Rome had acted in an age when it must have been conscious that its authority was universally on the wane, and that conciliating measures alone could prop its declining empire. France, they said, ought by every means to have been retained. The infatuation and superstitious spirit

of Rome could never have been more glaringly manifested than by insulting a kingdom of such might and influence, both in spiritual and political affairs. The loss of so valuable a member of the Roman church was of such a nature as to endanger the very existence of the remaining parts. In whatever light this conduct of the court of Rome was viewed, it was the most fatal that could have been adopted: it shook its power to the very foundation, and would in short prove a prelude to the downfall of papacy itself.

Such were the sentiments of those who considered the present situation of Europe; the propensity of men to govern themselves in religious matters by their own ideas, and their decided averseness to receive opinions on mere authority. The court of Rome could not be ignorant how widely such a disposition was diffused, and how zealous its partizans were in its propagation; how rapidly it increased, and how carefully therefore it should have been resisted by its disapprovers; who ought on this occasion to have remembered how much more efficacious lenient methods have always proved in ecclesiastical regulations and government, than those of anger and haughtiness.

An additional motive for proceeding with temper and cautiousness, was the situation of the papal dominions in France. As they were inclosed on every side by the territories of that powerful kingdom, they belonged to the Pope through mere sufferance and certain remains of old habits of reverence, and not through any intrinsic means of defence. Whenever any difference

ence broke out between him and the French King, they had always been seized by the latter as a security for the former's compliance with his requisitions. This state of perpetual uncertainty appeared so disgraceful to the inhabitants, that they entertained neither fear nor respect for the government they were under; and often expressed their preference of a sovereign who could command their obedience whenever he thought proper, and of whose country their own formed a part, to one whom they naturally considered as a foreign prince, who held by a precarious tenure the land which they inhabited. Such being the relative situation of the Pope and the people of Avignon, it was not surprising that, on the breaking out of the troubles in France, they should be easily induced by the emissaries of the new rulers to side with the popular party, which was the best able to protect them, and request to be incorporated with the French nation.

It was certainly the height of imprudence in the court of Rome, to exasperate the National Assembly at such a critical juncture. Nothing, it was believed at the time, could have occasioned so much temerity but the bigotry of those who presided over the Roman councils, and possibly the hope of uniting, against France, the princes professing the Roman persuasion, who probably would be joined by all the protestant crowned heads in Europe, as they were equally interested in putting a stop to the progress of that daring spirit which threatened so manifestly to subvert the long-established systems of politics and of religion.

The empire and the court of Rome were not the only enemies against whom the National Assembly had to guard. The Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon was no less solicitous to oppose the progress of the principles that had brought about the French revolution. The scrupulous adherence of the people of Spain to the Romish tenets, seemed a powerful restraint upon any endeavours to imitate the French; but there were among the Spaniards not a few who held that politics and religion were two different things, and that liberty might be asserted without anyways violating the respect due to the Roman Pontiff, and without separating from his communion. Such ideas, which were beginning to spread over the kingdom, occasioned no small disquietude at the Spanish court. It apprehended their further diffusion and encouragement, through the means of that great number of Frenchmen who are continually repairing to the chief cities of business in Spain, for the purposes of trade and commerce. In order to obviate their entrance from this quarter, troops were stationed on the frontiers of France, with orders to stop every Frenchman whose character lay under any suspicions. Such a proceeding proved very offensive to the French nation at large, as it plainly intimated a disapprobation of their conduct, and a resolution to oppose it. The Spanish ministry, however, unwilling to assume any hostile appearance, directed their ambassador at Paris to assure the Assembly of its pacific intentions; but this body was too well apprized of the disposition of the court of Spain, to attribute

tribute its assurances to any other motive than inability to exercise its enmity to any purpose.

In the mean time the system adopted, respecting the public debts, proceeded with so much success, that upwards of an hundred and sixty millions worth of assignats had been destroyed. Another circumstance added remarkably at this time to the credit of the present government: the barriers, or turnpikes, at which the former duties on all kinds of provisions were payable at their entrance into Paris, were on the beginning of May, this year, taken down in consequence of the act which suppressed those duties. This suppression eased the inhabitants of Paris of a most heavy and partial grievance. They had long and justly complained that they were unreasonably compelled to pay a greater price for the necessaries of life than others, merely for dwelling in the metropolis. This tax, which produced about forty millions, was universally considered as an unjustifiable extortion: an exemption from the payment of this sum, though an act of no more than strict equity, strengthened considerably the attachment of the capital to the National Assembly.

But notwithstanding these prosperous appearances, the pecuniary correspondence between France and her neighbours was much in her disfavour: the course of exchange at this time being full twenty-five per cent against her. The fact was, that owing to the private accumulations of those who were doubtful of the stability of affairs, cash was become exceedingly scarce: assignats were now the chief currency; to give them weight

and credit they had been made payable to government; still however they did not pass in common intercourse under a less discount than seven and a half per cent. What contributed to this secreting of money, was the continual alarm excited from every quarter whence it could be made to proceed. Among other causes of apprehension, the English armaments were again specified. They were by several members of the Assembly, represented as infallibly intended against France. These surmises occasioned a serious debate; wherein, however, it was upon a cooler discussion made apparent that the naval preparations in England had quite other objects in view. Still, however, the motions of the French emigrants, and of their friends on the frontiers, kept alive the jealousies and suspicions of the public. There existed no doubt that every exertion was making, though in the profoundest concealment, to bring about a counter-revolution, and that the want of means was the sole obstruction to such an attempt.

The person chiefly considered as the promoter of such a design, was the Prince of Condé. It was for that reason, resolved in the Assembly, formally to acquaint him that he lay under suspicions, and to insist that he should return to his country, or at least withdraw from the frontiers, and explicitly disavow all inimical designs to its present constitution. He was threatened on refusal, to be declared in a state of rebellion, to incur the forfeiture of his rights, as prince of the blood, and to suffer the punishments inflicted by the law in cases of treason. To deprive

ve the princes of the empire
 ry pretext for affording him
 ance, and for uniting to invade
 ce, under pretence of making
 their claims, the Assembly
 these into consideration; and
 a mature discussion conclu-
 that such of their demands
 d be agreed to as were found
 rnable to the treaties in vir-
 f which they were made.

it while from the desire of pre-
 ng an appearance of equity, it
 nded to fulfil the stipulations
 ed into with its neighbours, it
 mined, on the other hand,
 card all pretensions originating
 mere concessions, and in-
 us to the sovereignty of the
 n. On this principle it was
 eed, that no ordinances pro-
 ing from the court of Rome,
 or the title of bulls, or any
 denomination, should be of
 validity in the kingdom, until
 had been approved of in the
 onal Assembly. No civil or
 siastical servant of the state,
 was the term, should presume
 ublish, by distribution or in
 other manner, such ordinances,
 they had received the sanc-
 of the legislature as above spe-
 d under pain of deprivation of
 employments and salaries, and
 eing prosecuted as disturbers
 e peace of the community.

addition to these acts for the
 ention of encroachments on
 uthority of the legislative body
 abroad, it was judged no less
 ssary to provide for its security
 ome. To this end it was
 ted, that no military force
 ld invest or enter the place
 e the National Assembly was
 ing, without its request or au-
 ty: the minister or comman-

der who gave or countersigned an
 order to that purpose, to be im-
 prisoned fifteen years.

Conspiracies to prevent the as-
 sembling of the legislative body,
 or to dissolve it by force, to re-
 strain the freedom of speech and
 debate, or to violate the personal
 liberty of its members, were to be
 made punishable with death.

No troops were permitted to
 approach or remain within a nearer
 distance of the place where the
 Assembly sat than it should think
 proper; the minister who signed
 an order for a nearer approach, the
 commander in chief and the officers
 who executed it, to be imprisoned
 for ten years.

All attempts to subvert the or-
 der of succession to the crown,
 as decreed by the constitution, sub-
 jected the parties to death.

After making provision for the
 safety of the sovereign, and their
 own independence as legislators,
 they next proceeded to frame a
 variety of other regulations for the
 protection of the people from vex-
 ation and ill usage from those who
 were invested with public employ-
 ments.

The principal were, that every
 one guilty of applying the autho-
 rity committed to him by the exe-
 cutive power, to the hindrance of
 any act of justice, should undergo
 six years imprisonment.

Should such misapplication oc-
 casion disturbances, the author of
 it to be answerable for all the con-
 sequences, and punished according
 to the rigour of the law.

Should any person acting exe-
 cutively, incite the people to in-
 fringe the laws, he should incur
 degradation from his civic rights
 and be liable to punishment for all
 the

the consequences of their disobedience.

But the more serious and severe of all the decrees, made at this time by the National Assembly, was that by which the venality of votes was made capital in any of their members.

To these popular measures they added another, which had been particularly the object of the public wishes. They assigned pensions to those who had been wounded at the Jacobin insurrection at Nancy, as well as to the families of those who were killed in taking the Bastile.

The truth was, they considered themselves as that Assembly by which the constitution of the realm was to be formed; and were eager from that motive to leave nothing undone that might conduce to their reputation as legislators. Their popularity was at this period remarkably extensive not only among the civil orders of society, but the military and naval classes. These last in particular, were so zealous in their attachment to the new constitution, that the gunners belonging to the district of Brest, absolutely refused to perform their duty till those officers were expelled from the service who were known to be averse to the established constitution. The spirits of the French were indeed so elated at this juncture, that they explicitly boasted that they had not only (to use their own phrase) regenerated France, but would also regenerate every country in Europe, notwithstanding the open exertions, or secret intrigues, that were on foot to restore despotism in France, and to maintain it elsewhere.

What inspired this tone and

style at this time, was the intelligence received from Spain, that a disposition similar to that which had produced the revolution in France existed visibly in many provinces. In that of Catalonia, the commander in chief of the troops stationed there, had informed the court of Madrid that he dreaded every moment an insurrection. Nor was that court itself less anxious what might be the effect of the present temper of the people in general. To remove, in some measure, the motives of discontent, which were occasionally expressed with no small degree of freedom, the King found himself under the necessity of issuing a formal declaration, that he had directed the deputies of the Cortes, carefully to inquire into the present circumstances of the nation, those particulars especially which had created discontent, in order to discover and suppress every cause of complaint that should appear well founded; and thus remove all just pretences for popular clamours and disaffection.

This condescension in the Spanish court was interpreted by the French as a dread of the Spaniards following their example, and as a proof that it had operated to the benefit of that nation. The enthusiasm that reigned in France had certainly been communicated to Spain: nor did the royal declaration, touching the Cortes, who were themselves the deputies of the nation, appear a very adequate method of representing it. If the King, it was said, meant, according to his promise, to procure a real relief from the oppressions which occasioned his subjects to murmur against government, he ought

ought to restore the ancient constitution of Spain, the want of which alone was the greatest of all grievances. The representatives of the people were the only individuals truly acquainted with their wants and wishes; and till a free and popular election of these took place, the nation could not reasonably indulge an expectation of meeting with real redress, as no dependence could be placed on the best intentions or abilities of ministers, who were in fact but the tools of an absolute government, and liable themselves to experience its caprice in common with the meanest subjects, whenever they dared to dissent from the opinion of their masters. These were plain insinuations, how little confidence the Spaniards placed in the assurances of their sovereign. As there is no people in Europe more unfeignedly attached to their princes, and less willing to shew them any mark of disrespect or mistrust, the full discourses they now held on his conduct were the more noticed and offensive at court; which began to feel a serious alarm, lest, from words, the transition to deeds should be more general and sudden than government was prepared for, or would be able to resist. This spirit of constitutional liberty was not, in the mean time, excited in Spain alone:—every country in the proximity of France partook of it in some degree. This, the French insisted, was owing to the instigation of their countrymen, who were as zealous for the freedom of other nations as for their own: an assertion which was not altogether ill-founded. Their motive for propagating such a dispo-

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sition among their neighbours, was clearly to raise such disturbances among them as might occupy them at home, and prevent their rulers from combining together for the re-establishment of the old government in France.

Actuated by such views, many, not only of the French who were established in foreign parts, but others also, whether influenced by discontent or the fanaticism of liberty, neglected nothing to inculcate revolutionary principles of government; nor were their labours ineffectual. The effects which they produced, became indeed so conspicuous as to render the French in general extremely obnoxious to most of the governments of the countries where they resided, and to draw upon them the severest notice of all their actions, especially such as had any reference to the revolution. Their celebration of this was particularly objected to in all the arbitrary states of Europe, and even in some where, notwithstanding that the genius of the constitution be friendly to liberty, the ruling powers were apprehensive that the popular maxims adopted by the French might be productive of unruliness in the nation. An opinion was entertained by numbers of people, that the business of propagating principles of political revolution was reduced by the new government of France to a system; and that a society was secretly instituted at Paris for disseminating the *new philosophy*, analogous to that established at Rome for propagating the catholic christian faith. This opinion does not appear to us to be founded on any evidence sufficient to warrant

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its transmission to posterity* as an historical fact. It was much encouraged by the cabinets of foreign nations, who were very willing to disgust their people at all plans of political reformation, under the idea that all who favoured innovation were nothing more than apes of the French. But of the actual existence of such a society, or even of individual propagators of sedition and the right of insurrection, employed by the government of France, there is no positive proof.

We have heard a great deal of French emissaries:—How does it happen that we do not find in any of the prosecutions for sedition, or for high treason, the name of one Frenchman? Frenchmen, in great numbers, have been driven from different countries, on suspicion: Why were not proofs sought and found of their guilt, that they might have been hanged as well as some of the natives of those countries? This was an instance of very extraordinary forbearance, if it was at all probable that such proofs might have been brought. The French emigrants may be divided into two classes: men of business, and men who were not engaged in business. With regard to the first, for the most part men of but little education or knowledge, and very imperfectly acquainted with foreign languages, one would imagine that they could not be very dangerous movers of sedition. As to the second, men of fortune, noblemen, and clergymen, scattered by the French revolution over all Europe, it was their principal employment, wherever they went, to render the patriots, as they called themselves,

objects of jealousy and hatred. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to confine our ideas of the political machine in question to such secret correspondence with malcontents; such means of seduction and corruption as may be secretly practised in any neutral country; and to the power of the press brought into exertion, in various forms, by political enthusiasm, or less honourable passions. It will, perhaps, be remarked by our readers, that in the second class of emigrants, above stated, we may well comprehend men of talents, or conceiving themselves to be such, and addicted to habits of writing on all public matters. Such men, it must be owned, would be fitter agents for a college of propagation, than tradesmen and merchants: but the French government needed not to be informed how unnecessary it was to send their own countrymen to this, on the business of spreading and defending their political principles and conduct to any extent admitted by the laws: in short, all this kind of work, or warfare, it is too well known, is a matter of finance, and may be reduced with a tolerable degree of precision to calculation. It has been found by multiplied experience, that advocates for republican principles, whether natives of this country or foreigners, may be employed, like advocates in law, on any side of a question. But whatever may be thought of the French propagators, whether mercenary troops or volunteers, whether acting individually or in a body, it was the general opinion of the most judicious observers, that the principal obstruction at this

* As different journalists have done.

this period, to a confederation amongst the chief potentates on the continent, was a dread of their own people having imbibed such notions of their natural rights as might incite them to seize the first opportunity of emancipating themselves from an arbitrary yoke, and establishing a system founded on principles of freedom.

These principles were not only current in the low countries, where they have always been cherished by the inhabitants, but had spread far into Germany, especially in those parts of which the government in former days either was free or partook largely of freedom. In the protestant states particularly, the people seemed inclined to favour ideas of this kind. In Saxony they explicitly abetted, and took some very resolute steps to assert them. Through the extraordinary circumspection of those who were concerned in suppressing them, they were prevented from breaking out in Germany to any alarming height: but the proximity of Poland, where they produced for a time alterations highly favourable to the people, was, by the discerning, considered as a precedent that would soon or late be followed by the neighbouring nations, unless the powers that surround that country should unite for its partition as they had done before, and, aided by the factions that have so long distracted it, find means to put an end to all efforts towards the recovery of freedom both in that country and in every other.

In the southern parts of Europe absolute power seemed less in danger; superstition having in those countries tamed mankind into a

servility that fits them for all the mean purposes of a slavish government; and the number of such as are eager for opportunities to oppose it, not being considerable enough to alarm or intimidate the ruling powers. But, in the conflict of ideas that divided the political world at this time, many concurred in thinking that, in almost every kingdom in Europe, England and Poland excepted, the principles of constitutional liberty did not appear to have been applied by the generality of their advocates with due precision to the respective conditions of society. Hurried on by resentment for ill usage, beyond the limits of a salutary reform, those who contended for the necessity of changes in the political system of the great European monarchies, appeared to aim at innovations altogether too glaring and violent to prove acceptable to all parties. They seemed to have forgotten that, unless satisfaction is procured for such, or at least for the principal of those parties that are found in every state, they will not admit of any important changes. Hence the propriety was argued of not deviating totally from the plan of a long-established government. It is on this maxim that those who disapprove of the excesses to which the French revolution in France have been carried, have justified their disapprobation. Had the French in their ardour to lay the axe, as they expressed it, to all abuses, abstained, for instance, from the destruction of the nobility, they would have preserved a body of men that would have supplied them with as warm and able asserters of liberty as any other class

of the community; but the deprivation of what, to most men, is no less dear than their property, the honours and distinctions of civil life, naturally threw them into the opposite party, from which alone they could hope to recover the loss. Here truth demands the exception of La Rochefoucault, Liancourt, Montmorency, De Grave, the Crillons, the Lameths, Lusignan, and a few other of the nobility, who, though led astray by false calculations respecting human nature, and particularly their own countrymen, as time has too clearly proved, acted from principles of virtue and generous patriotism. The French had before them the example of the English nobility; numbers of whom have, in all ages, stood forth the unfeigned and zealous patrons of the liberties of their country. They might have reflected, that whatever cannot be enjoyed but in common, it will be no less the inclination than the interest of every part of the community jointly to defend. The persuasion of this truth has been happily stronger in England than any where else; which has often ranked among the most illustrious champions of public freedom, persons of the first titles and dignities in the kingdom.

Such, it seems, were at this period the sentiments of a numerous part of society, both in this and other countries. Whatever their opinion might be concerning the primitive necessity of nominal distinctions in society, they saw them, with regret, struck off the list of those means by which recompense had been, during so many ages, bestowed upon extraordinary merit. The continuance of those rewards

to the posterity of those who had deserved them, was at the most, a stretch of public gratitude; and, however deemed improper by the unrelenting severity of strict reformists, had often contributed to perpetuate nobleness of character, as well as of birth: at all events, there was no immediate call for the utter extinction of a race of men who had hitherto devoted themselves in a peculiar manner to the service of their country; and considered it indeed as the most essential duty of their situation in life. The same devotion would have lasted, as the same motives would have continued to prompt it; but by confounding them into the common mass of individuals, it would probably happen that those who patiently submitted to their degradation, would subside to the rank assigned to them, and gradually lose that elevation of mind which usually stimulates men to good and great actions; and such as were, on the other hand, offended at their treatment, would resent it to the utmost of their power, and of course prove the most irreconcilable enemies to a constitution of which they might consider themselves as the outcasts.

Arguments of this nature were warmly urged by the friends of the degraded nobility, and were daily strengthened by experience. Tho' compelled by motives of personal safety, the French noblemen complied exteriorly with decrees which they could not resist: they were secretly forming the most determined resolution to oppose them, and whatever else had been done by the revolutionists, the moment they could act with freedom. In this situation of things the royal party, however

however depressed on every side, still cherished hopes of emerging from its difficulties. As such a frame of mind naturally impels to exertion, they were incessantly employed in devising means how to extricate themselves from degradation; but the watchfulness of their antagonists, and the severity that was dreaded from them, were such obstacles as no common efforts could overcome. The attachment to the King's person and family rendered the royalists extremely averse to engaging in any measures that might endanger his safety. They knew the length to which popular fury might be carried, and were for that reason very fearful to provoke it. Still, however, it was becoming daily a measure of great propriety, in their opinion, to make some attempt in his favour. The good-will of the Emperor, and of the German princes on the frontiers of France was unquestionable, as well as their readiness to befriend him on a fit occasion; but while he remained in the possession of the popular party, all endeavours to serve him effectually appeared fruitless. In these circumstances a project was formed which promised, in case of execution, to answer every purpose that was proposed. The ground of this project was formed on a belief that, notwithstanding appearances, the generality of the nation wished for a restoration of the royal authority, and would co-operate in bringing it about, were a favourable opportunity to occur. Under this conviction the most zealous and active of the King's friends determined to employ their utmost dexterity, in order, if possible, to procure his escape from the Tuilleries and

Paris. This, according to all appearances, was an arduous enterprise. Though the King was treated with every shew of respect, he was accompanied by a national guard, amounting to nearly the same number as the Swiss guards; but, on the other hand, it is to be taken into the account, that many of the national guards, as well as the whole of the Swiss, were strongly in his interest. A suspicion having arisen that such a design was in agitation, every precaution was employed to prevent it. Two centuries stood at his chamber-door, others on the adjoining stair-case, and many were stationed in the contiguous apartments: but, in spite of those various obstructions, the King and Queen, with their son and daughter, found means to escape with the greatest secrecy from the Tuilleries, in the night, between Monday and Tuesday, the 21st of June.

His departure was not known till eight hours after it had taken place. As soon as it was divulged, it filled all Paris with consternation. The distance he must have gained in such a space of time, left no hope of overtaking him, unless he were obstructed in his flight by some unforeseen accident; and nothing remained to prevent the complete execution of his design. Suspicions arose on every person that could possibly have had a hand in the King's escape, or connived at it. What confirmed them, was the disappearance of near fifty individuals, known to have possessed his good graces. Even M. La Fayette was mistrusted on this occasion, and, together with M. Montmorin, the most popular man in the ministry, and several other persons of consequence,

sequence, were arrested by the people of Paris, and placed under a guard. La Fayette and his companions in confinement, owed their salvation, from popular fury, to Alexander Lameth and his friends; at whose earnest remonstrances it was that the National Assembly interfered for their liberation.

The first measure adopted by this body was, to order that all people should take up arms for the purpose of repelling the attempts that might have been in preparation by the King's party; who, though weak in their numbers, were zealous in his cause, and ready to run all risks in its support. The King had left particular directions that no use should be made of the seals of office till his farther commands. But the Assembly decreed, that the King having absented himself, the business of the nation ought nevertheless to proceed; for which reason the seals of the state should, in virtue of their authority as representatives of the nation, be affixed as usual to their decrees by the chief minister. As no doubt was entertained that hostile measures had been concerted between the King and his partizans awaiting him, on the frontiers of the kingdom, the city of Paris judged it necessary solemnly to renew its assurances of loyalty and attachment to the Assembly, and its determination to act with firmness in defence of the common cause. This was done as a precedent to the other cities and departments.

In the mean time the King used the utmost expedition, and arrived the next day, at noon, at St. Mene-

houd, a place in Champagne, distant from Paris near one hundred and sixty miles: but here, while changing horses, he was recognized by the post-master, who, not being provided with the means of stopping him on the spot, dissembled his knowledge of the King, and sent his son, with the utmost speed, to the next town; where, on disclosing the motive of his coming, he was immediately joined by a number of the national guards, who overpowered some troops that were come to the King's assistance; upon which he was obliged to surrender. The place where he was seized in this manner was Varennes, a town within six leagues of the borders of France, toward Luxemburgh. It was through mere accident, as at first apprehended, that he failed in his enterprize, when he had almost effected it. The person chiefly concerned in the planning and management of this undertaking was the celebrated M. Bouillé; an officer of high character in his profession, and at this time commandant at Metz. He had arranged matters with so much dexterity, that if the King could have passed Varennes, he would have been safe.

The intelligence of the King's recapture was equally acceptable and unexpected in Paris. Three members of the National Assembly were forthwith commissioned to wait on the King, and to conduct him to Paris in safety. He was attended on his return by numerous bodies of the national guards, who gathered from all quarters to prevent a rescue; it having been intimated that several regiments had

* For a particular account of the King's flight, see State Papers.

had been prevailed on by their officers to march with all speed to his assistance; but this intelligence proved groundless; and was circulated, in the opinion of many, with no other view than to make trial of the disposition of the people. If this was the design, the National Assembly had every motive to be satisfied. In every place through which the King passed, he had the mortification to see that the ancient veneration of the French for their kings was totally obliterated: not an arm was lifted in his defence, nor a voice heard in his favour.

The Count of Provence, the King's next brother, and the companion of his flight; the Count D'Avary, a French colonel, and an officer of his household, were more successful, and arrived safely at Brussels, where they met with the most respectful reception from the Austrian government. But the failure of the King's escape defeated all that had been premeditated, as the absence of his person was considered as a counterpoise that would frustrate whatever might be attempted in his favour.

The chief cause of the mistrust and hatred against the King, was the persuasion that he intended to have fled to Mentz, in Germany, and there held his court and erected his standard. Hence, after collecting all the force he could have mustered, he was to have invaded France. This report gathered weight, from the arrival at that city of the Count D'Artois and the Prince of Condé, with their families. But the circumstance which aggravated the whole, and which was industriously circulated, was,

that M. de Calonne was to be reinstated in all his honours, and appointed prime minister to the King.

In the mean time the public was taken up with a variety of investigations, how it had been practicable to compass an object of so much difficulty and danger to all parties concerned, as the King's withdrawing himself from the many persons to whom the custody of his person had been committed; for it appeared highly improbable to have been effected without treachery. People in general expressed the most violent dissatisfaction with those whom they considered as having, through remissness in their charge, afforded encouragement to such an attempt.

It was the universal belief of the popular party, that this undertaking had been long in agitation; and that all the royalists in the kingdom had been duly forewarned to be ready to take up arms, and embody themselves under their leaders at the time it happened. Hence a watchful eye was kept upon those who were known or suspected to be wellwishers to the royal cause. Several officers and soldiers in the regular troops having deserted over to the imperial territories on this occasion, it was apprehended that many others were no less disaffected, and willing to follow the royal standard. Surmises of this kind were widely spread, and filled the kingdom with mistrust and terror.

The popular clamour now was, that as the King evidently endeavoured to leave the kingdom with an intention to invade it at the head of an armed force, in order to restore the former government, he was no longer deserving the crown,

crown, and ought, therefore, to be deposed. Herein most people seemed earnestly to concur. The Dauphin was mentioned as inheritor of the crown under a regency, till arrived at the years of maturity; but the National Assembly was too circumspectful to countenance this idea. On the King's return to Paris, it was resolved, after a long consultation, that he should be replaced under the attendance of the national guard; the Queen and the Dauphin to be separately guarded; and a tutor appointed to the latter by the Assembly: all those who attended the royal family in their evasion, to be imprisoned and interrogated: the King and Queen themselves to give their declarations in writing. No person that fell under the least suspicion of being privy to the King's escape, was exempted from the strictest examination. M. Montmorin, who had long enjoyed the royal favour, was particularly suspected of having assisted him. The passport, produced by the King on his journey, was countersigned by this minister; but the fact, as M. Montmorin stated it, was, that he had been applied to for a passport by the Russian ambassador, for a lady of his country going to Germany with her two children, a female attendant, and four men-servants. This passport was delivered to the Queen, who assumed that lady's name: the king and his three attendants assuming the appearance of the others.

Among other persons who were accused of being in the King's secret, the behaviour of M. Bonnay

merits to be recorded. This gentleman had been one of his body-guards, and was noted for his intrepidity. On his examination before the Assembly, after denying the charge, and assuring them, that if the King had asked his advice he would have endeavoured to dissuade him from quitting Paris,—he resolutely added, that had the King required his attendance on this occasion, he would have followed and protected him till laid dead at his feet.

After going through several interrogatories, it was determined to wait on the King, and receive his deposition. This was a transaction of the most extraordinary nature. Europe had not witnessed such a scene since the days of Charles the First of England. But the French boldly quoted the precedent; and their conversations were filled with what the English had done in the tempestuous periods of their history. A deputation of three members waited on the King accordingly. He felt his dignity, and supported it with becoming spirit. After protesting against answering any formal questions, he was willing, he said, for their satisfaction, to make known to them the motives that had prompted him to act as he had done. He then laid before them the treatment he had received on the 18th of April preceding, on his departure for St. Cloud, together with the insulting publication against his person and family; none of which had met with animadversion or restraint. Such usage had provoked him to quit Paris.* His intention, he

* We have already observed, that his being stopped on his journey to St. Cloud afforded a good excuse for an attempt to make his escape, and that it was thought by many to have been preconcerted for this end.

he asserted, was, not to leave the kingdom, but to repair to Montmedy, a fortified town on the frontiers, where his personal liberty would be secure, and his public conduct under no restraint; and where he could, therefore, have transacted business, together with the Assembly, without the appearance or the imputation of compulsion. He did not object, he said, to the principles of the constitution, but only to the denial of freedom in the exercise of the power assigned to him. He acknowledged himself convinced, by what he had seen, that the public opinion was decisively for the present constitution: a circumstance he could only have discovered by what had happened; and this conviction would induce him to co-operate in its support. He concluded, by assuring them that he was ready to forget all the disagreeable circumstances that had occurred, in order to restore public tranquillity. Such was the general purport of the King's declaration.

That which was made by the Queen, contained chiefly her determination to accompany the King on his quitting Paris, from natural motives of attachment, and from her persuasion that he did not mean to leave the kingdom. Had such been his intention, she would strenuously have opposed it.

These depositions did not appear satisfactory to the Assembly; and many would have proceeded to a stricter examination of their contents: but the less violent were desirous to postpone a debate, which, in the present temper of numbers, would probably have produced much heat and animosity; and after a warm contest, their opinion preponderated and put an end

to this long and important session. Never indeed had the Assembly protracted any sitting to such a length since its first meeting. It began early on the morning of the twenty-first of June, and lasted till the afternoon of the twenty-sixth. The solicitude of the members to provide against all the accidents and dangers that were dreaded, was such, that they had resolved not to adjourn until they had terminated the great business before them. They continued accordingly to relieve each other, taking rest and refreshment by turns.

During these interesting transactions, a species of manifesto, drawn up in behalf of the King, and left by him on his departure, had been presented to the National Assembly, and now deeply excited the attention of all parties. It contained an apology for his present conduct, and laid open to the nation his sentiments upon its situation. The substance of it was as follows:—He explicitly accused the popular party of adopting every measure that could become instrumental in the subversion of monarchy, and produce disorder and confusion in the state. He protested against all the decrees he had sanctioned while under constraint; he recapitulated the inconveniences he had suffered in fixing his residence at Paris, in compliance with the wishes of the inhabitants; the dismissal of his body guards, and the substitution in their room of the Parisian military, who were forced upon him, and of whom he was refused the command. He complained of the injurious misrepresentations of the Queen's character, and the unjust insinuations against

against his own. He then adverted to the Assembly's denying him the right of sanctioning the fundamental laws of the constitution, and their assuming the power of deciding which were to be considered of that class, and their limiting the royal prerogative of suspending decrees as to the third legislature. Thus, in fact, he asserted that royalty was no longer a part of the constitution. He lamented in bitter terms his deprivation of the hereditary estates and possessions of his family, and the mediocrity of the sum allowed for the royal expences, which was no more than twenty-five millions of livres : a revenue far inferior to what he had a right to expect. He represented the royal functions and privileges as reduced to the mere office of calling the attention of the Assembly to those objects that required it. In the administration of justice he did no more than order the execution of the decrees issued by the courts of judicature ; and had lost the most honourable of all the royal prerogatives — that of pardoning criminals, and mitigating judicial severity. Juries, he noticed, were now to interpret the sense of the law : societies and clubs governed, he said, the whole kingdom. He had been declared supreme chief of the army ; but his authority was perpetually obstructed by the illicit interference of those seditious combinations of men, who made it their business to excite the soldiery to disloyalty and contempt of their Sovereign. He had been invested with the right of nominating ambassadors, and of negotiating with foreign powers : but what power would enter into engagements with him, when, by the deprivation of

the crown's ancient prerogative of making peace or war, the observance of treaties no longer depended on his good faith, but on the option of others. He charged the Assembly with the usurpation of illegal powers, by interposing in civil affairs, noways subject to their administration, and with exercising despotic sway by their committee of researches. And yet, with all the power they had assumed, it could not be affirmed that they had put a stop to disorders, or dared even to attempt to remedy them : and their government had lost all strength and credit.

He then reverted to the scenes of the 5th and 6th of October 1789, and to those that accompanied the revolution. He complained that at the time of the Confederation in July 1790, the National Assembly had declared him chief of the nation ; thereby implying that they had a right of naming another. He stated the disrespect shewn to his two aunts, the contempt of his orders to release them, and the ready compliance with those of the Assembly. During the tumult of Vincennes, those he said, who had repaired to him were ill-used, and their arms broken in his presence. He had been forcibly prevented from going to the country on his recovery from illness ; he had been compelled to dismiss his confessor, and to be present at the celebration of mass by the new rector of the royal parish ; and he had latterly found himself under the necessity of writing to his ministers abroad, a letter contradictory to his real sentiments. Unwilling any longer tamely to submit to so many indignities, and conscious of having lost all authority and influence, he

he was prompted, he said, by his natural feelings to seek refuge in some place where he might perform, without control, the duties of his station, and consult with due propriety the welfare of his people. He finally admonished his subjects, the citizens of Paris especially, to be on their guard against the suggestions of his enemies, and to restore him to their confidence and loyalty:—they would find him their best friend as well as their King. He pledged himself for the preservation of religion, an equitable government, and the security of national freedom and liberty.

This manifesto was received with great applause by the royal party, and as violently censured by the other. The former contended that it contained a fair and impartial representation of the actual state of affairs; the latter, that it aimed at distorting facts, and misguiding the unwary and inattentive.

The Assembly did not fail to make a circumstantial reply to all the preceding charges, and to publish it as an appeal to the nation at large. It stated, that the enemies to the liberty of France, irritated at the prosperous issue of the labours undergone to procure a free constitution, had resolved to frustrate them by the attempt that had been made. But the Assembly would shew itself equal to the trust reposed in their courage and fidelity, and would maintain against all attempts to overthrow them, the principles of liberty established by the revolution: it was necessary, they said, to adapt the exercise of government to the situation of the kingdom. The King was appointed by the constitution, head of the executive power, and to sanc-

tion the decrees of the legislature; but having quitted his post, it was the nation's right to supply it. Herein, it was affirmed, they were warranted by the laws relating to cases that required a regency, and which empowered them to assume the exercise of the executive power until a regent was appointed. The public, in the meanwhile, might rest secure that good order was duly provided for within the kingdom, and that in case of danger from without, an addition of 300,000 men were in readiness for the army: a strength that would completely enable France to oppose all its enemies. The National Assembly had indeed, in the warmth of its zeal for the public welfare, asserted such rights, and published such truths as ought to be known for the benefit of mankind. True it was, that disorders had accompanied the revolution that had ensued; but those who brought it about were not to be accused of promoting confusions, which, in the nature of things, they could not possibly obviate, and the authors of which had remained concealed, in the turbulence and tempestuousness of the times. They reminded the King of the solemn oath he had taken on the day of the Confederation, to maintain the constitution; adding, that it was incumbent on him in order to clear himself from the charge of perjury, to declare that he had been deceived and misled in the step he had now taken. They animadverted on the reproach of factiousness, by demanding whether the adherence of more than twenty-four millions of men, and their open protestations of fidelity and obedience to the decrees of the National Assembly, could in com-

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mon reason be termed a faction? Were the representatives of such a nation to sacrifice its interest to that of a single family? Royalty, they asserted, was instituted for the sole good of the people. When nations adopted it, they acted from a persuasion of its utility. But absolute monarchy was oppression; it considered the state as a mere family inheritance, and converted the revenues of the public into a private patrimony. The National Assembly had obviated this abuse, but it had also consulted the dignity of the crown, by a most ample and splendid provision: thirty millions of livres had been appropriated to that purpose; and yet the King complained of the mediocrity of such a sum. The King, they said, lamented the loss of that prerogative which placed in his hands the power of making peace and war: but was it a hardship to consult the inclination of those who were to sacrifice their fortunes and expose their lives? Could he be better acquainted with their opinions and their interests than their representatives, elected out of their own body? The ambition of Kings and of ministers was too well known to trust them with so fatal a power. Respecting the administration of justice, they affirmed, that a King ought to interfere no otherwise than by causing it to be strictly executed. Experience had long shewn in what manner the right of forgiving criminals had been exercised, both by Kings and those who used their name. The National Assembly had occasionally interposed in the execution of the executive administration of affairs; but the tardiness and neglect of those to whom

they were committed, rendered such an interposition necessary. The clubs and societies of which the King complained, had, it was alleged, proved the faithful supporters of the revolution; and had deservedly obtained a good opinion of the people. But would any one presume to say, that because they spoke the sense of the public, they were the deliberative powers of the state?

The appeal concluded, by exhorting the nation to confide in the diligence and zeal of the Assembly in detecting and defeating the machinations of the enemies to the constitution. Notwithstanding their efforts and inveteracy, they must finally yield to the spirit and perseverance of so mighty a people as the French, if they continued faithful and unanimous in their own defence. The preservation of liberty in France now chiefly depended on the steady maintenance of good order. The malevolent would strive to introduce confusion; it was their last and only resource; and if they failed in this attempt, little was to be dreaded from their enmity.

This reply to the King's charges was by the popular party considered as a complete refutation of them. The Assembly were indeed so persuaded of the national prepossession in favour of what they alleged, that they closed their reply, by explicitly avowing their belief, that to reduce France to its former yoke, the nation itself must be first destroyed. So powerful in fact, at this time, was the attachment of the French to the Assembly, and so little their regard for the King, that they scrupled not to call his flight from Paris a desertion of government,

vernment, and to assert that the Assembly were thereby duly authorized to provide for the safety and welfare of the people without consulting him, and in defiance of ridiculous punctilios and absurd injunctions on his part to the contrary.

Sentiments of this nature were now so prevalent, and their supporters so resolute and vehement, that it was become dangerous to contradict them.

The discontents of France, especially of Paris, with the royal family, were so great, that it would have been very possible to have established a republic. But the leaders of the popular party at that crisis, consisted of men who were friends to a limited monarchy and

a national representation; and who wished therefore to save the King, whose natural bent and way of thinking, they believed to coincide perfectly with their own. As to the Queen, whatever opinions they may have entertained of her Majesty's views, they had no reason to consider her as formidable; well knowing that she was embroiled in disputes and jealousies with the Count d'Artois and the Prince of Condé. Perhaps, too, they might have been of opinion that the premature establishment of a republic, might have exposed the country to the horrors of a civil war: from which, when it was in fact afterwards established, France was saved only by the interference of foreigners.

C H A P. IX.

M. Bouillé's Letter to the French National Assembly. Commissioners sent to inspect the Frontiers. Violent Feuds in Paris. State of the Public Mind at this Juncture in France, and in other Countries. Foreign Princes deeply interested in the King of France's Situation. Apprehensions entertained by the Emperor and other Sovereigns. Interference of the King of Spain in behalf of the King of France. Slighted by the Assembly. State of Parties at Paris. Progress of Republican Principles in France. Charges against the Royal Party. Conduct of the Assembly. Ill Consequences of the King's Flight to the Royal Cause, and to his Adherents. Deliberations in the Assembly on the Constitutional Code. Decrees against the Emigrants. Insurrection of the Republican Party quelled. Inviolability of the King's Person confirmed. Threats of the German Princes. Rumours of a formidable Combination against France. French Preparations for Defence. Various Orders of Knighthood abolished. Signature of former Titles prohibited. Decree for appointing a Governor to the King's Son. Expectations of the Popular Party from the Publication of the Constitutional Code. Effects produced by the French Revolution in various Parts of Europe. Constitutional Code completed. Endeavours to divide the Assembly into different Houses, after the Model of the English Parliament. Unsuccessful. Respective Arguments adduced by the Supporters of the Royal Prerogatives, and by their Opponents. Ideas entertained by the violent Republicans, and by the Partizans of the old Government. Character and Conduct of the Abbé Maury. Ecclesiastical Matters.

Matters. Honours paid to the Memory and the Remains of Voltaire and Rousseau. Scarcity of Specie and Depreciation of Paper Money. French Princes and Emigrants. Plan for the Deliverance of the King—Fails. Divisions in the Assembly. Various Decrees.

THE attention of Europe was fixed upon these two celebrated memorials, when a third, still more singular though of less importance, made its appearance. This was a letter written to the National Assembly by the Marquis of Bouillé, accusing them of detaining and treating the King and Queen as prisoners; and of having by their detestable maxims, rendered the French a barbarous and inhuman people, and exposed them to the scorn and execration of mankind. He charged a number of them, particularly M. La Fayette, with a design to establish a republic. He described the King as despoiled of all authority, the army as without subordination, and the state itself as destitute of means to restore order to its various parts. In such a situation, he thought it his duty to invite the King and Queen to repair to the frontiers, in order to concert measures for the preservation of the kingdom: they were both, he said, averse to the proposal; alleging their engagement to remain with the Assembly; but M. Bouillé strongly urged the nullity of a promise extorted by force; he was the more earnest in his solicitations, as he knew that a combination of foreign powers was forming against France, and that its condition was totally defenceless. The King, said M. Bouillé, was at length overcome by his entreaties, and his remonstrances of the danger that France was in, and consented to withdraw to Montmedy: here his intention was to have convoked a new Assembly,

according to the ancient forms, in order to put a stop to the tyranny of the popular party, and render the interposition of foreign powers unnecessary.

This design having miscarried, continued M. Bouillé, the destruction of the French empire would certainly be the consequence; the princes of Europe considered themselves as threatened by the monster which the Assembly had cherished (to use M. Bouillé's own expression) and France would meet with a chastisement that would become a warning to all other nations.

The conclusion of this letter was particularly remarkable. M. Bouillé told the Assembly, that he equally despised and detested both them and all those who paid them obedience; and on the constitution they had framed, he bestowed the appellation of infernal: he dared them to do their worst against him, either by poison or assassination; he threatened, if any violence were offered to the royal personages, that not one stone should remain upon another in Paris; he would lead against it the armies of the Sovereigns of Europe, who were shortly, he asserted, to address the Assembly in more decisive language. This letter, though it occasioned much conversation among the public, excited very little notice in the Assembly. It was considered by the popular party, as the effusions of an angry mind, stung with disappointment, and hopeless of those ends it had expected so quickly to compass. A consciousness of power is

is sparing of words ; violent threats betray weakness.

In the mean time, commissaries were sent to the frontier towns to examine the state of those that were most exposed to the attack of a foreign enemy. They found the city of Metz, where M. Bouillé had commanded, in a neglected condition : but, contrarily to the expectations of the royal party, the military expressed the highest resentment at his conduct, and branded him with the name of traitor. Other towns were left in like manner unprepared ; but there were no signs of invasion from any quarter.

In Paris, though commotions did not arise, the flight of the King gave birth to a variety of speculations extremely hostile to monarchy, and tending strongly to recommend republican principles ; they met with a great number of favourers ; and violent contentions arose between the respective supporters of these tenets and the friends of a monarchical government. These were, by the warm advocates of a commonwealth, accused of inclining to arbitrary power, notwithstanding that they insisted strenuously on every limitation of the crown that was requisite for the security of freedom.

The friends to monarchy in the National Assembly took this opportunity to express their firm determination never to relinquish its defence, and to maintain it at all hazards against all opposers. They united in a resolute protest against those decrees in virtue of which the Assembly acted independently of the crown and against the king's custody, by the Parisian military.

They asserted the inviolability of the King, and that his prerogatives ought to be held sacred. Yet, in contempt of the constitution, his authority had been usurped, laws had been enacted without his assent, and, that no outrage might be omitted, he was now in a state of imprisonment. They accused the Assembly of having invaded the paternal rights of the King, by taking out of his hands the education of his son and entrusting it to others, over whom he was precluded from any authority. They reproached them with having engrossed the whole executive power, exacting oaths and solemn engagements from the people, assuming the organization of the army, and exercising military command : obliterating by such acts the very semblance of monarchy, and converting the government into a Commonwealth. They reprobated such a conduct, as manifestly repugnant to the maxims and spirit even of the present constitution. They explicitly avowed themselves resolved to decline all public business in future with those in the Assembly who participated in such proceedings, and to adopt the profoundest silence in all deliberations but on those which related to the rights of the crown. These alone they would loudly assert, and disregard whatever else might be proposed.

Such was the purport of this resolute protest, which was signed by 290 members of the National Assembly. Farther : To manifest how averse they were to the principles of the popular party, and how firmly they were determined never to submit to them, such of those members as bore hereditary titles,

titles, boldly inserted them with their signatures, regardless of the danger they might incur. What procured considerable influence to this protest, they who signed it were men of irreproachable character in private life, and had strenuously and constantly avowed the principles to which they now bore so undisguised a testimony: this proved a circumstance of great moment in the present conjuncture, through the weight and importance it gave to this spirited and memorable transaction.

In the mean time the detention of the King was an object of deep mortification to the potentates of Europe. . . However inimical to France in the general system of their politics, they viewed with indignation a monarch held in thralldom by his subjects. Such an instance of the vicissitudes of fortune came home to their feelings, and excited a species of anxiety among them to which they had been utter strangers.

In the foregoing century, the civil disputes that had raged in England, arose in a great measure from religious causes; and the armies that met Charles I. in the field, consisted of men who thought they were asserting the cause of Heaven as well as of their country. The enthusiastic fury which was inspired by such ideas, might well impel them to the excesses which they committed. But in the present case, human affairs alone were concerned: and this consideration rendered the obstinacy and resolution with which the French pursued the objects they had in view, the more formidable and dangerous, as they arose from motives that might

be supposed to actuate the subjects of every sovereign in Europe no less than those of the King of France. The fact indeed was, that all the people in Europe had their eyes fixed upon those of France. Though restrained by fear from uttering their sentiments, numbers in every country considered the French as struggling for their natural rights; and many did not scruple, in defiance of danger, to avow their thoughts. Nor were there wanting politicians who predicted, that if the French revolution stood its ground, it would prove the parent of many others.

Struck with objects of so serious a nature, it was not surprising that the European potentates should be alarmed at an insolent treatment of a sovereign prince, and unite in their warmest wishes to extricate him from a situation of which they felt the disgrace almost as much as himself. This participation of sentiments among them seemed daily to increase, from the success that attended the popular party in France. They began to dread that their own people waited only for a completion and thorough settlement of the system established in France, to make a similar attempt in their own favour.

What added considerably to their fears, was the behaviour of the French military. Armies had hitherto been viewed by princes as the support of their power. The implicit obedience of soldiers to their officers, appeared a security that might always be depended on. Since the refusal which James the Second experienced on Hounslow Heath, from those regiments, whose assistance

assistance he solicited in his designs against this country, there had been no such instance of non-compliance with the desires of a sovereign. It seemed reserved for the French military to be the next to deny obedience to their King.

Without meaning to insinuate that this disobedience proceeded from so meritorious a cause as that of the English, still it arose from principle, and destroyed at once the maxim so strongly insisted on, that a soldier should have no other principle than submission to the word of command. A well grounded apprehension that such an example might prove contagious among their own troops, induced the powers in the neighbourhood of France to keep a watchful eye on the least indication of this tendency, and was now become their chief disquietude. Were this prop of their authority to fail them, they foresaw that nothing would prevent those innovations which they so much dreaded. The Emperor was but just risen, as it were, from a most dangerous contest with his subjects in the Netherlands. An accommodation had been effected between him and that people; but no confidence subsisted on either side. It was shrewdly suspected that he would have laid a heavy hand on them, but from the surmises that the inhabitants of his other dominions might avail themselves of the disputes necessarily resulting from such a conduct, and make such demands as he was not disposed to comply with.

From these motives it was imagined he had forbore from the severity, which would otherwise have been exercised upon those who had been concerned in the

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preceding insurrections; but the progress of the French revolution began at this time to wear so alarming an aspect, that both he and other princes thought it seasonable to make some shew of interference in the affairs of France, were it only to stop the current of that innovating disposition which threatened to flow from these into other parts. An additional motive to assume an appearance of activity, was, to preserve habits of discipline and subordination among their troops, and to prevent them from imbibing those speculative notions that are found to be mostly the produce of inaction and leisure. By keeping them employed in their own line of duty, it was hoped they would remain submissive and manageable as heretofore.

The first potentate that ostensibly interfered in favour of the King of France, was a prince of his own family, the King of Spain. He addressed a declaration to the French government, purporting that the King was clearly justifiable in withdrawing, as he had done, in order to deliver himself from the insulting treatment of the people; and that the National Assembly had no right to confine their Sovereign for having sought a place of refuge and safety, where he might preside over the lawful representatives of his subjects, and exercise his royal prerogatives with personal freedom. He professed himself deeply interested in the peace and felicity of the French nation; he admonished the Assembly to consider seriously what their ill usage of the King had compelled him to do, and not to deny him that respect which was due to his station. These sentiments of the King of

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Spain

Since being communicated to the Assembly, it was judged proper to ~~not~~ to answer to them at present, but to postpone it until the business relating to the King's person should have been finally decided; when a solemn notification should be made to all the sovereigns of Europe, that the people of France, having already signified in the most formal and explicit manner their resolution to maintain the strictest peace and amity with them, were no less determined to submit to no interference of any kind in their domestic affairs. The Assembly, it seems, thought itself not slightly insulted by the indirect insinuation contained in the Spanish monarch's declaration, that he did not consider them as the lawful representatives of the French nation: for that reason it was resolved to pass over his memorial with so little notice.

Europe, in the mean while, was anxiously solicitous to learn the fate of the French monarch. His situation was singular; he was an acknowledged king; and there appeared no intention to deprive him of that title, nor of the functions annexed to it. There were indeed some violent assertors of republican principles, who maintained that he merited deposition; and that were France to renounce a monarchical government, it was noways inconsistent either with the right or the interest of the people. Tenets of this kind were boldly advanced by great numbers; but they were strenuously combated by those who perceived the necessity of reconciling parties, and who knew that monarchy, though depressed by a train of accidents that had reduced it to the lowest ebb, had yet a mul-

titude of firm and zealous adherents, who were invincibly resolved to perish, if necessary, in its support. The King indeed had taken a step which would inevitably subject him to many inconveniences; but even those who disapproved of his conduct, did not seem in general invertebrate to his person. They were not without hope, that, seeing so plainly as he must have done, the popular party was irresistible, he would make a virtue of necessity, and comply, were it only for his own and his family's security and peace, with the terms of the constitution; especially as it left him in possession of such prerogatives as would enable him to exercise a very considerable degree of power, when the fermentation of the times was over, and the government duly settled. It invested him, at the same time, with a revenue that would empower him not only to maintain the dignity of a monarch, but amply to recompence those of whom he had experienced the fidelity, and to encourage those whom he had reason to think his friends. Such were the sentiments of those who constituted what was stiled the moderate party. As they spoke and acted in a manner equally remote from violence and from want of spirit, discerning people doubted not but they would at length prevail over both the republicans and the zealous royalists: the first of these betrayed an impetuosity and warmth in the subversion of every plan but their own, that alienated many who approved of most of their opinions, but would not go the lengths they proposed: the second were deemed too implicitly adherent to the old system, to merit the confidence of those who,

who, though firmly attached to the kingly government, were equally resolved that it should be limited.

The Assembly seemed, in the midst of these agitations, to preserve a studied calmness. They attended with great circumspection to the divers opinions that divided the public, as if they had intended to consult the voice of the nation; and from their decrees respecting the great points before them, consistently with what should appear to be the wishes of an evident majority. So confident were the nation at large that they would make a prudent decision, that they testified no impatience at the delay that took place from day to day in settling the future condition of the King. Numbers, however, complained that the Assembly were averse to such a settlement, from a design to engross the power of the state, which was now lodged exclusively in their own hands. Thus, it was observed, that the president performed the royal functions, and the members assumed those of the ministers of state. Some insinuated that their intention was, to make trial, whether France could be governed without a king; and if the experiment were in the affirmative, to proceed to the abolition of royalty. Certain it is, that the most violent efforts were made by the republican party, either to dethrone the King, or to effect such a diminution of his power, already so much reduced, as would leave him hardly more than the royal title. They insisted, that no faith could be placed in his words; and that neither he nor his adherents would scruple to infringe it, the moment they could do it with any prospect of accomplishing the purposes they

had in view, and which were invariably the same they had constantly pursued; the destruction of the new, and the re-establishment of the old government.

As a proof that this resolution subsisted in full force, they alleged the exultation expressed by the royal party on the King's flight from Paris; and their vaunts, that the time was come when vengeance would fall on the National Assembly for the many evils they had inflicted on the kingdom, and when satisfaction would be required at the hands of all those who had been accessory to these enormities. The restoration of the King to his former power, of the nobility to their titles, privileges, and all their possessions and authority, were denounced in the plainest terms; and the whole system of despotism was held up that had so long oppressed the nation.

These allegations of the republican party made the stronger impression, as it could not be denied that the royalists had manifested a forwardness on the late event, which had exposed them to great inconveniences. They had in some places proceeded so far as to prepare themselves for action, in so glaring a manner as that several had been seized and imprisoned. It was not doubted that, if the King had completed his escape, and erected his standard on the frontiers, the royalists would have repaired to it from all parts of the kingdom.

But, allowing the truth of these assertions, and that the royalists were not to be trusted, numbers of the warmest friends to the present measures disapproved of all harsh treatment to them. They were,

it was alleged, sufficiently humbled and punished by the deprivation of the power which they had improperly exercised: they were at the same time, it was urged, so inconsiderable a portion of the community, that they could not be considered as objects of terror; it was for that reason more becoming the generosity of a great people to reclaim them by gentle means, than to pursue them with unrelenting severity.

As to the power now residing in the hands of the Assembly, their adherents insisted that in the present circumstances they could not part with it, consistently with the safety of the state, which in its unsettled condition required a fixed exertion of authority in those who only could be depended on for its preservation. Until the public could be satisfied that the King had firmly determined to adopt no measures contrary to their inclinations, the Assembly did wisely to commit the execution of their decrees to the King's ministers; who, though not acting by his immediate direction, performed no more than what he must be conscious was indispensably requisite for the public service. This could not be construed into an usurpation of the executive power, which was necessarily suspended by an event that had evidently deprived it for a time of all propriety of acting. Until the effervescence excited in the minds of them had subsided, it was the opinion of many wellwishers to monarchy, that a temporary suspension of the royal authority would in nowise be prejudicial to the King's interest when people's passions had cooled, and they came to reflect on the danger of carrying

resentment to extremities: a reinstatement of the King in the post assigned him by the constitution, would appear a more judicious measure than to deprive the nation of its acknowledged head, for having committed an error, of which he was now too well convinced to attempt a repetition.

All circumstances, in the mean time, were highly favourable to the Assembly; the warmest attachment was professed to it every where: the King's flight had in fact proved, in the most decisive manner to the royalists, how little reason they had to form any hope of a counter-revolution: it had done more disservice to their cause than inactivity could have produced, by damping the spirits of its partisans, both in France and in foreign parts, and making it clear that the representations they had made of the strength and influence they still possessed were totally unfounded. In France nothing indeed could be more evident than the resolution to support the new constitution. The satisfaction expressed by the people at the recapture of the King, was the same as if a victory had been obtained over the most inveterate enemy. Occasion was taken from thence in many towns to testify anew their hatred to the old, and their affection to the new constitution, by public meetings and festivals: the very women prided themselves in avowing publicly the same sentiments. Among other places, the city of Bourdeaux afforded a singular example of female enthusiasm in the popular cause: some thousands of married women waited in form upon the administrative bodies, and solemnly swore to bring up their children in the

the principles of the new constitution.

In other places the inhabitants displayed their enmity to the old government, by every emblem and device they could imagine. In some towns they carried their rancour to its adherents so far, as to hang and burn the principal of them in effigy. A remarkable instance of popular rage happened at Strasburgh, where the populace executed, in this manner, M. Bonillé and two of their own magistrates, with labels on their figures, denoting them to be traitors to the nation.

With such a multiplicity of encouragements before them, it was not surprising that the National Assembly should incline to act with a high hand, and to assert the independency of the French nation upon all foreign influence; especially those powers who seemed to interest themselves most in the fate of the French monarch. The only nation it seems which the Assembly thought it incumbent on them to distinguish by a particular proof of their regard and attention on this critical occasion, was the English. On the rumours that were circulated of a general combination of the European potentates against France, after forming a solemn engagement to defend the liberties of the French nation to the very last extremity, they expressed a persuasion that the generosity of the people of England would not permit them to be hostile to the cause of freedom in France. It is further added, that on sending copies of this determination to the different associations throughout France, they paid the same compliment to some of the popular societies in England.

The chief object now of the deliberations in the Assembly, were the several decrees proposed for the completion of the constitutional code. As soon as this was finished, it was intended to be laid before the King for his acceptance or refusal: if he accepted it, he was to be restored to his royal dignity and functions: were he to refuse it, he was to incur their forfeiture.

The King's late attempt occasioned, however, the insertion of some provisionary articles, which otherwise might never have appeared in it. It was proposed and decreed by a great majority, that a king, putting himself at the head of an armed force, hostile to the state, should be considered as having abdicated the crown. The same penalty was denounced against him were he to retract his oath of fidelity to the constitution, or incur the guilt of conspiracy against it, by a criminal correspondence with the enemies of the nation. It was further decreed, that after such abdication, he should be treated as a simple citizen, and subjected like all other individuals to the common course of the law. In order to discourage all further emigration, it was also enacted that the property of those who did not return to France within the space of three months, should pay triple taxes. This was aimed at the numerous royalists who had gone abroad with all the money they could collect, in order to co-operate with their countrymen, and those who were to assist them in restoring the former government.

Great in the mean time were the agitations excited by the republican party. The protest of the two hundred and ninety members of

of the National Assembly, against all proceedings derogating from the royal power and dignity, had been attended with much weight, both in the Assembly and with the public. The inviolability of the King's person was contended for in the most resolute strain, and enforced by arguments and reasonings that caused a preponderance of opinions in its favour. Heated however by the instigations of the most violent among the republicans, a vast multitude (July 17th) assembled in the Champ de Mars, threatening to assert by force the determinations of their party against the King. After much fruitless exhortation, that they would desist from such an illegal resolution, as their numbers increased, and they became more refractory, it was found necessary to call in the assistance of the national guards; who, being assailed by the multitude, were obliged, in their own defence, to fire upon them. Numbers were killed and wounded before this dangerous insurrection could be suppressed.

This defeat of the republican party by the national guards, under the command of La Fayette, having prevented the confusions that were dreaded from the determined spirit of those who conducted it, the Assembly resumed their deliberations, whether the Royal Person should be inviolable? After a long and animated contest, this important question was decided in his favour. The weightiest motives concurred for such a decision. The numbers who appeared for it throughout the kingdom were no less positive and resolute than the most obstinate of their antagonists. On a mature investigation, it was therefore judged more advisable

to coincide with the sentiments of the former, as it would conduce more effectually to a conciliation of all parties, through the provisional modifications with which the decree for the royal person's inviolability would be attended. Nor should it be omitted, that the strength of those who declared themselves for this measure was so great, that had it met with a negative, the most terrible commotions must have ensued, as they would probably have been aided from abroad. France would have become the theatre at once of civil and a foreign war. For these reasons it was happy for both parties that the Assembly framed so seasonable a decision: and yet so unyielding was the spirit of the party that opposed this decision, and so numerous were its adherents, that it was almost doubted whether they would peaceably submit to the authority of the Assembly. Paris was full of discontents and murmurs; and it was not without the utmost prudence and circumspection that the very worst consequences of such a disposition were fortunately prevented.

In the mean time the expectations that a civil war would take place in France, had induced some of its neighbours to assume a more menacing style than before. The German princes who had claims in some parts of that kingdom, insisted now more forcibly on their being satisfied: threatening, if refused, to annul treaties subsisting between France and the empire, and appeal to the sword for the recovery of their rights. They complained also that the French had sent into Germany many of their countrymen, for the purpose of propagating the principles of their

their new constitution; and they formally declared that a law would be enacted, inflicting severe punishment on every Frenchman or German in the empire, who should be known to profess them.

Nor were these the only powers that acted in open opposition to France: those Cantons in Switzerland, of which the government is aristocratical, issued strict orders to their countrymen, in the service of that kingdom, to preserve an inviolate fidelity to the King, and to assume no outward tokens of compliance with revolutionary notions.

The more to alarm the popular party, reports were spread that a formidable combination was in forwardness between five sovereigns, who had resolved to unite in asserting what they considered as the cause of every crowned head. The Empress of Russia, the Emperor, and the King of Prussia, the King of Spain, and Sardinia, were mentioned as having secretly agreed to attack the French as soon as the preparations requisite for such an enterprize could be completed. It was also rumoured, that the Prince of Condé was actually preparing to invade the provinces of France, towards the Rhine, at the head of an army of twenty thousand chosen men, all of them either experienced veterans, or French officers and gentlemen: the number of these amounted to near eight thousand. As they had fled their country, on account of the revolution, they were unanimously determined, it was said, to be revenged on those who had driven them into exile; and either to subdue them, or perish in the attempt.

The intelligence of these various motives was received at Paris, with

a full determination to meet them resolutely on every side. The national guards at Paris petitioned to be drafted on this occasion, to the number of twenty thousand, in order to join the regular troops on the frontiers. As their presence in the capital was judged of the highest importance at the present juncture, five thousand only were allowed to serve with the forces that were ordered to be assembled on the borders of the kingdom.

During these transactions, the National Assembly was employed in putting the last hand to the code that was to form the basis of the French government. They had certainly an arduous task to perform. The republican party was still very powerful. As soon as the decree for the King's inviolability had passed, they loudly insisted that every precaution should be taken to prevent the least abuse of his power, and to restrain him in such a manner, that he should be very cautious not to give any umbrage in the exercise of the prerogatives intrusted to him. Representations of this tendency filled the discourses and writings of the numerous adherents of that party. A department of the kingdom proceeded so far as to present a remonstrance to the Assembly, stating, that the protest of the two hundred and ninety members against the acts of the legislature, was a treasonable offence, and requesting that they might be proceeded against accordingly. These divers circumstances further proved how ill the King had been advised in the unhappy measure he had lately taken, and what a handle had been afforded to the enemies of royalty; who, but for this event, could

could not have pleaded any pretence for reducing his power, and would probably have been contented with much more moderate limitations of it than those which they now represented as necessary.

But it was not only the royal dignity itself that suffered from this event: other situations, hitherto connected with the exercise of its prerogatives, were involved in the proscription that deprived it of so many. It had been long a subject of complaint among the enemies of the court, that those who contributed most to the glory of the nation were often the least regarded in the distribution of those marks of honour which were supposed to be conferred, as they ought to be, for merit alone. The courtiers were chiefly those on whom they were bestowed; but could seldom produce any other claim to them than mere birth and titles. Thus they enjoyed a personal splendor, which was strictly the right of others; but which these would never obtain, while hereditary rank continued to be one of the most essential qualifications to attain it.

These complaints had been louder than ever, since the revolution, and especially since the abolition of mere titular honours. It was now urged that, by the same reason, as these had been abolished, the others ought no longer to subsist. They were both equally dangerous, either in a free or a despotic government. In the latter they not only contributed to its support, but aggravated its yoke, by confining rewards to particular classes, to the exclusion of all others, and therefore to the discouragement of real desert: in the former, they would keep up that spirit of haughtiness and family

pride which was the principal foundation of despotism in the crown, and chiefly occasioned the contempt and oppression of the popular classes; though in all countries these were experimentally found to produce the most useful members of society. There was another objection to these badges of honour, and it had more weight with the popular party than any other. They were in the gift of the crown, and would be employed as bribes in the same manner as other titles: as it was the determination to extinguish all incitement to venality, this one, which would evidently prove as effectual as any, ought not therefore to remain.

These arguments, which were insisted on with much clamour and violence by the popular party, induced the Assembly to pass a decree to abolish all those orders of knighthood and marks of distinction that were restricted to people of a certain birth; and enacting, that honorary rewards being solely instituted for the encouragement of personal merit, should be conferred upon all individuals who deserved them, without exception, provided they had taken the civic oath. It was decreed at the same time, that no persons should, after the signature of their names, insert the qualities and titles suppressed in the foregoing year, previously to the confederation. This had been a general practice; and was, doubtless, intended by many to ascertain their persons, which might not otherwise be recognized under a new appellation: but the word *heretofore*, which was always prefixed to their titles, was construed by the popular party rather as an indirect protest against their suppression,

pression, than as an indication of the individuals who formerly wore them. The penalty to be inflicted on those who transgressed this decree, was, that no deeds at law should be valid, in which these titles had been inserted: it was at the same time ordained, that no subject of France should accept of any foreign promotion or order, denoting distinction of birth, on pain of forfeiting the privileges of a French citizen, and of being admitted into the French service merely as a foreign officer.

These various decrees were combated with the utmost violence and acrimony; they were considered by the royal party as a final blow aimed at all that remained of the ancient system, and intended to cut off all hope of its ever being revived. For this reason they exerted themselves like men who are defending their last post; and though defeated, still exhibited a spirit and perseverance which occasioned no small vexation and perplexity to their antagonists.

The next important object which these had now in view was, the election of a governor to the Dauphin; or, as he was henceforth to be denominated, the Prince Royal of France. This was considered by all parties as equally interesting to the different ends they proposed.

The popular party had it in contemplation, to inculcate on the young prince such ideas and principles as should perfectly coincide with the constitution over which he was to preside. But it was strongly apprehended that, were the choice of a governor left to the royal option, such an education might be given him as would sow the seeds of future dissensions in

the state, by inspiring him with sentiments totally repugnant to the maxims and government now established in France, and thus preparing him to attempt its subversion whenever he might think that he had found an opportunity.

For these reasons it was proposed, and after a further debate on the part of its opposers, carried by a strong majority, that a governor should be nominated by the Assembly; and that the duties of that office should be regularly prescribed by a formal decree. This measure was reprobated in the strongest terms by those who disapproved of it, as tending to wound the royal feelings in the most sensible part. It deprived him of a father's natural right to superintend the education of his own son; thereby plainly insinuating that he was not to be trusted in one of the most essential functions that became him, that of forming the character of his successor, and rendering him worthy of the high station which he was destined to occupy. But these representations were answered, on the other hand, by the bitterest reproaches cast upon the royalists, of an obstinate and senseless adherence to the worst prejudices in favour of royalty. Treason to the people was, in their apprehension, fidelity to the King; and whatever tended to exalt him above the power and rights of the nation, ought to be uppermost in the thoughts and endeavours of every good subject. It was to prevent maxims so destructive of liberty, from being ingrafted in the minds of the rising generation, that such pains were taken to instruct them in what they owed to themselves; and it was from the same motives that the heir of the crown should

should be taught betimes the obligation incumbent on him, to respect the maxims adopted by the people, of whom he was designed to be the chief magistrate. By being duly acquainted with these, he would become fully apprised of the danger he must incur by infringing them, and hence learn that his true interest would consist in studiously consulting the temper, and acting conformably to the inclinations of the public.

Resting in the mean time on the strength of which they felt themselves possessed, the leaders of the popular party proceeded with unabated determination in accomplishing the great work of the constitutional code, which they had resolved to finish before they re-instated the King in his functions. Little was now remaining to put the last hand to this long-expected performance. They used the more expedition in this affair, that they were desirous to bring it to a final issue before the crowned heads of Europe leagued against France, could be ready for the execution of their designs. The world would then see at once the whole and ultimate plan of government proposed by the French nation for its future prosecution, and would be left to judge whether the people of France, by adopting it, had made themselves obnoxious to their neighbours. It was the sanguine expectation of the popular party, that the publication of the constitutional code would gain it admirers, and proselytes too, in every European nation; and that in spite of every effort of Sovereigns, it would find its way into every country. It was no less hoped, that their subjects on its perusal, would

experience the same feelings as the French had done themselves; and that by comparing the equitable principles it inculcated, with the arbitrary usage to which they were continually exposed, and so often met with from their rulers, they would be led to meditate how they might cast off the yoke of absolute power. Could an end so desirable to the popular party be compassed, all dangers of a counter-revolution would be at an end; and these crowned heads, who were now intent in bringing it about in France, would find sufficient employment in resisting the insurrections that would take place in their own dominions. The French might then confine their attention to the quelling of such among them as still adhered to the old system; which they considered as no difficult task, so incomparable was the majority in favour of the new.

It was daily becoming more notorious, that a spirit of dissatisfaction had started up in every kingdom of Europe. The French revolution was an event of such unprecedented magnitude, as could not fail to attract the strongest notice everywhere. It was not only the transaction itself, it was much more the motives which gave it birth, that were attended to, and that excited ideas and inquiries very displeasing and offensive to those princes among whose subjects they now so diffusively prevailed. As the consequences of such inquiries were obvious, every discouragement was thrown in their way: but as it is impossible to restrain those speculations, wherein they are immediately and deeply concerned, the public at large expressed a propensity to them that overcame all prohibition.

prohibition. The more they were forbidden by authority, the less obedience was paid to it through the unrestrainable curiosity of individuals.

Animated by these various considerations, the French seemed to bid defiance to the enmity of the several potentates, with whose hostile combinations they were threatened. In the mean time, however, they were indefatigably busied in making every preparation on their frontiers against an invasion, and training themselves to military exercises in every part of the kingdom. Their enthusiasm was much of the same nature as that which had actuated the people of North America, during the contest with England: associations were formed everywhere, cementing the union of the popular party, and of making out those who were suspected of enmity. Men and women displayed equal earnestness in all these transactions: such of the latter as were in affluence, forwarded them with remarkable effect, through the pecuniary encouragements which they afforded: in several of the frontier towns, they assisted personally at the works that were carried on: at Strasburgh in particular; numbers of the most reputable women of that city, with the mayor's wife at their head, contributed very effectually by their conduct, to accelerate the putting of that important place in a formidable state of defence. The Assembly had now completely finished the constitutional code. It was placed with much formality on the great table in the hall, in order to lie open to the examination and revisal of the members, to and for the insertion of such alterations as might ulti-

mately be resolved upon. As soon as it had received the Assembly's conclusive and final assent, it was to be laid before the King, for his acceptance or his refusal. The near approach of this great decision filled every mind with anxious expectation how it would terminate. The King was evidently in du-rance; and while in such a state, could only act by compulsion. This was a consideration that equally struck all parties. In order, therefore, that it might not anyways appear that his acceptance was forced, it was determined that when the time was arrived to receive his option, he should be set at the fullest liberty.

Divers efforts were in the meanwhile used by some respectable characters, to induce the Assembly so far to alter the constitutional code, as to frame the National Assembly on the plan of the English parliament, by dividing it into two separate chambers. But this proposal, besides that it was an imitation of England, was thought so directly tending to revive the order of the nobility, that it met with no success. It was conjectured to have proceeded from the exiled Princes, through the medium of their friends. It was enforced with every argument that could be drawn from the utility, that such an arrangement of the legislature produced in England. It was the great preventive of hurry and precipitation in passing acts: it obliged the legislators in the respective houses to be moderate in the use of their powers, and to exercise their reciprocal influence on each other with the utmost circumspection: it made them careful of taking any step that might

might injure either of them in the good opinion of their countrymen: it rendered both equally solicitous to retain it, from the consciousness that whoever lost it, forfeited at the same time its weight and dignity to the other. Thus an emulation was created between them, which of the two should discharge its trust most acceptably to the public; such it was asserted, was the general conduct of the two English houses of legislature. Exceptions doubtless happened, as in all human institutions: but the experience of centuries proved the excellence of the institution itself. The experience of a much shorter time than that which had elapsed since the commencement of the revolution, had evinced in the clearest manner, the impropriety of committing the management of the state to the single authority of only one body of legislators. Invested with such a plenitude of power, and conscious that no contradiction could arise to their determinations, they were led to frame them with much more decisiveness than discretion. Expedition and firmness in their resolves was more consulted than circumstances; and the whole authority that ought in good policy to have been distributed between the component parts of the state, had been assumed, or rather indeed usurped by one part alone. The different departments included under the heads of political administration, judicial and internal arrangements, all in short, that related to exterior politics and interior government, had been lodged in the hands of the National Assembly. What they desired, became instantly the law; and those who decreed those laws, directed their execution. This

was manifestly subversive of all the received ideas of a just and equitable legislation; wherein the powers that constituted, and the powers that executed, ought to be essentially distinct and independent of each other. But this was in no instance the case in France. The very revolution of words, as well as of things, had proceeded with equal rapidity. The denomination of subjects which had so long prevailed, was daily becoming obsolete. In 1789, it was used as a term of strict propriety in the intercourse between the crown and the National Assembly: but in the short space of two years, it had utterly vanished from that intercourse; and the pride resulting from the sense of debility in the crown, and paramount authority in the Assembly, had established it as a principle, that no royal interference was needed for the formation of a national constitution. It was owing to the precipitation with which men are apt to form the most weighty resolutions, when unobstructed by intermediate powers, that a decree was passed, by which, if the King quitted the kingdom, he should be formally admonished to return. This decree was enacted in April 1791. In June following, the King, in lieu of an admonition, was forcibly carried back as a prisoner to his capital, and suspended from all the exercise of his royal functions. In that very month, penalties were decreed against those who should infringe the liberty of a citizen; and in that very month also, honours were decreed to those who had violated the personal freedom of the King; and in particular to that audacious individual who had boasted that he had

had told the soldiers who were preparing to secure him from interruption in his journey, and to rescue him from the hands of the municipality which had arrested him, that they should never recover him but by piece-meal.

Other instances of equal inconsistency and atrocity had emanated from that plenitude of authority necessarily flowing from the indivisibility of power assumed by the Assembly. They were proofs of the unhappy effects infallibly resulting from a system, wherein the power and authority of the state were concentrated in one legislative body, uncontrolled by the counterpoise of another branch of legislature.

Notwithstanding that these reasonings did not prevail to the obtaining of what was demanded, yet the reflections to which they gave rise, had their weight in confirming the determinations that had been taken in favour of royalty, and to invest the King with a degree of power, sufficient to render him of due importance in the state. France, it was vehemently contended, was not calculated for a government merely republican:—surrounded on every side by monarchies, unless she were under an administration fully able to cope with them in activity and expedition, she would find her wealth and populousness, of inferior avail in case of disputes and hostilities. The sovereigns of Prussia and Sardinia, for instance, owed their consequence to the absoluteness of their power, much more than to the extent or opulence of their dominions. The great Frederick in particular could never have acted so brilliant and successful a part, had his abilities been fettered by de-

pendence on the deliberations of an Assembly. These precedents, though they did not prove that arbitrary power conduced to the felicity of nations, yet fully showed that a state, in order to exert its strength to the utmost, ought to intrust the entire direction of it to one supreme chief, unstinted in the execution of those operations that were necessary to be prosecuted with vigour and diligence.

The zealous republicans insisted, on the other hand, that the constitution had, through the indefatigable intrigues of the royalists, been so modelled, that it was made to confer more authority and influence on the crown than was primarily intended. They complained that the royal allowance was exorbitant, and would empower the king, if he were inclined, to raise and keep on foot a numerous body of dependants. They inveighed no less against the military guard which had been voted him, consisting of 1,200 foot, and 600 horse. A smaller number had sufficed to lay the foundation of tyranny: Henry the VII. of England, and Lewis the XI. of France, both of them oppressors of their people, had not so many, neither when they conceived the design of becoming absolute, nor when they had carried it into execution.

But these were moderate speculations, in comparison of those that proceeded from the more violent of the King's opponents. They insisted, that in order to make him sensible that he was the mere creature of the people, he should be suspended from his royal office during the space of two years; at the expiration of which, the end signs of royalty should be returned to

to him, with a solemn admonition, never to forget to whom they originally belonged, and from whom he had received them.

Though such notions were thrown out, rather in a declamatory than a formal manner, yet they contributed to feed the flame of inveteracy to those who had resolved on the re-establishment of the King on his acceptance of the constitution; and to prepare a strong opposition to the restoration of public tranquillity, by infusing maxims contradictory to the system of government that was now approved by a great majority. Those, indeed, whom nothing would satisfy but the entire and unqualified re-establishment of absolute power in the crown, were no less violent and impetuous than the warmest of their antagonists. They exploded the liberty of which those boasted, as repugnant to the character and temper of the lower classes in France. They scrupled not to describe these as totally unworthy of it; apter to abuse than to enjoy it, and requiring the strictest curb to be kept from breaking out into the most fierce and bloody insurrections. No subordination therefore could be too severe for them: if peace and obedience were to be enforced, it could only be done by recalling the King to the exercise of his former sway, and arming him with unbounded powers. This was the only effectual method of terrifying into submission the lawless and insolent multitude.

It was chiefly by holding up such principles that the royalists made themselves so obnoxious to the popular party, and confirmed the persuasion that they ought to be kept in the lowest situation of dis-

ability from effecting their purposes. The friends of the constitution asserted at the same time, that those who avowed such principles, had in reality no other view than by restoring the old government, to share in its depredations on the public. Such people, they said, would always hold an intimate correspondence with the court, and abet its measures, however oppressive, from the consciousness of the rewards they would receive for their adherence.

What rendered the popular party so inveterate, was the manner in which those who had filled the ministerial departments of late years, and indeed at all times, had accumulated the most prodigious fortunes. Some, it was said, who were known to be in debt at their entrance into employment, had shortly acquired such immense riches, as could not consist with any pretences of integrity. It was not surprizing, therefore, that in the multiplicity of rapacious hands, to which the revenue had been intrusted, it should have proved deficient. Allegations of this nature, which were but too well founded, in many respects contributed to keep alive the jealousy of the middling classes; and to nourish that hatred of those, whom they considered as friends to absolute power, from the interest they had at court, and the certainty of being preferred to places of emolument, in case it should recover the upper hand. Thus, pride and selfishness were imputed to the royalists, as the sole motives that actuated them. Some, it was said, might indeed remain attached to the crown, through the force of longstanding prejudice; but the majority acted from quite other views.

views. The nobles regretted the tyrannical power which they exercised over the commons; the clergy the blind obedience which was paid to their authority; the courtiers their opulence and distinctions; and the ministers the despotic sway which they exerted over all.

Such was the general character given of the royalists by their enemies; nor can it be denied that it was partly true. The revolution, like a merciless storm, had overwhelmed numbers in utter destruction, who, but for such an event, would have passed their lives in ease and affluence. It had expelled from their places at court, and under government, those multitudes that held them through no other merit than patronage; and whose employments were evidently of no public utility, and had been created merely to serve dependants, or to swell the pomp of regal splendor. In whichever of these lights such places were considered, the exigencies of the state were become such, as to require an immediate retrenchment of all sinecures, especially those that had not been obtained through desert, or could be dispensed with at a time when every sacrifice was wanted that justice could warrant. In this extensive downfall of individuals, who were precipitated at once from plenty into indigence, it was not surprising that bitter complaints should be heard against the authors of their ruin; and that they should represent them as the disturbers of the peace and good order of society, and as the common enemies of both king and kingdom. France was now full of individuals of this character. They were the sworn enemies of the po-

pular party, as might be naturally expected; but whatever zeal they expressed for the honour and dignity of the crown, they were looked upon as chiefly intent on the recovery of what they had lost. Though considerations of humanity might prompt people to compassionate their case, yet necessity seemed to plead equally for the propriety of their dismission from posts which they could not fill without being both a useless and a dangerous incumbrance on the public.

Among those who opposed these various reforms, no man distinguished himself more conspicuously by his unabated firmness than the celebrated Abbé, now Cardinal Maury. He had suffered greatly by the revolution, which had deprived him of an ample revenue: a loss that was supposed to have rendered that event an object of his abhorrence. He was at the head of those who spoke with most vehemence in defence of the King and the church. He lost no opportunity of describing the enemies of both in the most odious colours, regardless of the taunts and reproaches to which he continually exposed himself from his adversaries, who spared him no more than he did them; and laid himself out upon all occasions as the declared foe to the revolution, and the determined friend and supporter of the ancient order of affairs in both church and state. He was always ready and eager to encounter the most formidable assertors of the popular cause. Whenever any resolute proposal was to be made by the royal party, he either proposed or seconded it with a spirit and intrepidity that added courage to all those with whom he sided; and
always

always perplexed, although it could not defeat his numerous adversaries. He it was, that gave life and strength to the famous protest of the two hundred and ninety members of the Assembly, and rendered it of such weight and importance. He was now, in consequence of that protest, become a silent member in the Assembly; but this silence in the royal party carried a force and meaning that was not lost either there or throughout the kingdom, and that contributed as much, if not more, perhaps, than any argument, to the preservation of monarchy in France. He strove with no less energy to maintain the privileges of the clergy; but their cause, unhappily for his brethren, was not considered as of equal importance with that of the crown. Neither did riches and grandeur, in the opinion of an incomparable majority of his countrymen, constitute any essential requisite in the formation of the church. A decent provision, it was affirmed, had been made for the ecclesiastical order; and to ask for more, implied ambition and avarice: vices odious in all men, but detestable in ecclesiastics, whose vocation it was, to become patterns of disinterestedness. The example of the Protestant clergy was held upon this occasion as approaching much nearer, in point of worldly circumstances, to the primitive teachers of christianity, than the wealth and magnificence of the Roman prelacy and church dignitaries.

It was by such arguments that the foes to ecclesiastical greatness combated their adversaries. These were now fallen so low, that instead of the splendor and profusion that reigned in some epis-

copal palaces, the possessors had dismissed nearly all their retinue, and let out part of their former residence. These were heavy blows; but they ought to have been expected in the general disgust that had long been taken against the opulence and power of churchmen, and that menaced them with a certain downfall, wherever means could be found to effect it. As they were not supported by public opinion, they had nothing to rely on but force: The moment this failed them, they could no longer reasonably expect to stand their ground. Their cause was wholly desperate, and their triumphant enemies, not content with an invasion of their property, proceeded to insult and wound their feelings, by bestowing transcendent honours on the remains of Voltaire; which, in the days of their glory, they had treated with such indignity, and had almost deemed unworthy of decent burial. These, by the Assembly's order, were taken from the obscure place where they had been deposited, and translated with great solemnity to the church of St. Genevieve, the place now appointed to receive the ashes, and to perpetuate the memory of those who had deserved well of the French nation. Such honours conferred on such a man, very naturally provoked the indignation of all that part of society, who retained any veneration for doctrines and institutions which, however they might be mixed and contaminated by human weakness or error, were of divine origin, consecrated in the minds of men, and a consolation under a thousand ills not to be removed or alleviated by any forms of human government. This party, recollecting

ing the immoralities of his life, that if he defended the cause of liberty, it was only because he had been neglected by the court;

that if he had written in favour of toleration, it was only because he was not attached to any religion, but hostile to all; not in the superiority of his understanding, but the perverseness and hardness of his heart. But another, now the most numerous as well as the predominant party, recollects with satisfaction, how much he had contributed to expose and destroy the spirit of fanaticism and persecution, and to render mankind more forbearing and tolerant in matters of religion; the powerful lessons of public and private virtue contained in his numerous and instructive writings; and the brilliancy with which he inculcates every noble and salutary maxim. He gloried in paying that tribute of applause to his memory which was due to the poet, historian, philosopher, whose immortal name, for more than half a century, had been the boast of his countrymen, and the admiration of all Europe; and who had never displayed extraordinary abilities to their advantage, nor exerted them with more zeal, than in defending the interests of humanity.

Equal honours were decreed to another man, the celebrated Rousseau, who had, like him, employed the most splendid talents with un-

restrained freedom in the investigation of moral truths and duties, and had with invincible courage and strength of reasoning, asserted the rights of humanity against deep rooted prejudices and long standing oppression*.

Like him too, he had experienced the hatred of the ecclesiastical order, and had been represented as a perverter of the accepted rules of life, and a foe to the established order of the community. Having long lived in a state of almost constant persecution, it was judged that France, which had so greatly profited by his labours, was bound to pay that respect to his memory when dead, which ignorance and superstition had denied to him while he was living. Such were the sentiments of the French nation respecting those two celebrated men. It cannot be expected that the many enemies to their character and writings will subscribe to the justness of these sentiments; but the very inveteracy with which they were disapproved, contributed to confirm them; as the principal and most active enemies to both were found among those from whom the nation had been taught by their writings to withdraw that implicit veneration, which had so long kept it in blindness and subjection.

But, notwithstanding the applause bestowed by the people on every man and measure that had contributed

it is to be observed, that Rousseau did not push the natural rights of man to such absurd and mischievous consequences as the herd of those writers who sacrifice the practicability, as well as the propriety, of separating human passions from general maxims, and framing a political constitution on principles purely physical. In his commonwealth the will of every individual was to be consulted, his vote taken; nor did he propose to communicate liberty, otherwise than in proportion to the progress of humanity.

contributed to the revolution, they felt heavily one of the effects it had produced. This was the woful scarcity of money that still prevailed, in spite of the repeated endeavours to remedy so terrible a grievance. It proved a fatal one to many of those who were, in some degree, the causes of it by their hidden accumulations of cash; which, from the turbulence of the times, and their mistrust of government, they dared not to lodge in any public fund. The indigent now became a more numerous body than ever, and, made desperate through want, broke into every recess where they thought money was hoarded; and exercised their depredations with such dexterity, that numbers of individuals lost immense sums, notwithstanding the carefulness and extraordinary precautions with which they had been concealed.

Silver and gold, in the meantime, was rising in value, and the paper-money sinking proportionately into such a depreciation, that necessity alone forced it occasionally into circulation. This averseness to paper currency arose chiefly from the doubts entertained of the stability and permanency of the present system of public affairs. At home, the settlement of what related to the crown constantly excited the most violent divisions in the Assembly, throughout the kingdom, and abroad. The Austrian armies in the Netherlands were continually represented as ready for an invasion of France, in conjunction with large bodies of emigrants, who were daily joining the Prince of Condé. These rumours were magnified by the royalists, in order to intimidate the

other party, and to produce discontent, weariness, and endless uncertainty. But the main cause of anxiety to the revolutionists was the difficulty of compassing unanimity among themselves respecting the degree of influence and authority that could with safety be lodged in the hands of the king, and upon what footing to place the princes of the royal blood. The National Assembly had shewn itself earnestly desirous of a reconciliation with them previously to the king's flight; efforts had been made to this intent; but the person who was sent to treat with the prince of Condé, found him inflexible; and met with such offensive usage from the French who were with that prince, that he thought it necessary to consult his safety by withdrawing himself secretly by night, and taking the most unfrequented road.

This treatment of a man of consequence, deputed upon a message of peace, highly exasperated the popular party, and put an end to expectations that had been formed, of persuading the fugitive princes to abandon a cause which was daily losing ground. Many of their well-wishers in France were of opinion, that they ought to yield with a good grace to the friendly solicitations of the Assembly, and not to place much confidence in the support of the German princes; who, with all the zeal they expressed in behalf of the emigrants, would afford them no further assistance than they were able to pay for, and were by no means disposed to act at their own expence. The discontent occasioned by the failure of his message was heightened by another circumstance: the Count d'Artois,

tois, it was reported, though in a state of depression, still retained a style of haughtiness that attracted many of his followers. Some of those, it was said, who followed his fortunes, met with a reward worthy of such a sacrifice, as they were persons of high rank. To others, it was alleged, his behaviour was cold and ungrateful: a deportment the more disgusting that, notwithstanding the threats of his partizans in France, their menaces that he and the other princes would soon be in a position to invade the kingdom with a powerful army, they had no more than the will without the means—which could only display a levollence, which rendered the more unpardonable that he added, without benefiting themselves, to involve those in danger who should be weak enough to espouse their cause, and rash enough to second it by any active operations.

Such contempt, indeed, were emigrants and their leaders at this time, that they were a public subject of ridicule at

several of the theatres. Their troops were exhibited upon the stage as consisting of nonjuring bishops, priests, monks, and nuns, escorted by a few ragged officers and soldiers. These scoffs and mockeries at the fallen party exasperated it however to the highest degree, and contributed not a little to confirm its hatred and excite its deepest resentment. A plan was reported to have been formed at this time by some zealous royalists for the deliverance of the King; which was to be effected by setting fire to Paris in several places, with the view of enabling him to escape through means of the confusion that would follow, and of an insurrection that was to be raised, in order to increase it. But when the plan was almost on the point of execution, it was discovered, and the authors forced to fly.

This was not the only attempt of such a nature. Others were constantly in agitation by the king's adherents, who, notwithstanding their repeated disappointments, persisted in hoping that they would succeed at last; and for

This charge of haughtiness however against the Count d'Artois was not just. universally allowed by all who had the easiest access to his highness's person in conversation, that, what was sometimes mistaken for haughtiness, was no other than bashfulness and timidity. Instead of leading, he was led by his party; who were ignorant of the real state of the public opinion, and so infatuated by the hope of success, that several officers who had come to join them at Coblenz six months before the time appointed, were obliged to fight them before they were suffered to associate with them. And there were others who could not purchase the honour of joining themselves in the service of the Count d'Artois at any price. It will easily appear credible, that in the number of these who were obliged to fight duels with their countrymen at Coblenz, we find Cazales and Montlosier: even the Comte de Maury himself was not well received by those men who considered themselves as the purest Royalists. And indeed it must be owned, the principles and actions of those gentlemen showed greater consistency than political prudence. Comte de Maury, Cazales, &c., by accepting of seats in the Legislative Assembly, recognize its legality, though they had voted and protested against certain of its decrees. But in their very protests, they showed an acquiescence in all the proceedings which they did not declare against.

for that reason were by no means disheartened. What principally confirmed them in this expectation, was the party spirit that reigned in the National Assembly, and the obstructions to a reunion of sentiments among them. These were represented by the zealous royalists as circumstances that must soon or late operate to the total ruin of the present constitution, and as an inducement to its enemies never to despair of overthrowing it.

There was doubtless some cause for the indulgence of such an idea. The National Assembly was evidently split into various parties. The warm republicans composed a large division, and the royalists another; though not so numerous, yet equally violent. There was another party, consisting of such as wavered in their intentions what measures to embrace, determined probably to side with the strongest. These were in fact a sort of neutrals: but those who supported the present constitution were more in number than all the rest together, and in right of their majority of votes, possessed the supreme power. The whole kingdom, with little exception, adhered to them, as plainly appeared by the readiness of their decrees being complied with, and their orders instantly obeyed, however active the friends of the other parties showed themselves in raising every species of difficulty and opposition. The constitutionalists relied so confidently on this attachment, and were so convinced they had nothing to apprehend from the enmity of the other parties, that they paid no regard either to the clamours of those who inclined to a commonwealth, or to the favourers of the old system. In order to

prove themselves unbiassed by any prejudice against the friends of monarchy, they passed a decree enabling the princes of the royal blood to be raised at the king's request, and with the assent of the legislature, to the command of fleets or armies; excluding them however from ministerial employments, and from promotions dependent on the suffrages of the people. This exclusion was thought necessary, to prevent the republicans from complaining that the interests of the crown were too much consulted, and that the royal family was invested with too many privileges and means of arriving at improper power. Apprehensive at the same time of the vicissitudes to which the system they were establishing was liable, they determined to secure its duration long enough to afford it a trial of its propriety. With this view the assembly decreed, that the constitution should remain unchanged till the meeting of the third legislature: before this period all revision should be suspended, that experience might come in aid of whatever alterations might be proposed.

In order also to obviate any changes or modifications that might be suggested to the king as conditions of his assent to the constitution, the Assembly resolved that his acceptance or refusal should be a simple affirmative or negative. The principle on which they grounded this resolution was, that the nation alone was competent to decide on what conditions it was willing to pay obedience to the chief by whom it chose to be governed. While thus intent on circumscribing the royal prerogative, they judged it proper, in order to avoid the imputation

tion of partiality, to limit
 ver of all persons in places of
 rust. The most remarkable
 decrees enacted to this end,
 at which appointed the com-
 ing officers of the sixty divi-
 of the national guards in
 each in his turn comman-
 chief of the whole body,
 so were to be elected in the
 manner as the members of
 ational Assembly in that ar-
 and important office, which
 therto been discharged by
 la Fayette. His known
 ment to the principles of the
 tion had procured him great
 rity; and the devotion to his
 on that account had ren-
 his exercise of that employ-
 less difficult than if it had
 onfided to another more lia-
 suspicions: but even he
 had not escaped them; and
 wer annexed to his place ap-
 too dangerous to be trusted
 y length of time to any
 individual. His popularity,
 l, was not a little shaken at
 ne of the flight of the king,
 afterwards, on account of the
 e took against the Jacobins
 affair of Nancy, as well as his
 ict in that of the Champ de
 after the king's return from
 nes.

se proceedings were prepa-
 to the great event in uni-
 contemplation—the King's
 tance or rejection of the con-
 onal code, and his conse-
 treatment. Nothing there-
 was to be omitted on the
 f the Assembly that could
 ce to the establishment of

their character for judiciousness
 moderation, and a desire to give
 general contentment. On these
 depended the confirmation and
 stability of their decrees, as the
 measure both of strength and sup-
 port which they expected to de-
 rive from the public, could be
 proportioned only to the degree of
 approbation wherein their transac-
 tions would be held. In order
 to put the finishing hand, as it were,
 to their popularity, they now
 finally resolved on the complete
 removal of that universal complaint
 of all liberal minded men, perse-
 cution on account of religious opi-
 nions. They directed the decrees
 to this intent to be enforced with
 particular energy; and that all dis-
 senters from the established church
 should accordingly be protected
 in the full enjoyment of their
 respective persuasions, and in the
 unrestrained liberty of erecting
 places of worship, and of con-
 forming, without molestation, to
 the rites and discipline enjoined
 by their religion. Though such a
 spirit of toleration was disapproved
 by the rigid assertors of the neces-
 sity of religious uniformity, far
 greater was the majority in its fa-
 vour. Few of the measures adopted
 by the Assembly did them more
 service. In France it procured
 them the firm adherence of those
 numerous Protestants whom perse-
 cution had not been able to over-
 come, and in other parts it raised
 them innumerable friends in the
 foes to the church of Rome, and to
 those maxims of intolerance that
 are such a disgrace to the profession
 of Christianity.

C H A P. X.

Conduct of the Swiss Cantons, the King of Sweden, and of other Sovereigns towards France. Avignon incorporated with France. Insurrection in Corsica suppressed. Suspicions entertained of the King's Brothers, and the Princes of the Blood Royal. Admonitions to the King. Constitutional Code presented to him. His Conduct on this Occasion highly satisfactory to the Public. Efforts of the Republicans to obstruct the final Settlement of the Constitution—ineffectual. King's Letter to the Assembly. His Acceptance of the Constitution. Joy expressed by the French at this Event. Constitution solemnly proclaimed. Protest against it by many Members of the Assembly. Spirited Opposition of M. Malonne. Violent Debates on the Administration of the Finances. Dissolution of the Assembly.

THE liberality of sentiments entertained by the Assembly in religious matters availed them little with those Protestant states, of which the political interests did not accord with the ideas prevailing among the French. The republic of Berne, the chief and most powerful of all the Cantons in Switzerland, declared itself explicitly against the measures pursued by the Assembly. As the government of that republic is an aristocracy as absolute as any in Europe, it could not fail to reprobate that equality of freedom among all classes, established by the French revolution. The great council was convened, consisting of those families wherein the sovereignty resides; and it came to the resolution of investing the secret council, somewhat resembling the Venetian council of ten, with supreme power in both civil and military affairs. This, like the dictatorial commission at Rome, subjected all men to their immediate and arbitrary controul: they employed the severest measures to enforce their authority, and set a species of inquisition on foot, for the discovery of those conspiracies against the aristocracy of

which they suspected the formation, in the intercourse between the French and their own people. These precautions, however, could not stifle that spirit of democracy, which had seized those classes that were denied a participation in government, and which maintained a right thereto in every order of society without exception. They carried their boldness so far, as to assume a cockade with the French motto, "Freedom or Death." In some places, they rose in large bodies against the magistracy that opposed their proceedings. The enmity of the Swiss Cantons, and of that of Berne in particular, was an object of no small concern to the Assembly, from the multitude of excellent soldiers with whom they have so long supplied France; and might, in case of an alteration, furnish its enemies, by withdrawing the great numbers already in the service of that kingdom, and permitting them, as well as further levies, to be employed against it. Other enemies had also risen, as above mentioned, in the person of Gustavus, King of Sweden, and their Imperial and Prussian majesties. Spain expressed the most marked

marked solicitude, in taking every preventive measure that could possibly be enforced, against the introduction of any tenets that might disturb the established government. In addition to the orders given out for a strict examination of every individual coming from France, the Spanish ministry issued a requisition from all foreigners settled in Spain, to take an oath of adherence to the Roman Catholic religion, and of fidelity to the King; to abjure all future connexion with their own country, and all claims of protection from its Ambassadors or agents in the Spanish dominions. Such as refused to take this oath, had no other alternative but to quit their place of abode in fifteen days, and the kingdom in thirty, or to incur the confiscation of their property, and be sentenced to the galleys. All Europe concurred in reprobating this tyrannical edict; and it was resisted with a courageous indignation by many of those whom it immediately affected, as equally absurd and oppressive. It exacted, what in the nature of things could not with any appearance of reason be expected; and it was a manifest contravention of the stipulations in force with other nations. The Spanish ministry were soon made sensible of the error it had committed, to persist in so dangerous a measure. This edict was in fact chiefly, if not solely levelled at the great number of Frenchmen resident in Spain. They were considered as so many emissaries of the ruling powers in France; and the boldness with which they avowed and defended the principles of the revolution, marked them out as individuals who would not scruple

to use every effort for their dissemination.

The National Assembly paid very little regard, either to this transaction, or to the many other proofs which they daily experienced, of the inimical intentions of the European powers. The main object of their politics was, to re-unite the different parties, into which the revolutionists were now divided; fully convinced, that were this to be accomplished, they would have no cause to dread the exertions of any foreign powers in behalf of the royalists. The strength and credit of these were daily diminishing in the most obvious manner, while the popular party were everywhere gaining ground. The people in the country of Avignon, after a violent and bloody struggle with what they termed the aristocratic party had at length totally subdued it; and what was no less satisfactory to them, had succeeded in their earnest wishes to be incorporated with the French nation. The Assembly formally acceded to them; and passed a decree to that purpose, providing however for a due compensation to the court of Rome. The same success had attended the partizans of the revolution in Corsica. The municipality of the city of Bastia, the capital of the island, consisting chiefly of ecclesiastics and nobles deprived of their titles, had the temerity to engage in a plot against the revolutionists, notwithstanding their great superiority. The issue was, that on the discovery of their designs, they were immediately compelled to abandon them, and to provide for their own safety, by flying over to Italy. The celebrated General Paoli was principally

principally instrumental in defeating this attempt of the anti-revolutionists, through the influence he possessed over his countrymen; some thousands of whom joined him with the utmost readiness on this occasion. No less favourable were the reports from the frontiers of Germany. Disheartened with repeated disappointments, many individuals of consequence among the French emigrants, had, it was said, intimated to the Princes, that it behoved them to make good their promises of undertaking something for the common cause they were jointly engaged in; and unless some measures were adopted, more promissory of success than those that had hitherto been proposed, it would better become them all to return quietly to France and submit to the government, than to remain abroad with no other prospect than that of being shortly reduced to indigence.

But that circumstance, which alone operated now more decisively than all others, in confirmation of the powers and of the views of the National Assembly, was the constant and striking encrease of their adherents throughout France. They were supported by so prodigious a majority of the nation, that the dissentients were no longer considered as an object of the least apprehension, notwithstanding the unshaken perseverance with which they still continued to assert their principles, and their invincible courage in avowing their enmity to the constitution, in defiance of so much danger.

In the mean time it was the general expectation, that the King would accept the constitutional code;—the weightiest reasons con-

curred to establish this persuasion. He had witnessed in his flight the universal attachment of the French to the new constitution, and their abhorrence of the ancient government. He saw that those members of the National Assembly who opposed the present system, were held in such aversion, that their persons were hardly safe from violence. The army, once the blind and submissive instrument of the crown, had renounced its implicit obedience, and was in fact become the army of the people. The church, that had been the strenuous enforcer of passive obedience, had now lost its influence, and from a state of almost absolute independence of the civil power, was reduced to a level with other subjects. The nobility, so long the faithfulest defenders of the throne, had equally partaken of its downfall; their privileges were no more; their authority, so much dreaded, and so extensively exerted, was totally at an end; and they were become undistinguished members of the community, with this aggravating circumstance to their disadvantage, that they were suspected by all other individuals of being their secret and irreconcilable enemies.

These were general considerations, that could not fail of being obvious to all reflecting people: but there were also personal motives of essential weight to induce the King to lay aside all thoughts of combating any further what was evidently the desire and resolve of the whole nation. A rumour had gone forth, and was credited, that the King's brothers, with the concurrence of the other branches of the royal family, intended, as soon

as he should have put his person in their power, solemnly to declare him inadequate to the government of France in its present tempestuous condition, and to appoint a regent in his room. The King, it was not doubted, had been apprized of this design; and hence it was said, cheerfully submitted to the restraints imposed upon him, from a persuasion they would terminate on his compliance with the wishes of the public.

The Princes, on the other hand, were grievously mortified at finding themselves branded with so heinous a suspicion. It was the more readily admitted that the King was believed to be much more inclined to gratify the people than either of his brothers; neither of whom, for that reason, had ever enjoyed so great a share of affection and popularity as himself: nor had he totally lost them, even in his present condition. The generality were very willing to impute to the advice and influence of others, every step he had taken against the sense of the public; and still hoped that he would at last be brought to act conformably to it, after so many proofs that his welfare depended entirely upon his acquiescence. It behoved the Princes, and especially the royal brothers, to clear up these suspicions, which exposed them to the bitterest censure even of their adherents; who were not less prepossessed in favour of the King's personal disposition preferably to theirs, than the French in general had always been. In order to dispel this injurious suspicion, a proclamation was published, wherein the King's brothers solemnly and strongly denied the imputation cast upon them; and insisted that they

entertained no other views than of restoring to the King his lawful power, and re-establishing order and tranquillity in the kingdom.

Whatever may have been the King's notions on this matter, certain it is, that he was now fully resolved to put an end to his perplexities, by coinciding in the most explicit manner with the demands of his people. Suggestions were not wanting to him of the inutility of contending with them any longer, and of the precariousness of that assistance which he had been promised by foreign powers. Success was doubtful at best; France was an immense country, surrounded by a chain of fortified towns, which would be defended with the utmost obstinacy. The French were a mighty nation, possessing far greater resources than those who were projecting to attack them. Two years had elapsed since the revolution; during which space no indications had appeared that the French could be prevailed upon, either by arguments or by compulsion, to retract what they had done. Were an invasion to take place, and the king suspected of favouring it, which would certainly be the case, he would incur the ill-will of his people to such a degree, that no protection could be afforded him: were he to secure himself by flight, whatever respect might be shewn to his person, he would be at the disposal of those powers into whose hands he committed himself; and they would assist him no longer than they found it convenient. Were the efforts of his friends to prove fruitless, which would most probably happen, his condition would then be truly forlorn: he

he would live the remainder of his life an exile from the country of which he once had been and might have remained the sovereign; and would depend for his very subsistence on the capricious bounty of those princes, by whose advice he would have brought himself to such a wretched condition. Admonitions of this nature were laid before him from more than one quarter, and wrought it seems their intended purpose. The willingness he testified to come into the measures proposed to him, produced a very striking effect upon the people of Paris. As soon as the King's intentions were intimated to them, their satisfaction was expressed by every proof that could be given; and the sullenness that had so long accompanied the mention of his name was instantly obliterated. Hence the King might naturally be encouraged to hope that he might easily recover the attachment of his people, by a judicious degree of condescendence.

The constitutional code had at length been finally revised, and those alterations inserted which, after due consultation, were deemed requisite. On the 3rd of September the Assembly formally declared it completed; and a resolution passed against the admission of further changes, and for its immediate printing and publication in every part of France. It only now remained to be presented to the King. Sixty members were named for this purpose. They waited upon him with great solemnity; and he received them with every appearance of satisfaction and goodwill. On their presenting the code, he informed them that the importance of the subject required

his most attentive and serious examination; and that as soon as he had acquitted himself of this duty, he would apprize the Assembly of his intentions.

But the circumstance which proved most satisfactory to that body, and to the public, was, that he signified his determination to remain in Paris during his perusal of the code. This obviated at once all the difficulties that might have arisen, had he thought proper to have removed from Paris. Not a few entertained a firm persuasion, that he would have availed himself of the liberty that was to be allowed him of chusing whatever place of residence he judged fittest for the purpose of deliberating, without restraint, on the business before him. When thus left to himself, they doubted not but he would immediately turn his thoughts towards effecting an escape; which, from the greater facility and opportunities he would find in such a situation, might not prove a matter of much difficulty. Whatever were his private inclinations, he was advised, and resolved accordingly to make use of the first moment of his release from confinement to regain the confidence of the Parisians, by remaining voluntarily in the midst of them. This conduct did him the most essential service: it met with the loudest applauses in the Assembly, and gave universal satisfaction to the city of Paris; and to the whole kingdom. Had he, agreeably to the expectation of many, and the wishes of numbers of his warmest adherents, attempted to escape, it was the opinion of the most discerning people, that he could not have succeeded. In the uncertainty whether

ther he would remain in the capital, or remove elsewhere, such precautions had been taken to watch his motions, that he would have still continued, in reality, as strictly guarded as before; and the least endeavour to fly must have been instantly detected.

Considerations of this nature induced him, it was imagined, to give up all ideas of quitting the kingdom; to which it may be added, that the hope of restoring order and peace, by complying with the desires of his subjects, operated powerfully in a mind naturally prone to conciliatory measures, and influenced the King to prove, by every act of condescension, his willingness to remove all causes of suspicion or complaint.

The King and the constitution were now in every person's mouth; and people were persuaded that an end was approaching to the troubles under which they had so long laboured. The violent republicans and the zealous royalists were the only people dissatisfied: but the former, though very numerous, were incomparable in point of strength and numbers to the constitutionalists; and the second were inconsiderable in every respect. The republican party did not however desist from pursuing measures it had long employed to warp the public mind from its inclination to monarchy; it strongly reminded the people of the reports that were current at the time when the King fled from Paris:—these were, that in case he succeeded in overcoming the revolutionists, more than fifty of their principal leaders were to have been proscribed, and a government established, little, if at

all, differing from the former tyranny.

But these insinuations proved ineffectual to the end proposed, which was, to provoke an active opposition to the restoration of the King to his royal functions. Whatever was alleged concerning his intentions on the supposed success of his plan, passed unheeded, however it might be well founded. The generality of men seemed heartily disposed to bury all the past in oblivion, and to procure a pacific introduction of the new system, by obliterating all resentment for what had been done in support of the old.

Those who were in the King's intimacy, and in whom he confided, as desirous to promote his re-establishment, fully availed themselves of this favourable disposition in his behalf. By their advice, after keeping the constitutional code in his hands no longer than ten days, he wrote a letter to the Assembly, signifying his resolution to accept of the constitution. He endeavoured in this letter to excuse his late flight from Paris, ascribing it to the excessive animosity and violence reciprocally observable in all parties, which precluded him from judging rightly of the real temper and disposition of the nation: but having since that occurrence found reason to conclude the people's inclinations were evidently in favour of the new constitution, he now considered it as his duty to gratify what so manifestly appeared to be the real wishes of his subjects. He then proceeded to press the necessity of applying with the strictest energy to the maintenance of government, all the means which the

the constitution afforded to that end : experience alone would shew whether they were sufficiently calculated to produce a firm and judicious administration, to obviate dissensions and disorder in the transaction of public affairs, and to enforce a prompt and undisputed submission to legal authority, and secure tranquillity and subordination in so vast and populous a kingdom as France.

But the most essential part of the letter was that which was founded on the evident propensity of the public to conciliation. Relying on that circumstance, the King ventured to recommend a sincere reconciliation of all parties, and that every proceeding and measure occasioned by the revolution should be consigned to oblivion, and an unlimited amnesty put an end to all resentment and prosecution. The effect produced by this letter shewed how well it had been timed. The Assembly not only expressed the liveliest satisfaction at the King's acceptance of the constitution, but coincided instantly with his request, and passed without delay an act for that purpose. On the ensuing day, which was the 14th of September, the King repaired to the Assembly, where he formally declared his acceptance of the constitution, and signed his declaration in their presence. He was received with great respect ; and after the ceremony was over, he was attended by the whole Assembly to the Thuilleries, amidst the acclamations of all Paris. What highly contributed to the gracious reception he met with from the Assembly, and the marks of satisfaction he experienced from the public on this day, was, that conformably to the decree that

suppressed those orders which denoted superiority of birth, the King wore no other badge of distinction than the cross of St. Louis, an order instituted for all subjects indiscriminately. No other oath was required of the King, on his acceptance of the constitution, than that which he took at the confederation the preceding year. He swore fidelity to the nation and to the law, and to employ the power intrusted to him in maintaining the constitution framed by the Assembly, and enforcing the execution of the laws.

The joy expressed by all orders of men at this great event hardly knew any bounds. Every public place was crowded with people, testifying by the warmest exclamations, their affection and thankfulness to the King for his compliance with the national wishes. The theatres were particularly zealous in demonstrations of loyalty and attachment : several plays were acted, wherein examples and passages recommending the most fervent and implicit loyalty to kings, were received by the audience with as much warmth and applause as if they had actually resolved to reinstate the King in all his former power.

Sunday, the 18th of September, was fixed upon, by order of the Assembly, for a formal proclamation in Paris of the constitution. It was performed with the utmost splendor, after being proclaimed in the principal places of the city. The constitutional code was carried with great solemnity to the field of the confederation, and there placed on the altar, which was decorated in the same style as a twelve-month before : it was then solemnly

ly saluted by three hundred discharges of cannon; and a grand musical composition was prepared for the occasion. The vocal performers alone consisted of more than two thousand voices, and were accompanied by a proportionable band of instruments: nothing that French ingenuity could devise was wanting to the magnificence of this celebrated festival. All ranks joined in the festivity: and what was peculiarly characteristic of Frenchmen, 100,000 citizens danced on the occasion. And on a tree planted on the old scite of the Bastile, was an inscription; which, being translated, runs in English thus:—WE DANCE ON THE RUINS OF DESPOTISM—THE CONSTITUTION IS FINISHED—LONG LIVE PATRIOTISM.—The festival concluded with every species of rejoicings; to which the liberality of the King and Queen largely contributed. The proclamation made on this occasion was, in substance, that the important work of the constitution being at length perfected by the Assembly, and accepted by the King, it was now entrusted to the protection of the legislature, the crown, and the law; to the affection and fidelity of fathers of families, wives and mothers, to the zeal and attachment of the young citizens, and to the spirit of the French nation.

In the midst of the applause which attended this long-desired promulgation of the new constitution, it was condemned with no less acrimony by its opponents. One hundred and twenty members of the Assembly entered a solemn protest against it, the day after it had been accepted; and their example was soon followed by other members. The person principally

instrumental in this bold transaction was M. Depresminil, who had so much distinguished himself in opposing the revolution, and still continued its inflexible enemy in the face of every discouragement and danger. The party of which this gentleman shewed himself on this occasion so resolute an abettor, expressed an unqualified disapprobation of the King's conduct, which they attributed to the pusillanimous councils of those whom he honoured with his confidence. They did not even refrain from blaming the Queen as having advised the King to close the contest, by yielding to the popular demands. This they represented as an ungenerous desertion of those who stood by them with so much constancy, and who had so greatly suffered for their loyalty. But the public were now more than ever severe on that party; accusing it of covering, under the specious pretence of adhering to the throne, a restless determination to restore the old government, for the personal advantages which they hoped to derive from it; and by no means from any affection to the King, or any view to benefit the public. Hence, as that party consisted chiefly of nobles and of church dignitaries, it was considered as harbouring the very worst maxims of an aristocracy, and unworthy of being styled the friends of the King, whose real well-wishers were those who sought to pacify the kingdom, by giving it a constitution of which it evidently approved, and not such as would involve it in bloodshed, for the recovery of the power of which they had been deprived.

Such were the recriminations on both sides. They were urged with equal vehemence, both in the National

tional Assembly and in all public and private meetings. It was often apprehended that they would not terminate in words alone, so violent was the animosity of both parties, and so ready to run into extremities.

Notwithstanding the depression of those who were denominated aristocrats, they boldly and vigorously seized every occasion of maintaining their opinions in the Assembly. The nearer it approached to the term of its dissolution, the more determination they displayed in thwarting and embarrassing every measure that was proposed by the popular party. Next to the Abbé Maury, they had not a more resolute and indefatigable opponent than M. Malouet. This gentleman was remarkable for his acuteness in bringing forwards such questions as he knew would perplex his antagonists, and in framing arguments that would require much labour and time to answer them. He persisted to the last in exerting his abilities against them, upon every subject that afforded him an opportunity. In the last investigation of the finances, previous to the Assembly's dissolution, he represented all who had been employed in that department as guilty of gross mistakes, and incompetent to the task they had assumed; and he explicitly denied the authenticity of their accounts. It was with much difficulty that matter was finally adjusted. The greatest efforts had been made to prejudice the public against the Assembly, and to detain it by force in the metropolis, till every allegation respecting the public revenue had undergone the strictest and most minute discussion. Happily for the Assembly, however, it found means to

produce vouchers and documents for the propriety of its conduct in pecuniary matters, that proved satisfactory to the public, notwithstanding the vehement allegations of those who reprobated them, and who still resolutely continued to deny their validity, until they were compelled to desist by the obvious necessity of yielding to that determination which was enforced by such a majority of suffrages.

This was the last effort of the aristocratic party before the final dissolution of the Assembly. In order to remove the suspicions that had been circulated to their disadvantage, they laid before the public a minute specification of all the money that had been levied and brought into the treasury, stating the amount, the disbursement, and the remainder. In confirmation of this statement, the committee of finance undertook to be responsible for its exactness to the ensuing legislature. According to the calculations that were published, the revenue of the kingdom, during the years 1789 and 1790, and the first half of the present year 1791, had produced a total of seventeen hundred and fifty-six millions of livres, of which seventeen hundred and nineteen had been expended.

On the 30th of September, fixed for the dissolution of the Assembly, the King came to the House and took leave of them, in a very gracious and friendly speech, wherein he solemnly repeated his promises to maintain the constitution with inviolable fidelity. In consequence of this, a proclamation was issued the following day, enjoining in his name a steady and regular observance of the established constitution, that Europe might be convinced the French were deserv-

serving to be a free people. Thus, to speak as the revolutionists, ended the first true National Assembly that ever sat in France since the foundation of the monarchy: all the Assemblies that had gone before, did by no means merit that honourable appellation in so perfect and complete a sense as the present. The proof that it was truly national was, that it did more for the good of the nation in the short space of little more than two years, than all the antecedent meetings had done in the course of fourteen centuries. It had destroyed despotism, and erected in its room a lawful monarchy; it had framed a constitution, founded on principles which provided equally for the happiness of every part of society.

But their antagonists represented it as a factious assemblage of turbulent and ambitious individuals; who, to promote the scheme they had formed of seizing the government into their own hands, had thrown the kingdom into a state of anarchy; and, under the pretence of reforming abuses, had introduced the most unwarrantable and ruinous insurrections. France, from the most respectable and powerful monarchy in Europe, was now become the derision of its neigh-

bours: its credit was lost, and its strength existed no more: its new constitution was an illusive theory, which experience had already shown to be unreducible to practice: it had eradicated all subordination by consecrating the principle of insurrection, and, instead of a regular system of public freedom, had established only popular licentiousness. Such were the contradictory opinions touching this great revolution. Few persons were neutral in a business of so much importance to all, and fewer still impartial enough to consider it with coolness and candour. It was either applauded or condemned with a heat and violence that excluded all temperance of argument and liberality of discussion. The most judicious seemed to be those who, waving all reasonings, appealed to time as the only decider of the controversy; convinced that, in all political questions of such magnitude, as experience alone adduces the ultimate proof of what is pernicious or beneficial, it would be unpardonable temerity to judge by anticipation of an event that was little more than commencing, and had not therefore attained a state of maturity sufficient to induce prudent men to venture their opinions.

C H A P. XI.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer announces the prosperous State of the Finances of Great Britain. This Statement followed immediately by a Declaration of the Necessity of preparing for war with Spain. Reflections on the annual Million for liquidating the National Debt. The Spaniards seize English Trading Vessels on the North-West Coast of America. Circumstances that induced and encouraged them to take that bold Step. Preparations for War on the Part of both Spain and Great Britain. Arguments for the Universal Liberty of that Commerce, and Freedom of the Ocean; and for a right of appropriating unoccupied Land, by Occupancy and Labour. Opposite Sentiments concerning Colonization at the Conclusion

Conclusion of the American War, and in the present Period. A Vote of One Million for Military Preparations. Tone of the British Nation at the General Election for a New Parliament, 1790.

ON the 15th of April 1790, Mr. Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer, congratulated the British House of Commons on the prosperous state of the finance of the country, which he was that day enabled to lay before it, not upon speculation and conjecture, but from facts. We continued, he observed, to enjoy the blessing of profound peace and flourishing commerce. By the end of the current year, the annual income would be fully equal to the annual expenditure; while an accumulating sinking fund would, by a rapid operation, liquidate the public debt, already contracted. Scarcely were the panegyrics on the minister in consequence of such glad tidings pronounced, when he again came to parliament (5th) announced the probability of a war with Spain, and demanded a supply of money for the purpose of making the necessary preparations for that event, if it could not be avoided. The fair prospects held out by the mi-

nister began already to vanish; the efficacy of the annual million for a sinking fund, depended on the perpetuity of peace, or at least a peace of about half a century.* But wars, or alarms of war from that period to the present, have mocked the visionary plan of reducing so enormous a debt, by *robbing Peter to pay Paul*; making the public both debtor and creditor, and taking from the one hand to give to the other; while additional burthens, compared with which the operation of the sinking fund is only as a drop in the bucket, have from year to year pressed harder and harder. The armament against Spain was followed by an armament against Russia; and scarcely was the Russian armament dissolved, when we were involved in new armaments, on a greater and more expensive scale than ever.

The cession of Minorca, the Floridas, and the whole Mosquito Shore, inflamed the pride of a nation that rested the glory of their monarchy

* At the time when Mr. Pitt established the sinking fund, a spirit of innovation and restlessness had gone forth into all civilized nations; and no minister could gain, or long preserve, any degree of popularity without doing, or seeming to do, or intend something in the way of reformation and improvement. It was probably in compliance with this spirit, that Mr. Pitt adopted the expedient of a sinking fund. As the French constitutionalists were led into an error by over-rating the virtue of their countrymen, so Mr. Pitt seems to have been led into a hopeless project by over-rating the moderation and just and pacific dispositions of nations. Yet it is to be considered, that although this mode of liquidating the national debt be nugatory with respect to its professed object, and in fact a juggle, or, if we may say so, a financial sophism, yet it has had a substantial effect in propping public credit. This, from being the great medium of transferring property, has become a kind of money or property of itself. Its existence and value depends on an act of the mind; on belief, or faith: and as it is thus of a metaphysical (and not like other kinds of money, a physical nature) it may be continued and multiplied as long as it is possible to operate on the human mind, either by the conclusions of reason, or the illusions of the imagination.

arch very much on the bound-
 extent * of their territory, and
 with arms in their own hands,
 the British nation immersed
 ommerce, and her minister
 ng his stability chiefly in the
 mulation of revenue: an ob-
 rom which they imagined he
 d not be easily diverted. By
 ng certain trading vessels, with
 cargoes, in 1789, they took an
 atic protest against the settle-

of the English at Nootka
 d, a portion of that coast, of
 h, in consequence of a famous
 r bull, they claimed the exclu-
 sive property. The English had es-
 tablished a colony at Botany Bay,
 a fishery near the coasts of
 . They had now taken pos-
 sion of Nootka Sound; nor
 d this, the Spaniards naturally
 posed, be the last of their enter-
 s in those quarters. Other
 ns (as the Dutch, Danes, and
 es) if a timely check should
 e given to the growing evil,
 t follow the example. The
 iards, surrounded and inter-
 d with so many maritime
 rs, would lose their authority
 uth America; without which,
 the decline of their industry
 population, they would not
 ss any great weight in the
 of nations. The king of
 was therefore induced to take
 most vigorous measures, and
 he risk of a war with a power
 superior to his own, parti-
 ly on the element where the
 st must be decided by a naval
 , for maintaining an exclusive
 to what was little better to him

than a *terra incognita*, or than those
 regions in the heavens † which the
 bountiful complaisance of the first
 discoverers bestows not unfrequent-
 ly on their respective sovereigns:
 but, perhaps, he could not have ven-
 tured on so bold a line of conduct,
 if he had not been encouraged
 by a prospect of foreign assistance,
 arising out of the political circum-
 stances of the grand European re-
 public.

It is certainly the interest of Por-
 tugal to remain a single and inde-
 pendent kingdom. The treatment
 which it experienced after it had
 fallen under the dominion of Phi-
 lip II. of Spain, two centuries ago,
 has made an impression on the Por-
 tuguese nation, which would resist
 any design that might be formed by
 kings or courtiers for a second re-
 union of the two kingdoms. Such
 a prospect, however, must be highly
 pleasing, and therefore readily in-
 dulged by the court of Spain:
 which, being the larger beyond
 comparison of the two kingdoms,
 would of course become the sole
 ruler of both, according to the in-
 variable rule that governs such con-
 nexions between superior and in-
 ferior states. Under such views,
 the marriage of the Infanta of Spain
 with the prince of Brazil, which
 was concluded in April, 1790, gave
 uncommon satisfaction to the court
 of Madrid; as it powerfully ce-
 mented a friendship, from which it
 might not only derive many present
 advantages, but which might be
 improved into the means of re-
 uniting the whole Spanish penin-
 sula into one noble empire. The
 situation

* *Plus Ultra*, inscribed on a globe, the Spanish motto.

† Such as the Georgium Sidus, &c.

situation of Europe at this time, offered to the Spanish court other considerations, still more encouraging than this important alliance, in case of a war with Britain. A good understanding certainly prevailed at this time between the courts of Madrid and St. Petersburg. Though, by the approximation of their immense dominions on the northern and eastern coasts of Asia, and the northern and western coasts of America, they would be, and may one day become enemies, if those regions were peopled and cultivated,—they were for the present united by a common jealousy and fear of the English; and overtures, it was believed, had been made to the Spanish ministry, on the part of Russia, for acting conjointly against England, if Spain would gratify Russia by the cession of some island in the Mediterranean, as a station for her shipping. Nor was Russia the only power from which the Spaniards, in case of a war with England, probably expected assistance. Other powers might be induced to appear on the side of Spain, in conjunction with Russia, from a dread of the alliance, expected with certainty, to be formed between Great Britain, Holland, Prussia, Sweden, Poland, and Turkey: a confederation which threatened to overwhelm all oppo-

sition, and to give law to all Europe. But the aid and co-operation on which the cabinet of Madrid chiefly depended, was that of France, agreeably to the terms of the family compact. The resolutions of the National Assembly on that subject, will be seen in the sketch we have given of French affairs. Mirabeau, who then bore the chief sway in the French government (it is now well enough known) had determined to support the Spaniards, in opposition to the pretensions of England.* He was of opinion, that this was due to the dignity of the French monarchy and nation; and he did not affect to conceal an indignation against that domineering spirit which has rendered the British flag an object of hatred as well as awe, and with too much justice, to almost all the maritime world. It is natural farther to suppose, that this extraordinary man, who had begun to experience the difficulty of confining the tide of popular passions within any tolerable bounds of moderation, and also the danger that threatened the existence of monarchy in France, might wish to divert the minds of the people from too close an investigation of political rights, to occupy the ardent and restless genius of his countrymen in war; and, by an exercise and
increase

* Towards the end of 1789, a pamphlet was published in London, containing arguments in defence of the conduct of Spain; and arraigning that of England as equally unjust and impolitic. A French gentleman, an intimate friend of Mirabeau, who happened to be in England in the beginning of 1790, carried over this pamphlet, and shewed it to that statesman. After an attentive perusal of it, he expressed the most perfect satisfaction with its contents, and requested that he would translate it into French; which he did. The translation accomplished in two days, was immediately, at the desire of Mirabeau, published. This accords with what was said by Mirabeau in his last illness (when he was sensible of his approaching end) of Mr. Pitt:—"I think, if I had lived, I would have given this minister of preparations some trouble."

increase of the military power, to strengthen the royal prerogatives. It is indeed of little importance to ascertain what was intended by Mirabeau; but it is an object of some curiosity and interest, to inquire into the circumstances that animated Spain to hold such language, and pursue such a line of conduct towards a power so much superior to its own in naval strength and resources, for maintaining war of every kind.

While preparations were made on both sides for an appeal to arms, the matter in dispute between Great Britain and Spain was discussed, in productions of the press as well as in conversation, on the ground of morality, and upon that of political expediency. Though the English nation had not hitherto been distinguished by any strict regard to the universal liberty of commerce and freedom of the ocean, yet, as a moral covering for their conduct in the present instance readily presented itself, it was not rejected.

The English, it was said, in maintaining their right to settle a colony at Nootka Sound, maintained a right, in which all mankind were concerned and supported in the face of the world,—a grand principle in the law of nature and nations. The earth is the common inheritance of man. Each individual has a right to possess and cultivate a share. But where, and what the extent of that share, is to be determined only by occupancy

and labour. It is vain and fruitless to oppose to a maxim so obvious and consonant with universal custom, ideal rights derived from vicinity of situation, or the charm of landing on a desert shore, and hoisting a flag, or erecting a column, or cross, in the name of any particular monarch. Rights founded on such circumstances, are as indefinite in their extent as chimerical in their nature: for who shall determine the point to which the magical occupancy of the pillar, or pole, or cross, shall extend? And what line shall circumscribe the indefinite parage? Still more absurd, if possible, is the idea of a right founded on a grant four hundred years ago, by an arrogant and ignorant hierarchy, whose munificent donations,† if he could have bestowed them, the sphericity of the earth would turn into indelible ridicule. Though men, by entering into society, and partaking of its advantages, submit their natural rights to such regulations as may be established for the general good, yet they can never be understood to have wholly renounced them. In the present question, we suppose the case of all mankind being let down on the earth at the same time, by the hand of the common Parent. In this case, each individual would have a right to a fair portion of the soil; not to be alienated but by an express compact in mature age, after having been, or having had a free opportunity of being, in actual possession. Now, what individuals are

* Parage, a French word, signifies that extent of sea which is understood to belong to the adjoining land.

† By a papal bull, all the countries newly discovered, or to be discovered, on the west of the Cape of Good Hope, were given to the Spaniards; and all those on the east, to the Portuguese!

are to individuals in a state of society, an independent nation is to an independent nation. If any state then feels itself to be cramped by narrow bounds, it has a right to a settlement wherever it can acquire it, without trespassing on ground already appropriated by pre-occupancy and labour. The English nation, therefore, had a right to possess as much of the desert coast of America as they could cultivate, and no more. Nor would the Spaniards be injured, but, on the contrary, benefited by the settlement of an industrious colony in their neighbourhood. The countries on the west coast of America were of immense and unknown extent; they could furnish materials for trade to all the commercial nations of Europe. It was not only a violation of the law of nature, and contrary to the general good of mankind, for any one nation to engross the whole; but contrary also to the interests of the very nations that should aim at such a monopoly. Of the matter of right, there could be but little doubt. Nor yet did there appear in point, either in parliament or the nation at large, any repugnancy to the idea of going to war, on account of a settlement at Nootka Sound, although, after the peace of 1783, by which we gave up our pretensions to the sovereignty of North America, it was the fashion to say, that we were well rid of it. Many treatises were written, after that period, in order to prove our yearly loss in nursing and protecting our American colonies. And in reality, it soon appeared, that after we had lost our exclusive trade with North America, the general spirit of industry and enterprize, with the capitals and commercial habits of

the English, found other and more productive channels. The same nation, which a few years before boasted of the advantages of giving up a tree in full bearing, seemed now very well disposed to fight for the property of a plant. The lesson that had been taught by the loss of America, seemed to have been forgotten. Great expectations were formed from the establishment of fisheries, and other branches of trade in the South Seas; and the enthusiasm of extending commerce by means of colonization, was as high as at any former period. Indeed, the British government could not sit still under the insult that had been offered to the British flag, and the exorbitant claims of Spain to the exclusive navigation of the South Seas, which they extended to the sixtieth degree of north latitude, without contracting the sphere of British commerce; and a great loss of reputation, and consequently of importance and power among maritime nations. In the dispute about Falkland Islands, Spain had relinquished this claim even beyond the fiftieth degree of south latitude. To advance and urge it now in higher northern latitudes, seemed a proof that Great Britain had not risen of late years in the estimation of the Spaniards; and that it was high time to vindicate and support the honour of the nation. It was on this ground that a vote of credit of 1,000,000*l.*, for the purpose of counterpoising and counteracting the armaments of Spain, passed the House of Commons, on the 10th of May 1790, without opposition.

At the same time, it was not the design of government to court a
war

war with Spain, but to endeavour by all means, not inconsistent with the dignity of the British empire, to avoid it. Mr. Fitzherbert, now Lord St. Helens, was therefore sent to Madrid; where he arrived at the end of May, with full powers to settle the disputes between the Spanish and British nations in a decisive manner. The Spanish ministry, without expressly agreeing to the requisitions made on the part of Britain, of a restitution of the vessels taken at Nootka, and indemnification to their owners, spoke in terms of conciliation and kindness; avowed the sincerest disposition to avoid a war, and a readiness to treat on the most friendly ground. Their councils were at this period in a state of fluctuation, corresponding much with the changes in the councils of France; though, on the whole, leaning to peace with England on her own terms. They had relied, and were still willing to rely, on the secret assurances they had received of succours from France; and that the friends of the court in the National Assembly, had engaged to exert their utmost efforts for that purpose. But their confidence in these assurances was not a little shaken, by intelligence that the friends to the royal prerogative in France had been defeated in the greatest question that had yet been agitated in the National Assembly; where the ancient rights of the crown, in making war or peace, had been solemnly abolished, and transferred to the Assembly itself.

The Princes of the Bourbon line,

seated on the thrones of France and Spain, with their confidential friends, did not relax in their respective endeavours to support and continue the family compact. And it was some alleviation of the blow given to the Bourbon interest just mentioned, that a decree was passed in the National Assembly for an armament of fourteen ships of the line. But this again was heavily counterpoised, by the certain information, that the French seamen in general, in conjunction with the bulk of the people, especially the mercantile class, were totally averse to a war with England. To all these circumstances, we are to add, that numbers of the French ships were in very great want of repairs, and that a mutinous spirit had broken out at Brest in the French fleet.

In the mean time, the preparations for war in the different ports of Spain had been so great and successful, that no less than thirty-four sail of the line were in immediate readiness for sailing by the beginning of August; and twelve more in such forwardness, as to require but little more equipment. The whole Spanish navy consisted of about seventy ships of the line, several of which were among the largest, and a few larger than any in Europe. The whole of these it was in contemplation to bring into action, as soon as a sufficient number of hands could be found for manning them.

But the British navy was still so greatly superior,* and the preparations for a Spanish war, made on

so

* The British navy at this time consisted of 158 ships of the line, twenty of fifty guns, and 13 frigates, besides sloops and other attendant vessels; amounting all together to 420 sail. And the prodigious exertions made in the American war

so much larger a scale, and carried on with so much alacrity and expedition, that without more certain and vigorous aid than any that was to be expected from France, the Spaniards could not entertain the smallest hopes of being able to face the British fleets with any prospect of success. The court of Madrid, therefore, on a due consideration of all the circumstances, at last consented to give the satisfaction demanded by Great Britain. A declaration to this purpose was given at Madrid on the 24th July 1790; and all differences between the courts of Madrid and London terminated, with proper formality and precision, by a convention between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Spain, signed at the Escorial the 28th of October 1790.*

There is something in the Spanish manifesto highly dignified. It would be difficult to conceive any mode or terms in which a concession could be made by one independent prince to another with a better grace:—His Catholic Majesty is willing to give satisfaction to his Britannic Majesty for the injury of which he has complained; fully persuaded that his Britannic Majesty would act in the same manner towards the King under similar circumstances." The King of Great Britain appears before the Council of State of Spain, in the character of an injured person seeking a redress of grievances. Now, although, in the eye of pure mo-

rality and religion, it be nobler to suffer patiently than to commit an injury; yet, according to the general conception of mankind, and much more according to the general conceptions of courts, the complainant is less respected than the aggressor.

An official letter from the Duke of Leeds, principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, intimating the willingness of the Spanish court to give satisfaction to that of Great Britain, was sent to the Lord Mayor of London on the 5th of August; and on the same day a gazette extraordinary was published, containing the same intelligence. It was said by many people at this time, that the terms in which the Spaniards promised satisfaction, were general, vague, and indefinite. That they meant only to compromise matters by an equivocal shew of respect for Great Britain; in yielding to a few demands respecting matters of fact in the mean time; but, at the same time, to reserve their unbounded pretensions to be enforced on the first favourable opportunity. But the wiser part of the nation readily agreed, that a claim or right was better substantiated and secured by a few concessions in point of fact, than by any kind of declaration in words. And the sincerity of the court of Madrid in the present declaration, which was rendered credible by the actual state of France and Spain, was placed beyond doubt by the convention,

war, had formed such a number of officers and sailors, that, by the end of June, the ships fitted out in the different ports of Britain, amounted to four of one hundred guns, six of ninety and upwards, thirty-six from sixty-four to eighty, and seven from fifty to sixty; besides a proportionable number of frigates and other vessels of war.

* See these, and other papers relative to this dispute with Spain, in the 32nd volume of this Work; being that for 1790.

convention, already mentioned. This convention, with the points to which it referred, was afterwards taken into consideration, and became a subject of some parliamentary discussions. But, before we proceed to give any account of these, we shall stop a very little by the way, in order to take notice of some particulars tending to mark the spirit of the times, which took place between the dissolution of the old and the convocation of a new parliament.

The general election of members of parliament, it was universally observed, was carried on, on the whole, with unusual coldness and indifference. In some instances, we may presume, experience dearly bought had demonstrated the folly of bartering independent fortune with the chance of civil preferment, or of making a figure as an orator in parliament. But this circumstance not being peculiar to the summer of 1790, does not account for that political languor which seemed at this period to have fallen on the English nation. In nations, as well as individuals, there is a tendency to run from extreme to extreme; and, agreeably to this principle, an alternation of activity and repose, of exertion and lassitude; whence, particular objects appear more bulky, and occupy too much attention and labour at one time, and too little at another. The American war, the dismemberment of the empire, the revolution in Ireland, political associations, petitions, remonstrances, and various schemes of political reform; these formed a busy period in the History of Britain, and stretched the nerves of her sensibility and action to an excess that

was followed by a degree of political lethargy. The ground of reformation on which the minister had come into power, was abandoned: the patriotic professions of his opponents were universally suspected. The French revolution, by its magnitude and importance to all Europe, fixed the eye of every politician, diminished in proportion every collateral event, and impressed a general conviction that the great affairs of the world are governed by causes to which the wisdom and resources of statesmen do not extend.

But exceptions from this general languor were found in the capital, and at certain extremities of the British empire.

Of all the elective bodies in Great Britain, the first in importance is Westminster; the seat of government, of the royal family, the prime nobility and gentry for half the year, and greatly superior to any other community in the kingdom, both in wealth, consequence, population, and the free communication of the right of voting in elections of representatives in parliament. As people of all ranks and conditions are assembled, and have an interest and influence in this great city, it may be considered, in some measure, as an index or miniature picture of the whole kingdom. It is no wonder therefore that the Westminster elections are usually contested with more than ordinary keenness and violence. The last election for Westminster in 1788, was expensive to the candidates, even beyond the usual rate of expenditure. As it was found by experience, that the voters were pretty equally divided between the ministerial

ministerial and antiministerial candidates, it was settled, whether by a formal agreement or tacit compact, that there should be a division of political power in a body where there was a division of political sentiment, Lord Hood, it was agreed on, or understood, was not to bring forward in his hand an opponent to Mr. Fox; nor Mr. Fox an opponent to Lord Hood. It may seem at first sight paradoxical, to affirm that a mutual cessation on the part of these two representatives of Westminster, from political solicitation and influence in favour of any candidate on the present occasion, should be considered as anywise inimical to the freedom of election. That an election may be free, it may be asked, is it necessary that it should be contested? And do the rights of electors consist in their being courted and cajoled, entertained, decorated with the ensigns of party, and pressed to vote for this or that candidate, almost by a degree of violence? To leave the electors entirely to themselves, and not to tamper in the least with their sentiments and inclinations, might seem to be the greatest homage that could be paid to freedom. But this is one of the numerous instances in which political maxims are fallacious, if taken separately from particular cases and circumstances. A great multitude of people without agitation, would remain an inert mass, incapable of action; and if left in the hands of a few agitators, who come to assume a kind of prescriptive right of interference, are apt to be transferred from hand to hand, like cattle in a fair, unconscious of the bargains in consequence of which they are

bandied from one hand to another. Laws are but inanimate things in themselves. They depend for their efficacy on the breath of passion:—the Westminster electors, partly under the influence of the crown, and partly under that of a few great families, might yet still be called upon at stated periods by those parties, separately or in conjunction, to give their votes in elections; but their right of voting would, in fact, become merely nominal, and a mere potentiality, to speak in the language of the schools, instead of a habit. It is farther to be considered, that such an election as that of Westminster cannot be carried on without a considerable expense. From the inveterate influence, therefore, of the parties just mentioned, on the one hand, and the expense of opposing it even in the purest manner on the other, the elections of Westminster were in danger of becoming a mere farce; and this farce seemed in June 1790 to have been begun.

Mr. Horne Tooke is justly renowned for the independence and consistency of his public character and conduct, the manly vigour of his political, and the subtlety as well as, on the whole, the soundness of his writings on the subjects of philology and universal grammar. To this gentlemen the passivity of Mr. Fox and Lord Hood in the present election, appeared in the light of a coalition: a political collusion for the purpose of monopolizing to themselves the suffrages of Westminster. On the morning of the election (June 16, 1790) the following address was circulated to the electors of Westminster by Mr. Tooke, and a poll demanded:—

“Gentlemen,

“Gentlemen, I think it my duty on the present occasion to solicit your votes, to represent you in the ensuing parliament.

“The evident junction of two contending parties, in order to seize with an irresistible hand the representation of the city of Westminster, and to deprive you even of that shadow of election to which they have lately reduced you, calls aloud on every independent mind to frustrate such attempts, and makes me, for the first time in my life, a candidate.

“I do not solicit your favour: but I invite you, and afford you an opportunity to do yourselves justice, and to give an example (which was never more necessary) against the prevailing and destructive spirit of personal party, which has nearly extinguished all national and public principle.

“The enormous sums expended, and the infamous practices at the two last elections for Westminster (open bribery, violence, perjury, and murder, with the scandalous chicane of a tedious, unfinished, and ineffectual petition) are too flagrant and notorious to be denied or palliated by either party; and the only refuge of each has been to shift off the criminality upon the other. Upon whom, and how will they shift off the common criminality, equally heavy on them both, that neither of them has made even the smallest attempt by an easy parliamentary and constitutional method, to prevent the repetition of such practices in future?

“If the revenue is threatened to be defrauded in the smallest article, law upon law, and statute upon statute, are framed without delay or intermission. No right

of the subject, however sacred, but must give way to revenue. The country swarms with excisemen and informers, to protect it—Conviction—is sure, summary, speedy.—The punishment,—outlawry and death. Where, amongst all their hideous volumes of taxes and of penalties, can we find one singly solitary statute to guard the right of representation in the people, upon which alone all right of taxation depends?

“Your late representatives and your two present candidates, have, between them, given you a complete demonstration that the rights of electors (even in those very few places where any election yet appears to remain) are left without protection, and their violation without redress. And for a conduct like this, they who have never concurred in any measure for the public benefit; they who have never concurred in any means to secure to you a peaceable and fair election, after all their hostilities, come forward hand in hand, with the same general and hacknied professions of devotion to your interest, unblushingly to demand your approbation and support!

“Gentlemen, throughout the history of the world, down to the present moment, all personal parties and factions have always been found dangerous to the liberties of every free people; but their coalitions, unless resisted and punished by the public, certainly fatal.—I may be mistaken, but I am firmly persuaded, that there still remains in this country a public, both able and willing to teach its government that it has other more important duties to perform besides the levying of taxes, creation of peerages, compromising of coun-
tics,

ties, and arrangement of boroughs. With a perfect indifference for my own personal success, I give you this opportunity of commencing that lesson to those in administration, which it is high time they were taught. The fair and honourable expences of an election (and of a petition too, if necessary) I will bear with cheerfulness. And if by your spirited exertions to do yourselves right (of which I entertain no doubt) I should be seated as your representative; whenever you shall think you have found some other person, likely to perform the duties of that station more honestly and usefully to the country, it shall without hesitation be resigned by me, with much greater pleasure than it is now solicited."

The number of voters in favour of Mr. Tooke, though unsuccessful on the conclusion of the poll, appeared to bear so great a proportion to that of any of the other two candidates, that Mr. Tooke thought himself justified in an address of thanks to the electors, to congratulate them on the spirit of independence and liberty that yet remained in the city of Westminster. While the election in England ran greatly in favour of the ministerial party, those in Scotland were pretty nearly divided between that party and the members in opposition to government. In this part of the united kingdom of Great Britain, public spirit, like vegetation in a fresh soil, seemed to glow with the greatest warmth.

It is a truth not to be controverted, that the Scottish nation was anciently free, and that its

spirit in former times was high and independent. From the period of the union of the British crowns to that of the legislatures, it degenerated from that manly character. The sense of its national importance was miserably impaired:...it even discovered a proneness to submission and dependence! The Scots in general were disposed to listen, with an abject pliability, to the few persons who had the favour of the servants of the crown. To dispute their will, or to oppose their purposes, was accounted a folly, if not a crime. And as the mass of the people were of little or no account in the framing of laws, so neither could they depend, in all cases, on strict justice in their execution. The court of session, in what they denominated their *nobile officium**, affected and exercised a power superior to authorities, and superior to statutes. The privy council exercised inquisitorial powers even to the length of torture. No business could be brought into parliament that was not first prepared by the Lords of the Articles, always under the influence of the crown. The property, and even the lives of the country-people, were, in a great measure, at the mercy of the territorial Lords or Barons.

The union with England did not communicate the spirit of freedom, industry, and animated and generous exertion all at once. The extension of roads through the mountains, morasses, rivers, glens, and chasms of the highlands, and the abolition of the courts of regality, or hereditary jurisdiction, boons that

* The power of deciding, like a jury, according to their own convictions and sentiments.

that were pressed by the English government on the Scottish nation not a little against its will, prepared the way for the reign of liberty, the spirit of enterprize, and the introduction of general improvement. The military genius of the Scots was called into exertion by the magnanimity and wisdom of the great Mr. Pitt*, with brilliant success. The share they had in a glorious war, roused them to exertions in commerce, arts, and the investigation of science. The ancient dress of the Highlanders was now restored: the forfeited estates were given back to their natural

heirs: large sums of money were granted by parliament for the construction of useful works and the encouragement of industry: a committee of parliament was appointed for the improvement of the grand and natural fund of wealth in Scotland, the fisheries: the wisest and most salutary acts for that important end, passed by the legislature †: liberal subscriptions of individuals both in England and Scotland for the same purpose, were happily committed to the direction of men of abilities, honour, and patriotic virtue: enlarged and liberal, yet prudent and economical plans

* The late Lord Chatham.

† For the institution of the society for extending the fisheries and improving the sea-coasts of Britain, the public is indebted to the enlarged views and the patriotic zeal of George Dempster, esq. representative of a district of Scotch burghs in seven successive parliaments; during which period he maintained the most uniform, and noble consistency and propriety of conduct. Disregarding and even rejecting the offers of personal advantages, he kept a steady eye on what he conceived to be the public good; and this he constantly pursued, "with firm but pliant virtue;" yielding some points, in order to gain others. Though oftener found in the ranks of opposition than in the train of the ministry, he never opposed, and was never accused or suspected of opposing government from any factious, or otherwise unworthy motives. No man was more forward than Mr. Dempster to applaud the measures of administration when they appeared to deserve applause, or to strengthen their hands when they seemed to be well employed. It appears by the accounts that we have of the debates in the House of Commons, that immediately after the close of the late ruinous war, Mr. D. in a review of the state of the nation, proposed various expedients for restoring and improving our finances. He was the first who suggested the idea in the House of Commons, of appropriating 1,000,000*l.* a year towards the reduction of the National debt. He recommended a review of our revenue-laws, and the adoption of a system less burthensome to commerce and troublesome to our traders; and called the attention of the nation to the state of our British fisheries. The ministers suffered a committee to be named to inquire into this last source of national wealth. To that committee it appeared that the best way of improving the fisheries, was to encourage the inhabitants living nearest the best fishing stations to become fishers; and, as it was found that the north-western coast of Scotland, though abounding with fish and with fine harbours, was utterly destitute of towns where people might have permanent abodes, and be freed from tyranny, and independent on the caprices of Lords, and Lairds, a society was formed under the auspices of that committee for buying lands, and planting towns in those parts. The act of parliament incorporating the society states "that the building of free towns, villages, harbours, quays, piers and fishing-stations in the Highlands and Islands of north Britain, will greatly contribute to the improvement of fisheries, agriculture, manufactures, and other useful objects of industry in

plans for the improvement of the northern fisheries were adopted ; and these plans were pursued with ardour and every appearance that could justify a hope of success : frequent appeals had been made to the House of Peers, and not in vain, against elections being carried by nominal and fictitious votes * : a convention of delegates from the royal burghs persevered, though with due moderation, in reclaiming to the burghers their ancient rights, in opposition to various usurpations of self-elected magistrates : a meeting of landholders, as well as of inhabitants of towns, was held by regular adjournments, for the purpose of obtaining an equal representation in parliament ; and the effect of all these causes was heightened by the revolution in France, not yet an object of aversion and horror. In a word there had not been any period in the history of Scotland, since the Union, when so many circumstances concurred to stimulate the genius, and awaken in all ranks an attention to the affairs of the nation. The general elections in Scotland in 1790, were materially influenced by this fermentation in the public mind. A greater opposition than ever was known in this part of the country, was made to the court candidates, and also to the vast and unbounded influence of the great landed proprietors.

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in that part of the kingdom, in which the dispersed situation of the inhabitants had hitherto proved a great impediment to their active exertions ; and that their being collected into fishing-towns and villages, would be the means of forming a nursery of hardy seamen for his Majesty's navy, and the defence of the kingdom." Mr. Dempster was not more distinguished by the incorruptable integrity of his public conduct than the suavity of his manners, and the benevolence of the whole of his deportment and conduct in the intercourses of private life. And it was by the excellence of his moral character that he was enabled, though not devoted to any party, to render a very great number of services to individuals, as well as some of no small importance to the public. He possessed good sense and general knowledge ; and expressed his sentiments in an easy, fluent, modest, and gentleman-like manner. But in respect of talents and accomplishments, he had in the British senate many equals, and some superiors. To what cause then was it owing, that he was always heard with singular and almost unrivalled attention ? The expression of his countenance and the tone of his voice announced the sincerity and sensibility of his heart. His character gave weight to his opinions, and credit to his professions. Professors of Rhetoric, by the example of Mr. Dempster may illustrate the connection between eloquence and virtue.

The dawn and rising of the French Revolution were auspicious, and hailed by Mr. Dempster, with many others, with sentiments of humane congratulation. The event proved how erroneously they judged of the moral advancement of society and the principles and passions of human nature. But had a decided majority in the national councils of Great Britain and France entertained the same sentiments and views with Mr. Dempster, it might have been possible for the two nations to have lived in peace, good neighbourhood, and mutual good-will ; and instead of war to have entered on a career of virtuous emulation.

* By the creation of nominal and fictitious votes, a great predominancy of political power in Scotland has been usurped by the great families of the nobility possessing extensive landed property ; while the consequence of the lesser freeholders and gentry in the middle ranks of life, has been proportionably diminished.

C H A P. XII.

A new Parliament. Speech from the Throne. Various observations thereon. Motion for the Papers relating to the Affair at Nootka Sound in both Houses. Negatived Motion for an Address to his Majesty on the Spanish Convention in both Houses. Debates thereon. Motion carried. Plan for defraying the Expences of the Spanish Armament. Impeachment of Mr. Hastings not abated by a Dissolution of Parliament. Petition of Mr. Hastings, and Motions in Parliament for continuing the Session until his Trial should be brought to a Conclusion. That complied with. War in India. Motions in Parliament for the Production of Papers relative to the Attack of Tippoo Sultan on the Lines of Travancore. Agreed to. Motions for censuring the War with Tippoo. Negatived. Resolutions approving the War. Agreed to. Motion for leave to bring a Bill into the House of Commons for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Negatived. A Bill passed for the Relief of the Protesting Catholics. Motion for the Relief of the Scots from the Test Act. Negatived.

A NEW British parliament met on the 25th of November, 1790, when Mr. Addington was again chosen Speaker of the Commons, with the unanimous approbation of the whole House. On the 26th, his Majesty opened the session, by a speech from the throne; in which he expressed great satisfaction in informing the parliament that the differences which had arisen between him and the court of Spain had been brought to an amicable termination. After a declaration of the objects which he had in view in that transaction, he acquainted them that a foundation had been laid for a pacification between Austria and the Porte, and that he, in conjunction with his allies, was now employing his mediation for the purpose of negotiating a

definitive treaty between those powers, and of endeavouring to put an end to the dissensions in the Netherlands. From Europe, and the relations of Britain with the European nations, his Majesty passed to the distant dependencies of the British empire. He lamented the interruption that had taken place in the tranquillity of our Indian possessions; but informed them that there was a favourable prospect of the contest there being brought to a speedy and successful conclusion. And he particularly called their attention to the state of the province of Quebec, and recommended it to them to consider of such regulations as the present circumstances and situation of the province might seem to require.

On the usual motion for an address, which was made by Mr. Mainwaring

Mainwaring, and seconded by Mr. Carew, Mr. Fox, disclaiming any intention to oppose, could not adopt the principles, nor give his sanction to all the collateral observations advanced by the honourable gentlemen who supported the address. He proceeded to consider the object first notified in his Majesty's speech, the Spanish convention:—He agreed in opinion with Mr. Mainwaring, that the convention was not a fit matter for consideration on that day, as the papers relating thereto were not yet laid before the House. He declared, however, that, in his opinion, peace was preferable to war, under almost any circumstances, and most especially desirable for this country in the present moment. He next of course, adverted to what had been said on the subject of the Austrian Netherlands:—It had been stated, that it was good policy in this country to promote the return of the Netherlands to the dominion of the House of Austria, in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of another power, likely to prove dangerously inimical to this country. He conceived that the power alluded to must be France. But how had France so suddenly become a greater object of terror to us now than at any other period? The interference of the French nation, for obvious reasons, in the present conjuncture, was very little to be dreaded. With regard to the affairs of Europe in general, the interests of different powers had taken so new and singular a turn, that it was the undoubted duty of his Majesty's ministers not to overlook this circumstance, but to convert it to the public good.

If ever there was a period when this country might pick and chuse her allies, it was the present. She had nothing to do but to ascertain what number of foreign allies it was absolutely necessary that we should have, and then proceed immediately to form such alliances, and on such conditions, as to their best judgment should appear advisable. As to India, no more was intended than to defend our ally when attacked: this line of conduct would meet with his hearty approbation. But if, under the pretext of a quarrel between two native princes, our object was to obtain for ourselves new territorial acquisitions, he should enter his determined protest against the injustice of such proceedings.

Mr. Pitt admitted, that to vote for the address did not imply an approbation of the convention with Spain. On the subject of foreign alliances, he said, his Majesty's ministers were neither so idle nor so inattentive to their duty as to overlook any favourable opportunities that might occur for the improvement of former, or the promotion of new treaties. As to the affairs of India, he did not determine it either just or prudent to make war for the purpose of extending territory; but contended that, in case of a fortunate termination of the war, we should have a right to demand a reasonable indemnification for ourselves, and an adequate compensation for our injured ally.

On the 3rd of December, copies of the declaration and counter-declaration, exchanged at Madrid, July 24th, 1790; and of the convention with Spain, signed the 28th of

of October, 1790,* together with the expences of the late armament, were presented to both houses of parliament. On the 13th, a motion was made in the House of Commons for the production of all the papers relative to the affair of Nootka Sound, on the ground that culpability might be fixed where it ought, if the convention should appear to be a bad one; or if a good one, that the House might be enabled to testify an approbation, which would be valuable in proportion to the minuteness of its inquiry. To this motion it was objected, that the production of papers was not only unnecessary, but that it might be mischievous, by communicating negotiations with our allies, and with other courts, which it would not be proper to bring under the public eye. On a division, the numbers for the question were 134; against it 258; majority 124. A similar motion, by Lord Kinnoull, in the House of Peers, met with the same fate.

Mr. Duncombe, one of the members for Yorkshire, having mentioned how little interruption the dispute with Spain had occasioned to trade and manufactures, a circumstance with which he was more immediately acquainted, from the commercial situation of his constituents, and expatiated on the value of a connexion between this and that country, moved in the House of Commons on the 14th of December, an address to his Majesty, on the late negotiation with the court of Madrid. The principal arguments in favour of Mr. Duncombe's motion, were the great commercial advantages likely to

accrue to Britain from the stipulations acceded to on the part of Spain, particularly those relating to the whale fishery and the fur trade.

But Mr. Fox observed, that in this negotiation the two objects principally to be considered were, 1st, Reparation for the insults received. 2ndly, The arrangements that had been made for the prevention of future disputes. In the altercation respecting the Falkland Islands in 1771, reparation was the only object in view, and it was obtained in its fullest extent; Spain on that occasion agreed to place all the matters in dispute in the same situation as before the insult committed; and she punctually fulfilled her agreement. In that case there was a complete restoration; in the present only the declaration of a disposition to restoration. The restitution promised, appeared to Mr. Fox, at best, but incomplete; nor, he said, had even the little that was promised been performed. On the subject of the arrangements made for the prevention of future disputes, he declared his opinion, that these consisted more of concessions on our part than that of Spain. Previously to the commencement of the present dispute, we had possessed and exercised the free navigation of the Pacific Ocean, as well as the right of fishing in the South Seas, without restriction. But the admission of a part only of these rights was all that had been obtained by the convention. Formerly, we had claimed the privilege of settling in any part of South or North-west America, from which we were not precluded by previous preoccupation.

Now

* See these among the other state papers in Vol. XXXII. 1790.

Now we consented to the limitation of settling in certain places only, and even there under various restrictions. We were allowed, indeed, to form colonies on any part of the western shores of America, to the northward of the regions claimed by Spain; and to build temporary huts on the south of the parts already occupied by Spain. But the Spanish boundaries, beyond which such permissions were granted, could not be accurately defined. And as it certainly was better than vague claims, however extensive, his Majesty's ministers should have insisted, in the first place, on a precise line of demarkation, even at the expence of a few leagues of country, from such an account as Spain herself might chuse to give of the limits of her occupancy. He concluded, on the whole, that we had retained what was insignificant to ourselves, but resigned what was of infinite consequence to Spain. That what we had retained was so vague and undefined, and consequently so liable to be again disputed, that we had conceded much more in point of right than we had acquired in point of security.

Mr. Pitt observed that, in the controversy respecting Falkland Islands, the minister of the time had indeed obtained a reparation for the injury received, but left the claim of right unsettled. On the present occasion, we had gained all that could have been expected on the point of restitution, as the Spanish court had expressly promised to restore the lands of which we had been dispossessed, by the first article of the convention; and our claim of right was acknowledged and adjusted by the articles second

and third. But it had been said that the other articles were replete, not with acquisitions but concessions. In answer to this allegation, Mr. Pitt observed, that we had not perhaps acquired new rights, but certainly obtained new advantages. We had a right before to the southern whale fishery, and a right to navigate the Pacific Ocean, as well as to trade on the coasts of any part of North-west America. Those rights however had been disputed and resisted; but by the convention were now secured to us. Whenever a concession was made on our part, a stipulation equally favourable to us had been made by Spain. As to the line of demarkation, he observed, that it was judged most expedient to leave that undefined, which it was impossible at the present moment, with sufficient accuracy, to determine.

In the course of the conversation which took place with Spain, several observations were made respecting the extensions of the British navigation and commerce. It did not appear to Sir William Pultney, that the commercial advantages gained by the convention were of such importance as by some gentlemen had been stated. The trade in furs, he said, could not be very productive. The price of the commodity might be at first very considerable, but its value would soon decrease; nor was Nootka the only quarter from whence this commodity might be derived. From a comparative estimate of the trade in the Southern Seas with that in Greenland, he contended that the superiority in every respect lay on the side of the former. Yet the southern whale fishery, which had become a favourite adventure with

with administration, was not supported without a bounty amounting to no less than ten per cent. on the produce of the whole.

To the intercourses of commerce which we had lately maintained in the South Seas, and which would be further promoted by the convention, Mr. Montague ascribed the late improvements in navigation. He compared the difficulties which lord Anson experienced in that navigation with the ease with which it was effected by modern navigators. The whale-fishery trade, he observed, was beginning to be transferred from the North to the South Seas: and while the number of ships sent to the one had of late years decreased, that sent to the other had increased in proportion. As to the bounty given, it might be considered merely as an encouragement to navigation. The address to his majesty on the convention with Spain, was carried by a majority of 124.—Ayes 247. Noes 123.

An address to his majesty on the same occasion, and to the same effect, was moved in the House of Peers, by the duke of Montrose, and seconded by the earl of Glasgow.

Lord Rawdon, from the eulogiums which had appeared in the ministerial newspapers on the king of Sweden, accompanied with insinuations of the policy of supporting him, and from the evasive answers given by ministers when questioned on that subject, suspected that the fleet was destined to the Baltic, while we were bullying Spain, by whom no real insult had been offered to this country. His lordship therefore moved the previous question; which motion was supported by lord Porchester.

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The marquis of Lansdown was struck with astonishment to understand that ministers withheld any papers from the public eye that might reasonably be called for. The old system of administration seemed to be entirely destroyed, and a new and dangerous one substituted in its stead. With regard to the negotiation and convention now before the House, his lordship did not hesitate to censure the whole, from first to last. The Spanish nation had a right to all the coast on which Nootka is situated, acknowledged so far back as the reign of Elizabeth. The project of a settlement on the north-western coast of America was formed by lord Sandwich; but that minister, on mature deliberation, thought proper to adhere to the long-established system, and for the wisest reasons. He well knew that the treasures of Mexico and Peru found their way to England through the medium of Cadiz. The golden harvest of Potosi was exchanged for the manufactures of England: a treasure still greater. The marquis then traced the late dispute with Spain to its origin. A few young men, whom he should call men of letters, for merchants they certainly were not, were determined to make discoveries; and they happened to fall in with Nootka Sound. A vessel was fitted out under captain Meares, which was to be joined by two others, to be also under his command, from India. This commodore (Meares) had a code of orders to treat every person well, natives as well as Europeans: but if any of them should give offence, they were to be carried to Bengal, and there tried by a court of admiralty; though there never had been such a court at that place,

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place, nor ever could be, on a legal foundation. The whole of this mighty scheme was frustrated by the jealousy of the Spaniards. Ministers had recourse to negotiation. This in the first instance having failed, recourse was had to the force of the country. In the present state of Europe, Spain felt her inferiority, and, though with great reluctance, was obliged to submit. But could it be supposed that the wound was perfectly healed? Or that it would not rankle again in the breast of a nation which entertained such high notions of honour? Administration, the marquis observed, had had it in their power to have exhibited a glorious example of moderation and magnanimity to all the world, and to future ages. "We will not take advantage of your present situation. Your neighbour's house is on fire, and cannot assist you: Yours is likely to catch the flames: We will forget old injuries; and as you show a disposition to negotiate, we will not attack either of you." This language said the marquis, would have rivetted the French to us for ever; and done more towards a dissolution of the family-compact than the most successful war that could have possibly happened.

It was true, that, by the third article in the Convention, it was agreed, "that the respective subjects of either crown shall not be disturbed either in navigating or carrying on the fisheries in the Pacific Ocean." Was this new? Or was it not as old as the oldest laws that established the right of free navigation? But suppose, for a moment, this to have been a point newly gained. In order to establish

a fishery to any valuable extent, there must be a continual peace. In war, a strong force must be kept up, at a greater expence than could be made up by all the profits of the trade. The expence of the present armament and negotiations, he asserted, exceeded, by far, all the profits that would be obtained by this nation in forty years. And what security had we that Spain would not take a favourable opportunity to avenge her insulted honour (for it had been insulted), strike a sudden blow in the Pacific Ocean, and at once deprive us of all the ships and seamen employed in the fisheries? With regard to the first and second articles, by which the harbour of Nootka, lands, buildings, vessels, and merchandize, are to be restored, he submitted to the House, whether it was either practicable or likely to be profitable to this nation to attempt an establishment so many thousand leagues distant from this country? It was well known what vast expence had been incurred by the establishments of Nova Scotia and Georgia; and also how unprofitable both those projects had been. But this was not all, we had, at an immense expence, established the same right for all the nations on the face of the earth as for ourselves. The Russians and the Americans we found there; and there, if they pleased, they would continue. The result of all that he had been enabled to learn on the whole subject, was, that no national benefit could possibly arise from the present convention, after all the risk and expence we had incurred, that might not have been derived from negotiation without it. The marquis now reversed the picture, and reckoned up

up the enemies that we had made by the insolence, or by the unsteadiness and selfishness of our conduct:—France, Spain, Russia, and Sweden. Denmark would probably accede to the general confederacy in the north. Thus all our weight was lost in that quarter of the globe. Look now into the Mediterranean. Portugal was in disgust at the treaty with France, which was an actual infringement of the Methuen Treaty; and it was well known that, in case a war had taken place, Venice and Naples were ready to have joined the Spaniards. For these reasons, he should certainly vote for the previous question.

Lord Grenville, in his first, or maiden speech in the House of Peers, replied to the marquis of Landsdown. He contrasted the situation and conduct of Great Britain at present with her situation and conduct at the conclusion of the American war. At that period we relinquished our colonies in the east; but now we had entered on a new and glorious career of colonization and commerce on the west side of North America. The present was a proud day indeed, said his lordship, when compared with that on which America was negotiated away from this country for ever*. He insisted, that by the convention with Spain, the honour of the British flag had been vindicated, the rights of private citizens preserved, and the glory of the British name established by the wisdom and energy of his majesty's ministers, without shedding a drop

of blood, over all the world. As all these points had been gained by the convention, it was needless to call for papers; which, if produced, could neither illustrate, nor any way tend to promote the advantage or safety of the country.

The marquis of Landsdown, disdaining to take notice of the triumphant contrast between former and present ministers, confined himself to one important consideration which arose out of the question before them, and still pressed upon his attention. He held it as an incontrovertible maxim in the politics and political constitution of this country, that the executive government should be strong, that the legislative government should also be strong; and that wherever the former ceased to be responsible to the latter for all their actions and motives of action, and for the means by which they accomplished their measures, parliaments were at an end. The previous question being put, was negatived, and the address carried by a majority of 43.—Contents 30. Not-contents 73.

On the fifteenth of December Mr. Pitt submitted to the House of Commons, in a committee of ways and means, a plan for defraying the expences of the late armament; with the additional expence of an increased number of seamen voted for the service of the ensuing year, more than were voted for the last. By a statement of particular articles, it was made to appear that the whole sum to be provided for, was 3,133,000*l*. The committee were to

* The peace of 1783 was made by lord Landsdown, at that time prime minister of England. By this peace we ceded America to the colonists; and obtained from France the restitution of almost all our West India Islands.

to decide on the best means of defraying an expenditure of such magnitude over and above the amount of the usual expenditure of the year.

The first resource he should suggest to the committee, was one which, if his proposition were approved, would raise no inconsiderable portion of the sum wanted. This resource was the balance of the issues of public money for particular purposes, which had accumulated from unpaid dividends in the hands of the Bank of England. It was evident, that those who were employed as mere agents, had no right whatever to hold a greater balance in their hands than might be sufficient to answer every demand which could in all probability be made upon them. The bank stood in the situation of an agent to the public, and for their agency they had a considerable allowance, and were not entitled to any indirect profit from a balance to be left in their possession, greater than was sufficient to meet the demands which might be made upon them. This principle was adopted in all the subordinate offices under government; and the Bank considered themselves in the same light: there was not, therefore, a pretence that the balance should be appropriated to their purposes. On the clearest principles of prudence, of justice, of good faith, and of economy, the public had a right to avail themselves of this balance, which arose from the public issues: these issues he stated to be 8,000,000*l.* per annum, in quarterly payments; and that the balance remaining from what was unpaid, was, in its present state, available to no one. His object was, to

make it available to the public, and to give the creditor equal security, whenever a demand might be made, in the consolidated fund. He stated that, by the yearly accounts of the Bank, it appeared that the balance of these unpaid issues had been uniformly increasing from the year 1727 to the making up of the last accounts. In the year 1727, the balance was 43,000*l.*—in 1774, it had amounted to 292,000*l.*—in 1775, it decreased 8,000*l.* and was 284,000*l.*—in 1786, it was 314,000*l.* and on the 5th of July, 1789, when the last amount was made up, it rose to 547,000*l.* From this statement, it must appear that the growing increase had overbalanced demands on arrears, the rational result of which was, that there existed a considerable floating balance, more than sufficient for current demands, and the discharge of every probable demand for arrears. The increase had been, from the year 1763, with a single exception, invariable to the present time. Mr. Pitt mentioned the readiness of the Bank to communicate every information, and read a letter from the Bank, stating their cash accounts, made up to the 12th of October; by which it appeared that the floating balance was at that time 660,000*l.* There were no just grounds to believe that this would not continue to increase. The public might, with perfect safety to the creditors, avail themselves of this dead balance, subjecting themselves to all demands. It was his intention to propose the taking, for public use, 500,000*l.*, making the consolidated fund answerable; 160,000*l.* would then be left for the current service of the year,

year, and for the discharge of every old arrear which might be demanded. The security for the whole would prove equal, as the consolidated fund would be the security, by which means every creditor would still be paid on demand, and the only difference be, that the country would have the perpetual loan, without interest, of 500,000*l.*, which otherwise would remain useless. Mr. Pitt then stated the following precedents, the two first of which he considered as analogous, and the last as a precedent in point. In the year 1726, by a statute of George the First, a sum provided for what was termed the banker's debt, was carried to the sinking fund, which was made answerable for all demands. In 1778, by the 18th of the present King, the dividends unclaimed on what was termed the produce of the two-sevenths, was carried to the aggregate fund, which was made answerable; and by the 12th of George the Second, the Accountant General of the court of Chancery delivered to the sinking fund the balance in his hands, and the sinking fund was made responsible.—His next object was to propose such temporary taxes as might, in a short time, produce a discharge of the whole in a single year; but he would endeavour to find the means to discharge, in the first year, independent of the interest on the whole sum, 800,000*l.* of the capital. He was confident that every member in the House would be equally desirous with him in showing such a proof of British resource. It was his intention to propose the continuance of all the taxes for the second year, and, on the entrance into it, to discharge

the interest of the remainder of the capital, and an additional 800,000*l.* The sum which he proposed to appropriate from the balance of the unpaid issues of 500,000*l.* and the two payments of 800,000*l.* would form a discharge of more than half the capital in the two first years; after which part of the taxes might be taken off, and the others left to discharge the remaining 2,000,000*l.*, which could be effected in the two subsequent years, making a complete extinction of the capital in four years. He was sure that the committee would see at once that the advantages resulting from this scheme, if it could be effected, would overbalance, comparatively, the temporary burdens which would in consequence be sustained. It was his intention to place the taxes which he should propose, upon a few substantial articles; which would render them effectual and impartial. The first tax which he should propose would be upon an article of general consumption, that of sugar, which now paid a duty of 12*s.* 4*d.* per hundred weight, to which he should propose an addition of 2*s.* 8*d.* which would raise 241,000*l.* And on this article he conceived there could be no objection against a temporary tax: indeed there seemed to be a peculiar propriety in it, since, had a war taken place, the rise on the article would have been greater than the present tax would occasion it to be. The second tax was on spirits; which he considered as not likely to be evaded, when laid on for a short time, and in a slight degree. British spirits were now taxed, in the wash, 6*d.* per gallon; brandy 5*s.* and rum 4*s.* He proposed an addition of one-sixth, which would produce on
Home

Home spirits.....	£.86,000
Brandy	87,000
Rum	67,000

Total on spirits ...£.240,000

The tax on malt he proposed for the two last years only; an additional duty of 3*d*. per bushel, would produce 122,000*l*. The next he proposed was a tax on assessed taxes, excepting the commutation and land taxes. Under this description came the window, house, horse, and all assessed taxes. He proposed an addition of ten per cent., which would produce 100,000*l*. Mr. Pitt next proposed a double tax on game-keepers, and an additional one-third tax on licences. This he took at 25,000*l*. Here, he said, he should end with those taxes which he proposed as temporary: the total produce of which he would set in one view, by a recapitulation:—

Sugar	£.241,000
British spirits	86,000
Brandy	87,000
Rum	67,000
Malt	122,000
Assessed taxes	100,000
Game licences	25,000
	<hr/>
	£.728,000

This, he observed, was not a sufficient sum for the purposes which he had stated; but he had also to propose to the committee, a tax which would render it amply sufficient, and have a residue for other purposes. What he was about now to mention, he intended to propose as a permanent tax. Bills of exchange and receipts were already taxed; but it was notorious that great fraud was practised, and the

tax evaded. Every one must admit, that there was great merit in the principle of this tax, and therefore it was his intention to render it more general and proportionate; to find means to prevent evasion; and by not making too many stages to render the tax on receipts more progressive from the smaller to the higher sums. His plan would go to the prevention of the present frequent re-issuing bills from different bankers, which was a material injury to the tax on bills of exchange. He would not, however, at present, enter upon the detail of this scheme, as its nicety and importance required more time for discussion than it had yet received. He entertained the most sanguine hopes that the addition to the revenue, in consequence of this project, would amount to more than 300,000*l*. per annum. He meant to give sufficient notice of the day on which he would submit it to the consideration of the House for a separate discussion: he believed, however, that he should not be considered to take too much upon this tax, by stating sufficient to insure a total, with the taxes he had before proposed, of the 800,000*l*. which he set out with the endeavour to procure. Having thus gone through the ways and means which he conceived the best adapted to meet the expense of the armament, he called upon the zeal and fortitude of the committee to meet them; and if, upon a full consideration, they should appear to them as they did to him, he trusted they would adopt them, though for a short time they might bear hard upon the constituents. Should the propositions which he had offered, be agreed to by the House,

House, and carried into effect, the consolidated fund would gain an addition by the 500,000*l.* from the bank, and the 800,000*l.* of the produce of the first year, in the sum of 1,300,000*l.*; which sum he should move to be issued from it for the service of the year 1791; and as a temporary resource for the remainder, he would propose the issuing of 1,800,000*l.* in Exchequer bills, which issuing, he was given to understand, would be attended with no inconvenience for the short time during which they were to remain out. Not thinking he had omitted the statement of any thing material, he submitted what he had advanced, in full reliance on the decision of a House of Commons representing a people whose spirit was equal to their resources. He concluded with moving, "That the sum of 1,300,000*l.* be granted from the consolidated fund, for the service of the year 1791."

Mr. Thornton, Mr. Sergeant, directors of the Bank, and others, earnestly contended, that to take 500,000*l.* of the deposit at the Bank for the unpaid dividends, was a measure likely to give a deep wound to public credit. The minister therefore consented to accept from the Bank a loan of the same sum, as long as a floating balance to that amount should remain in the hands of their cashier.

The attention of the House was now called to that annual episode, the trial of Mr. Hastings. A question arose, Whether an impeachment brought by the Commons of Great Britain in parliament, assembled in their own name, and in the name of their constituents, did not remain in *statu quo*, notwithstanding the intervention of a dis-

solution? On the 17th of December, in a committee of the whole House, Sir Peter Burrell in the chair, Mr. Burke moved, "That it appears that an impeachment of this House, in the name of the Commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, and in the name of all the Commons of Great Britain, against Warren Hastings, Esq. late Governor General of Bengal, for sundry high crimes and misdemeanors, is now depending." From a variety of constitutional analogies and precedents, in some instances doubtful, in others seemingly contradictory, it was easy for the gentlemen of the long robe to raise such a cloud of disputation and wrangling, as to afford a plausible veil for voting as they were inclined to vote. Mr. Burke's motion was carried without a division: by which a very important precedent was clearly established in the British constitution. Mr. Burke having gained this point, said, that it was not his wish to give up the proof of a single charge of all the various charges against Mr. Hastings: all of which the committee of managers were able to substantiate, if the temper of the times, the criminal impatience of too many persons, and a very culpable commiseration of the culprit, would permit them. But, as all mankind must bend under circumstances, in compliance with the unhappy disposition of the times, he would propose a motion for the limitation of the impeachment. The motion was, "that, in consideration of the length of time which has already elapsed since carrying up the impeachment against Warren Hastings, Esq. it appears to this House to be proper, for the purpose of obtaining substantial

substantial justice with as little delay as possible, to proceed to no other parts of the said impeachment than those on which the managers of the prosecution have already closed their evidence; excepting only such parts of the impeachment as relate to the contracts, pensions, and allowances."

Mr. Ryder moved, as an amendment, that the latter part of the motion, which contained the exception, should be omitted. Mr. Jekyl proposed a second amendment, viz. that, "In consideration of the length of time which has already elapsed since carrying up the impeachment now depending against Warren Hastings, Esq. the House of Commons do resolve to proceed no further in this business." Mr. Sumner moved the question of adjournment.

On a division of the House, there appeared for the adjournment, Ayes 26: Noes 194. On Mr. Ryder's amendment, Ayes 79: Noes 161. The original question was then put, and carried without a division.

The charge respecting contracts, pensions, allowances, frauds, and extortions, which alone remained for discussion, was opened by Mr. St. John, on the 23rd of May: and some days were employed in the production of evidence. On the 27th of May, when the court broke up, Mr. Loveden made a motion in the House of Commons, for an address to his Majesty, praying, "that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to continue the session of parliament until the evidence on the part of the prosecution has been closed, Mr. Hastings's defence heard, and judgment finally given." The arguments for this

motion were drawn from the very great hardships of delay, and the little inconvenience that would arise from the parliament's non-sitting till the close of the trial; the prosecutors being, avowedly, within a few days of closing their evidence. And it was presumed, that no great space of time would be necessary for the defence and reply.

This motion was strenuously opposed by Mr. Dundas, as an invasion of the prerogative of the crown, to continue or prorogue the sittings of parliament. The House, which had just vindicated its own constitutional privilege, by the resolution of the non-abatement of impeachments, would not, he hoped, almost at the same moment, encroach so far on the rights of another branch of the legislature, as to desire the crown to commit its prerogative of prorogation to the discretion of three distinct powers: to the managers who might extend the prosecution; to the prisoner who might prolong his defence; and to the judges who might protract their judgment.

Mr. Fox denied the impropriety of the motion, on the ground of its being an incroachment of the prerogative of the crown: the right of advising the crown in this matter as well as others, having been repeatedly exercised by the House. But, on a consideration of all the circumstances of the case, he was of opinion, that the motion went too far in fixing the period for the sitting of parliament,—“till judgment should be pronounced;” and instead of this, proposed the following amendment: “To pray his Majesty not to prorogue parliament before such further progress should

should be made as should afford reasonable grounds of expectation that the trial might be brought to a conclusion early in next session." This amendment was rejected by a majority of 144 to 61; and Mr. Loveden's original motion was negatived without a division. A similar motion was made in the House of Peers, by lord King; which was opposed on nearly the same grounds, and met the same fate.

The managers having closed their case on the 30th of May, Mr. Hastings, though he could not now expect an opportunity of bringing his defence before the court during the present session, begged to be allowed one day for the purpose of stating what he deemed of importance respecting the further progress of the trial. This request, without any opposition even from Mr. Burke, was granted him: and on Thursday, the 2d day of June, he delivered a long, but not tedious speech, as it could not fail to arouse the attention, employ the understanding, and excite various emotions in the breasts of all classes of his hearers: but of none more than those of his bitterest enemies.

As soon as the lords was seated in the court at Westminster Hall, lord Kenyon, as Speaker, about half an hour past twelve o'clock, directed the counsel for Warren Hastings to proceed on his defence. Mr. Hastings then arose, and began his speech, which he read from a manuscript, and continued to read for about two hours; when he asked the indulgence of a respite for a few minutes; which was granted him. As soon as he found himself a little recovered from extreme fatigue, he proceeded, and concluded his speech

about four o'clock. In this masterly composition, after expressing his thankfulness to their lordships for the allowance of one day in addition to the present session; assuring them that it was not his intention, had the session of parliament been continued until a final decision of the trial, to bring a laboured defence before them, applicable to every allegation in the articles of the prosecution; shewing the difficulty and impossibility of producing all the evidence which would be necessary for such a mode of defence; and making several observations respecting the disadvantages under which he laboured, from the complication of the charges against him; and the extension of a criminal trial beyond the chances of duration in human life:—Mr. Hastings, after these preliminary observations, declared to their lordships, that he was willing and desirous to wave his defence to the charges preferred against him by the Commons of England, and to refer himself to their lordships immediate judgment, if they should be graciously pleased to proceed to immediate judgment upon it. For his acquittal, he trusted confidently to the evidence adduced by his prosecutors themselves to make good their charge; being satisfied that not one criminal allegation of the charge had been established against him, and almost every one refuted by their own evidence, either by the replies of their oral witnesses,—by their written documents,—or their context, added by the vigilance of the counsel to the partial and mutilated extracts from them which had been introduced by the managers. Their lordships would try his conduct by the evidence which

which his accusers had brought before them ;—not by their speeches. It was the custom of this country, he observed, and he applauded and admired the motive and end of it, that the court before which the trial is heard, should be open and free of access to the whole world. But, my lords, said he, this custom puts my fame and honour at issue with other judgments than your lordships ; and their judgments are formed, not like yours, on calm investigation and cool unbiassed wisdom, deciding on the evidence only which has been stated. My lords, the audience come with other minds, and with different motives. They come to hear the declamations of invective and to be amused by the ingenuity of the orators. Bold assertions, however unfounded and unjust, are believed by them because they are boldly made, and heard without refutation. Misled by the arts of eloquence, they are deceived into opinions, of which it is impossible they can either detect the fallacy or perceive the imposition. They are pleased and deluded by the talents of the orator ; and whatever prejudices he wishes to create in their minds, they of necessity receive ; and after the entertainment of the day, depart, with their passions inflamed, to communicate their effects to the circle of their acquaintance. Is it possible that the general effect of such declamations can fail to embitter my life and affect my peace in society as long as the trial lasts, by producing all the ill consequences on the public opinion of a condemnation ?

Mr. Hastings having by these and other arguments earnestly solicited an immediate decision, proceeded

to state to their lordships the substance of the general charges against him, so often repeated, and so loudly proclaimed at their lordships bar, and to the public. To all the charges he gave answers brief, clear, and carrying an appearance of candour, truth, and a consciousness not only of innocence, but of having deserved well of his country.

Having made sundry observations respecting the difficulties he had to contend with in the war in India, he said, “ My lords, you are now better enabled to judge of the difficulties which I had to encounter in the last war, than I did suppose it within possibility for your lordships to be when this trial commenced.

“ Your lordships will feel for the wants under which I laboured when I had to contend, at one time, with all the powers of India, combined with the French and the Dutch, because your lordships have proofs before you in the council-chamber of parliament, that the resources of India are now utterly inadequate to the support of a war against one native power who is unassisted by any European ally. We are in alliance with all the Mahratta Chiefs, and with the Soubadar of Deccan, who were in the former war confederated against us. The government of Bengal, when this war commenced, was free from foreign and domestic embarrassments. The Nabob Vizier had completely liquidated his debt, and his subsidy was paid with the utmost punctuality. Benares afforded the full revenue, which I am impeached for having procured. The salt, the opium, and the land-revenues of Bengal, added to the
subsidy

subsidy from Qude and the Benares collections, produced annually to the Company nearly five millions four hundred thousand pounds.

“ But, my Lords, so inadequate have these resources proved, with the addition of the revenues of Fort St. George and Bombay, that since the commencement of the present war, a very considerable sum in specie has been transmitted from England to India; money has been borrowed to the utmost extent of their credit at Bengal; and Hyder Beg Khan, whom your Lordships have heard of so often, has assisted Lord Cornwallis with a loan of twenty-two lacks of rupees.—I mention these circumstances to your Lordships, to prove that the resources of India cannot, in time of war, meet the expences of India.

“ Your Lordships know that I could not; and Lord Cornwallis cannot, do what every minister of England has done since the revolution. I could not borrow to the utmost extent of my wants during the late war, and tax posterity to pay the interest of my loans. The resources to be obtained by loans, those excepted for which bills upon the Company were granted, failed early in my administration, and will fail much earlier in Lord Cornwallis's, not from want of confidence in that noble Lord, but because the surplus resources of Bengal have not been employed in liquidating the debt contracted in Bengal during the late war.

“ Allow me, my Lords, to call again to your Lordships' recollection the many and the unprecedented difficulties with which I had to contend during the late war in India. Every measure of my ad-

ministration was calculated to relieve the public exigencies; nor can any man in England point out other means than those which I employed, by which the public necessities could have been relieved; yet I have been four years impeached before your Lordships for the several acts by which I preserved, what the India minister has called, in the House of Commons, the brightest jewel in the British crown!

“ I have now gone through the examination both of the general and specific crimes which have been laid to my charge. I have endeavoured to develop the great and commanding points of every distinct article from those which are either immaterial in themselves or which depended for their rectitude or criminality upon the former.

“ In this work I have, in effect, undertaken to reduce the compiled mass of seven folio volumes into the compass of a few pages: a labour requiring months of leisure to execute it as it ought to be; and a length of time proportioned, not to the extent of the work, but to the degree of its abbreviation.

“ I have urged all that in this view of the subject was, in my judgment and recollection, necessary to the elucidation of it; but it is hardly possible that something may not have been omitted which would have rendered it more complete; something, the want of which may yet leave doubts on your Lordships' minds respecting parts of my conduct detached from the general tenor of it. For this, and for other deficiencies in this address, I have to beg your Lordships candour, and to plead the disadvantage

tage of the restricted and inadequate time, and the infirm state of body, under which I have arranged it.

“ I most reluctantly press upon your Lordships’ time, and shall hasten to conclude with a few general observations upon the nature of this impeachment, as it relates to those principles which constitute the moral qualities and characters of all mankind.

“ If the tenor of a man’s life has been invariably marked with a disposition to guilt, it will be a strong presumption against him, in any alleged instance, that he was guilty.

“ If, on the contrary, the whole tenor of a man’s life was such as to have obtained for him the universal good-will of all with whom he had any intercourse in the interested concerns of life, the presumption will be as well grounded, that he was innocent of any particular wrong imputed to him, especially if those who are the alleged sufferers by that wrong, make no complaint against him.

“ But what shall be said of complaints brought against a man who was in trust for the interests of the greatest commercial body in the world ; who employed and directed the services of thousands of his fellow citizens in great official departments, and in extensive military operations ; who connected princes and states by alliances with his parent kingdoms, and on whose rule the peace and happiness of many millions depended ; I say, what shall be said of complaints brought against such a man, in the names and on the behalf of all those descriptions of men, who all unite their suffrages in his favour ? Such

complaints, with such a presumption against the possibility of their truth, may have existed, but the history of mankind cannot produce an instance of their being received on such a foundation, until the late and present House of Commons thought fit to create one in my impeachment.

“ Permit me, my Lords, to retrace the principal events in the public life of that man whom the Commons have thus brought, and have kept so long, in trial before you. With the year 1750 I entered the service of the East India Company ; and from that service I have derived all my official habits, and all the knowledge which I possess, and all the principles which were to regulate my conduct in it. If those principles were wrong, or if in the observance of them I have erred, great allowance ought to be made for human infirmity, where I possessed such inadequate means of obtaining a better guidance. Yet the precautions which I invariably used, render even this plea unnecessary, by the references which I made to the court of Directors, my immediate masters, of every measure which I have undertaken, with its motives and objects minutely explained and detailed.

“ For the truth of this assertion I might safely appeal to them, and I am sure that they would attest it ; and the volumes both of consultations and letters in their possession, prove that my share of the compilation exceeds, beyond all degrees of comparison, that of the most laborious of my predecessors, not excepting even my ever honoured friend, Mr. Henry Vansittart.

“ Nor was it to them only that I
was

was thus communicative. When Great Britain was involved in a complicated war, and their governments in India had, besides European enemies, a confederacy of all the principal powers of India armed against them, I gave the then minister of this kingdom constant information of all the measures which I had taken, in conjunction with my colleagues in the government, to repel the dangers which pressed us; the motives and objects of those measures; the consequences expected from them; and the measures I had further in contemplation: and it has since afforded me more than common pleasure to reflect, that every successive letter verified the expectations and the promises of the preceding.

“ If I had given evidence in my defence, I should have called upon the noble lord to produce all my letters in his possession. Those, and my letters to the Court of Directors (but my letters to lord North, in a most striking manner) would have shown how careful I was to expose all my actions to their knowledge, and consequently how little apprehension I could have felt that there was any thing in them that could be deemed reprehensible. In all instances which might have been deemed of a doubtful nature, these communications were virtual references for their sanction, or for their future prohibition. If I received neither, their silence was a confirmation, and had more than the effect of an order, since, with their tacit approbation of them, I had imposed upon myself the prior obligation of my own conception of their propriety. Were I, therefore, for a moment, to suppose that the acts with which I am charged,

and which I so communicated (for I communicated all to the Court of Directors), were intrinsically wrong, yet from such proofs it is evident that I thought them right; and therefore the worst that could be said of them, as they could affect me, is, that they were errors of judgment; and even for these, in all instances where they were repeated, or the causes of subsequent acts deriving the same quality from them, the error, and every blame which could attach to them, was theirs, who might have corrected them and did not.

“ In the year 1768 I was appointed by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, a member of the council, and eventually to succeed to the government of Madras.

“ In the year 1771, when the affairs of their principal establishment were supposed to be on the decline, and to require an unusual exertion of abilities and integrity to retrieve them, the Court of Directors made choice of me for that trust: and I was by their order removed from the council of Fort St. George, to the government of Fort William in Bengal, and to the principal direction of all the civil, military, commercial, and political affairs dependent on it.

“ In the year 1773, I was appointed, by an act of parliament, governor-general of Bengal for five years.

“ In the year 1778, I was re-appointed by the same authority for one; in 1779 for another; in 1781 for ten years; and in 1784 I was virtually confirmed by that act which forms the present government for India.

“ In this long period of thirteen years,

years, and under so many successive appointments, I beg leave to call to the recollection of your lordships, that whilst Great Britain lost one half of its empire, and doubled its public debt, that government over which I presided was not only preserved entire, but increased in population, wealth, agriculture, and commerce; and although your lordships have been told by the House of Commons that my measures have disgraced and degraded the British character in India, I appeal to the general sense of mankind to confirm what I am now going to say: That the British name and character never stood higher, or were more respected in India, than when I left it.

“ So much may I say for the general effect of my government. For the specific acts which have contributed to produce it, it would require volumes to recite them. Shortly permit me to enumerate the principal heads which comprehend them.

“ Every division of official business, and every department of government which now exists in Bengal, with only such exceptions as have been occasioned by the changes of authority enacted from home, are of my formation.

“ The establishment formed for the administration of the revenue, the institution of the courts of civil and criminal justice in the province of Bengal, and its immediate dependencies; the form of government established for the province of Benares, with all its dependent branches of revenue, commerce, judicature, and military defence; the arrangements created for the subsidy and defence of the province of Oude, every other political con-

nexion and alliance of the government of Bengal, were created by me, and subsist unchanged, or if changed, changed only (to use the words of my noble and virtuous successor, applied to the principles of my arrangements in the province of Oude) ‘ with a view to strengthen their principles, and render them permanent.’

“ Two great sources of revenue, opium and salt, were of my creation; the first, which I am accused for not having made more productive, amounts at this time yearly to the nett income of 120,000*l.*; the last (and all my colleagues in the council refused to share with me in the responsibility attendant upon a new system) to the yearly nett income of above 800,000*l.*

“ To sum up all; I maintained the provinces of my immediate administration in a state of peace, plenty, and security, when every other member of the British empire was involved in external wars, or civil tumult.

“ In a dreadful season of famine, which visited all the neighbouring states of India during three successive years I repressed it in its approach to the countries of the British dominion, and by timely and continued regulations, prevented its return; an act little known in England, because it wanted the positive effects which alone could give it a visible communication, but proved by the grateful acknowledgments of those who would have been the only sufferers by such a scourge, who, remembering the effects of a former infliction of this dreadful calamity (in 1779) have made their sense of the obligation which they owe to me for this blessing a very principal subject

ject of many of the testimonials transmitted by the inhabitants of Bengal, Bahar, and Benares.

“ And lastly, I raised the collective annual income of the Company’s possessions under my administration from three to five millions sterling, not of temporary and forced exaction, but of an easy, continued, and still existing production: the surest evidence of a good government, improving agriculture, and increased population.

“ To the Commons of England, in whose name I am arraigned, for desolating the provinces of their dominion in India, I dare to reply that they are, and their representatives annually persist in telling them so, the most flourishing of all the states of India—It was I who made them so.

“ The valour of others acquired, I enlarged, and gave shape and consistency, to the dominion which you hold there: I preserved it: I sent forth its armies with an effectual but œconomical hand thro’ unknown and hostile regions, to the support of your other possessions, to the retrieval of one from degradation and dishonour; and of the other from utter loss and subjection. I maintained the wars which were of your formation, or that of others, not of mine: I won one member of the great Indian confederacy from it by an act of seasonable restitution; with another I maintained a secret intercourse and converted him into a friend: a third I drew off by diversion and negotiation, and employed him as the instrument of peace. When you cried out for peace, and your cries were heard by those who were the object of it, I resisted this, and every other

species of counteraction, by rising in my demands; and accomplished a peace, a lasting, and I hope an everlasting one, with one great state; and I at least afforded the efficient means by which a peace, if not so durable, more seasonable at least, was accomplished with another.

“ I gave you all; and you have rewarded me with confiscation, disgrace, and a life of impeachment!

“ I am above all things desirous that your Lordships should come to an immediate decision upon the evidence before you. But if the shortness of time should prevent your Lordships from complying with this my earnest desire, and the trial must of necessity, and to my unspeakable sorrow, be prolonged to another session, then, my Lords, I trust you will not consider me by any thing I have said, as precluded from adopting such means of defence as my counsel may judge most advisable for my interest.”

The Lords then went back, in the customary order to their own House; where it was moved, and resolved to proceed further on the trial of Warren Hastings, Esq. on the first Tuesday in the next session of parliament.

In the mean time, while a prosecution protracted from year to year, was carried on against the late Governor General, a new war broke out in India which illustrated the wisdom and vigour that had conducted the last; and was the means of calling forth in favour of Mr. Hastings the testimony of those who had the best opportunities of knowing the truth, and whose rank and character excluded all ideas of

a possibility of misrepresentation. Of the rise, progress, and termination of this war, we shall give a sketch in our Volume for 1792, to which we refer our readers. We notice it in this place, as it was the subject of some debates in the House of Commons; the substance of which, though of no great consequence, it may be proper briefly to state :—

Mr. Hipsley, on the 22nd of December 1790, moved “that copies of the correspondence relative to the attack of Tippoo Sultan on the lines of Travancore, should be laid before the House.” He stated, that the Rajah of Travancore, who was our ally, had purchased the forts of Cranganore and Jacottah from the Dutch. Tippoo Sultan objected to the legality of this purchase, asserting in his own right a feudal claim to the forts in question, as sovereign of Mysore. The Rajah having peremptorily refused to relinquish the forts, Tippoo marched towards the Travancore lines, the boundaries of the Rajah’s territories, and commenced hostilities. But before we espoused the cause of the Rajah, we ought to have considered whether Tippoo’s claim might not be founded on law agreeably to the established feudal system of India; and whether the Rajah himself had acted in such a manner as to be entitled to our support. The Rajah of Travancore, he said, had long wished to obtain these forts, and had applied about two years before to sir Archibald Campbell, then governor of Madras, for permission to negotiate a purchase. But of the measure proposed, Sir Archibald Campbell expressed his direct disapprobation. After that gentleman had left India, the Rajah

wrote to his successor, Mr. Holland) briefly observing that he had completed the purchase of the forts of Jacottah and Cranganore, with the concurrence of the British government. It might be fairly argued, in defence of Tippoo’s conduct, that it was impossible for him, as Sultan of Mysore, to behold with indifference the transfer of these forts to the Rajah of Travancore. In the hands of the Dutch, a mere trading company, Cranganore was of little importance, but it assumed a very different aspect in the hands of an active ally to the British government. As Mr. Hipsley questioned the justice, so he also questioned the policy, of the war. The Mahrattas and the Nizam were to be our allies. In his opinion, little dependence could be placed on either. Could we so easily forget the general confederacy of 1780 among the native powers? A conspiracy headed by the Nizam himself for exterminating the British nation from India. Mr. Hipsley further remarked, that Tippoo had an army of 150,000 men, a large corps of Europeans well officered, and an admirable train of artillery. He possessed a revenue of five millions, and could boast a treasury of at least eight or nine millions. To all this what could we oppose, but an exhausted treasury and a tottering credit? Mr. Hipsley’s motion was seconded by

Mr. Francis, who asserted the impolicy of extending our territories in India, and of forming alliances with the native princes of that country.

Mr. Dundas stated, that Cranganore, Jacottah, and Cochin, were places of considerable importance in the hands of the Dutch. But that

that wary and politic people being alarmed at the warlike preparations of Tippoo, which pointed towards the quarter in which those possessions were situated, became desirous of making over the forts of Cranganore and Jaccottah to the Rajah of Travancore, whom they knew to be our ally, that they might thus raise a barrier to Cochin, their most valuable possession on the continent of India; and thus, in effect, throw themselves under the protection of the British government. After the purchase was completed, Tippoo Sultan set up a sort of claim to the forts in question, by way of obtaining a pretext for his hostile proceedings. But this was not the first time that the ambitious views of Tippoo had been manifested:—he had, without the least provocation, advanced with a formidable army to the frontiers of Travancore, in 1788; and could scarcely be induced to retire to his own dominions by the spirited remonstrances of the British government. He was considered in India as a restless tyrant, ever bent on schemes of aggrandizement, and keeping at all times a jealous and hostile eye on the British government. As to the resources of Tippoo, however great they might be supposed, we had little to fear on that head, as our army in India was perhaps the finest that had ever appeared in that part of the world; and as, instead of supporting a war against the French, the Dutch, the Mahrattas, all the Europeans and all the native powers, we should contend with only one of them.

Mr. Fox trusted that a war for conquest would never be undertaken by England, either in India

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or Europe.—Mr. Hipsley's motion was agreed to without opposition.

On the 28th of February Mr. Hipsley moved, that the 35th clause of an act, made in the 24th year of his present Majesty, which disavowed all schemes for the extension of our territories in India, might be read; and that the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 23rd, and 44th resolutions of the House of Commons on the 15th of April 1782, might be likewise read. These being read accordingly, he quoted several extracts from the correspondence of the government of Fort St. George, in the years 1768, 1769, and 1771, tending to prove, that it would be always our best policy to regard the Mahrattas with a distrustful dread, and to preserve the friendship of the Sultan of Mysore. With regard to the grounds of the present war, the question of our interference was stated to be simply thus: Whether by an act of guarantee, expressed or implied in the treaty of Mangalore, we were bound to defend the Rajah of Travancore in those dominions only which he possessed, of the date of the engagement, or to extend our protection to subsequent acquisitions made by him, without our consent or knowledge? As it was the first of these cases only, according to all fair and reasonable construction, that was provided for by the treaty of Mangalore, we were not bound to take part with the Rajah in the present contest. Arguments were not only brought against the necessity of our interference, but against its justice as well as its political expediency. The Rajah was the aggressor, not Tippoo. Instead of attempting to animate the Mysorean power, it

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would

would be our greatest wisdom to support and encourage it ; and to preserve it as a useful barrier against the more formidable power of the Mahrattas. In this point of view, present success would prove future calamity. But whatever our inclinations, the expences of our Indian war, it was asserted, would be found to exceed our resources.

It was stated, on the other side, by the supporters of government, that an attack had actually been made by Tippoo Sultan on the lines of Travancore ; which, by the treaty of Mangalore, we were bound to resent. On that ground alone we had entered on the war. The conduct of the Rajah had not been such as to justify our desertion of him. But even granting that he had been guilty of an error, our Indian governors would not have acted prudently if they had him given up to the vengeance of Tippoo. The pretended claim of that tyrant to the forts, was not the real origin of the war. Had this been the case, we would certainly have remonstrated previously to any hostile preparations. Instead of this, he marched with 150,000 men to the lines of Travancore, before he had made the least complaint against the Rajah's conduct. His plea of a prior claim was a mere pretext, afterwards set up, in order to give a colour of justice to his ambitious designs on the Rajah's dominions. By obtaining possession of Cranganore and Jaccottah, the keys of Travancore, he hoped to acquire the ability of governing the whole kingdom. It must likewise be evident, that whenever Tippoo should be master of these forts, there would be an end of our own security in the Carnatic—a peaceful

negociation, it was asserted, was impossible. Such a negociation had been attempted at the beginning of the dispute ; but Tippoo had twice attacked the lines of Travancore, during the very period in which his messengers were on their way to Madras with letters, breathing pretended professions of peace. On the whole, it was contended, that war was well founded both in policy and justice.

Mr. Francis made a series of motions tending to censure the principles of the war, and to prevent its farther prosecution : all of which were negatived.

On the 22nd of March, Mr. Dundas read the following resolutions : —“ That it appears to this House, that the attacks made by Tippoo Sultan on the lines of Travancore, on the 29th December 1789, the 6th of March, and 15th of April 1790, were unwarranted and unprovoked infractions of the treaty entered into at Mangalore on the 10th of March 1784.

“ That the conduct of the Governor General of Bengal, in determining to prosecute with vigour the war against Tippoo Sultan, in consequence of his attack on the territories of the Rajah of Travancore, is highly meritorious.

“ That the treaties entered into with the Nizam on the first of June, and with the Mahrattas on the 7th of July 1790, were wisely calculated to add vigour to the operations of war, and to promote the future tranquillity of India : and that the faith of the British nation was pledged for the due performance of the engagements contained in the said treaties.”

The arguments which had been advanced in the preceding debate, both

both for and against the war, were urged a second time, with variations and additions; but the resolutions passed without a division.

In the House of Lords, on the 11th of April, Lord Porchester entered into a full discussion on the same subject. He severely censured and condemned the whole proceedings of our government in India, representing the war as unjust in its nature, and pregnant with the most disastrous consequences. Motions made by his Lordship, for censuring the war and procuring peace on moderate terms, were negatived by a majority of 96 to 19.

Immediately after this discussion, Lord Grenville made the same motions in approbation of the war, as had been previously passed in the House of Commons; which were carried by a majority of 64 to 12.

The national councils of Great Britain, as if they had adopted the Roman maxim and motto of *sparing the humble as well as subduing the proud*, at the same time that they were employed in considerations of the war with Tippoo Sultan in one extremity of the empire, were occupied with plans for the relief of a large portion of unhappy men and women in another. The idea of abolishing the slave trade in Britain, suggested first by the society of Quakers, was quickly communicated to different societies of men, who united in the formation of societies for effecting that purpose. Petitions for the abolition of the slave trade were presented and agitated in the House of Commons so early as the sessions of parliament 1788: a very full and elaborate inquiry into the subject was instituted

by the privy council; and a great body of evidence collected respecting the nature and extent of the trade in negroes on the African coast,—their passages thence to the West India islands,—their treatment and condition in the plantations,—and the consequences that might be expected to result from an abolition or regulation of the trade in the different islands which it supplied with slaves. An act was passed in the last parliament, for regulating the transportation of slaves from Africa to the West Indies, in which various provisions were made for their accommodation during the voyage, and premiums granted for the encouragement of captains and surgeons of slave-ships, to be attentive to the health and safety of those whom they transported. A set of resolutions were also carried in the House of Commons declaratory of the manifold abuses of the slave trade, and intended as preparatory to a bill for its total abolition: and a variety of additional evidence was taken on both sides of the question during the remainder of that parliament, by a select committee.

The House being in possession of these documents, Mr. Wilberforce, member for Yorkshire, a man of talents and eloquence, as of religious impressions and habits of virtue, and who had stood forth from the beginning, the active and unwearied leader in this humane cause, moved in a committee of the whole House of Commons on the 18th of April, “that the chairman be instructed to move for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the farther importation of slaves into

• *Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos. Virg. Æneid, lib. vi.*

into the British colonies in the West Indies." This motion Mr. Wilberforce prefaced by a very animated and affecting account of the slave trade. He set out with an accurate detail of the unfair means by which slaves are obtained on the coast of Africa. He specified many acts of the most flagrant cruelty; and exposed all the mean and inhuman devices of those unfeeling men who were concerned in this bloody traffic. Different tribes of the natives of Africa he said, were encouraged to make war on each other for the sake of making prisoners, and of thus providing the market with slaves. The administration of justice in most parts of Africa was converted into an engine of oppression; and every fraud and violence practised that low cunning and brutal ferocity could suggest. Having stated several shocking examples of these, he described the unparalleled suffering of the slaves under the horrors of the middle passage, and after their arrival in the slave-market. He next contended, that the abolition of the trade would not operate to the detriment of our West India islands: notwithstanding the barbarous treatment which the negroes have long experienced, their numbers had not on the whole decreased, but in some islands had lately been on the increase: whence he argued, that when the planter should be deprived of all prospect of a future market, he would be induced to pay a proper attention to the health, morals, and comfort of his slaves; and by thus considerably augmenting not only their happiness, but their numbers, would render continual supplies from Africa unnecessary. With regard

to the probable effects of the abolition recommended, on the marine, the Guinea trade, he said, instead of being a nursery of seamen, was, in his opinion, their grave. It appeared, from the Liverpool and muster-rolls, that in 350 slave ships, having on board 12,263 persons, there were lost 2,645 in twelve months. All attempts to meliorate the condition of the negroes, without the total abolition of slavery, he considered likely to prove not only inefficacious, but not safe. As to the advantages of the trade in a commercial view, he deemed it almost an unbecoming condescension to discuss them. But, could its advocates prove, what he knew never could be proved, that it was of considerable importance to this country, either in its immediate separation or remote effects, still he should exclaim, "still there is a smell of blood, which all the perfumes of Arabia cannot remove." He concluded by moving, that the chairman be instructed to bring in a bill to prevent the further importation of slaves into the British colonies in the West Indies.

The propriety of continuing the slave trade, was, on the other hand, very ably supported on the grounds of justice, policy, and what may at first sight seem paradoxical, even of humanity. A very great diversity of ranks of life, it was said, was established, by a beneficent providence, in civil society; and a great portion of the human race had, at all times, existed in the condition of slaves. Captives taken in war in all nations in former times, and in many at present, have no alternative but slavery or death. The prayers of so many warriors in Homer, when overpowered by their adversaries,

adversarios, to be taken alive, shew how ardently human nature pants after a continuance of existence, though at the expence of liberty. The purchaser of slaves taken in war does them no wrong, though he does not better their condition: nay, by purchasing them, he does them a kindness; for their ferocious conquerors would give way to the savage gratification of animal rage and cruelty, if the thirst of blood were not transmuted into that of gain. As the justice and even humanity of the slave trade were thus supported by abstract principles, so would the abolition appear manifestly unjust from the long sanction given to it by parliament. On the faith of parliament, property to a very great amount had been embarked in this trade; the total loss of which would immediately follow its sudden abolition.

With regard to the political wisdom of tolerating the slave trade, it was maintained, in opposition to Mr. Wilberforce's assertion of its being the grave, that it was an important nursery for seamen. Lord Rodney had declared that our being enabled to obtain from the Guinea ships so numerous a body of men enured to the climate, whenever we wished to send a fleet to the West Indies on the breaking out of a war, was, in his opinion, a consideration of great moment. His Lordship's authority was urged on the present occasion; and his opinion illustrated and confirmed by other concurring testimonies and observations. The policy of the slave trade was farther urged, from the consideration of its importance to the revenue. The exports to Africa were estimated at 800,000*l.* to which might

be added the imports of the West India trade, to the amount of at least 6,000,000*l.* a year: a trade not only very liable to be materially affected by the abolition proposed, but perhaps, even completely ruined. The evidences adduced to prove the horrid cruelties practised upon slaves, were represented to be in some instances false, in many partial, in almost all exaggerated. The defenders of the slave trade, in farther reasoning on this subject, urged the following dilemma:— Either our abolition of that trade would annihilate slavery in the West Indies, or it would not. If it did, our West India islands would be ruined for want of proper hands to cultivate them: if it did not, and this was the most probable case, what good purpose would be served by our giving up the trade, if other nations should immediately take up the lucrative traffic on our abandoning it?

To the argument in favour of both the justice and humanity of the slave trade, drawn from the wretched condition of captives taken in war, and devoted, if not to slavery, to death, it was answered, that it was the slave market that was in many instances the only source of that miserable condition: not only were crimes continually committed, but wars begun and pursued to a great extent, for the sole purpose of supplying us with slaves. A few prisoners of war might possibly be murdered, if not sold to our dealers: still death would be preferable to a life of slavery; often embittered by a treatment the most cruel and inhuman. These manifold instances of barbarity, were painted with a shocking and disgusting minuteness, although the
bare

bare recital of them was more than sufficiently painful for the purpose of exciting condemnation and abhorrence. On a constant and close investigation of this subject, which appeared to us to involve a very interesting question concerning our common nature, we have found for certain, that, although not a few of the barbarities said to have been committed were exaggerated, and sometimes distorted into shapes very different from their original and natural appearances, yet enough of reality remained to prove how largely human beings participate in the ferocity of animal nature! and what tygers they quickly become when freed from the muzzle of the law! Among British planters, but oftener overseers, and above all among Dutch planters and overseers, it fully appears, that cruelties are sometimes carried far beyond the original point of punishment, either as an example, or a gratification of resentment; and degenerate into a kind of horrid and relentless triumph over all that can be urged in commiseration of the tortured victim, either by the compassion of the spectators, or the still voice of conscience in the tormentor's own breast.

With regard to the inefficacy of our abolition of the slave trade to any substantial purpose of humanity, it was admitted that other nations might pursue the trade if we abandoned it. From this, however, they might, in a great measure, be restrained by proper regulations: at the worst, we should have the satisfaction of reflecting that the guilt would not rest on our heads.

In answer to the objection that the intended abolition would prove

the ruin of our colonies, it was confidently asserted, that the stock of slaves which they at present contained, if well managed and mildly treated, would be fully competent to all the requisite labour, and furnish a sufficient supply for future exigencies.

Mr. Wilberforce's motion, after a debate of two days, was negatived by a majority of 163 to 88.

The attention of the House of Commons was not confined to civil slavery, but extended to the remains of religious oppression. The dissenters, in their last application to parliament for the repeal of the test laws, had included the case of their brethren, as they called them, who embraced the catholic religion. The Roman Catholic christians in England were a quiet people, in general averse to innovation and commotion, and true friends to the present government: yet there were a few restless spirits among them, of atrabilarious constitutions and monastic habits, who, endeavouring to raise new schisms in the ancient church, attempted to form a sect, asserting the liberty not only of kicking against the authority of the catholic church, but even, in many instances, against that of the sacred scriptures. These, in unison and concert with some dissenting agitators, formed the plan of making one common cause between the English catholics and dissenters: but neither were the genuine catholics themselves ambitious of such an union; nor did the friends of the catholics think that the adoption of such a union was the best mode of serving their cause. A bill was therefore brought into parliament for the relief of the catholics, not in conjunction, but taken

taken as a separate body from the other dissenters from the church of England.

On February 26, Mr. Mitford, the Solicitor-General, moved for a committee of the whole House of Commons to enable him to bring in a bill to relieve, upon condition, and under certain restrictions, persons called protesting Catholic Dissenters*, from certain penalties and disabilities to which papists, or persons professing the popish religion are, by law subject. Mr. Mitford prefaced this motion, by shewing that the severity of the penal laws against the catholics was much greater than was generally known or imagined. The motion was seconded by Mr. Windham; who did not conceive that the conduct of Roman catholics had been such as to warrant the severity with which they had been treated in the last century. At any rate, it was impossible to deem them formidable at the present moment, when the power of the Pope was considered as a mere spectre, capable of frightening only in the dark, and vanishing before the light of reason and knowledge.

Mr. Fox thought the proposed bill too confined in its views. He wished it to go farther, and to establish complete toleration. Mr. Mitford's motion was agreed to unanimously.—Mr. Mitford on the 1st of March, in a committee of the whole House, moved for leave to bring in his proposed bill. He wished not for the general repeal of the statutes in question; but merely for an exemption from their operation in favour of a few. It

was not his intention to admit Roman Catholics of any description to places of trust under government, but only to have them considered as men of honour and loyalty. The motion was put and carried without opposition.

On the second reading of the bill in the House of Lords, on the 31st of May, a discussion took place of the propriety of several clauses; which were afterwards amended in a committee. The Bishop of St. David's (Dr. Horsley) observed, that the form of the oath of allegiance, which it enjoined, would most probably offend the feelings of those whom the bill itself was intended to relieve. The doctrine, that princes excommunicated by the see of Rome might be deposed and murdered by their subjects, was declared by the oath to be impious, heretical, and damnable. The catholics felt not the least disinclination to express their disapprobation of such a doctrine; but, from scruples founded on a tender regard for the memory of their progenitors, they could not induce themselves to brand it with the harsh terms which the oath prescribed. In a committee of the whole House on this bill, June 4, the oath, as it first stood, was, on the Bishop's motion, expunged; and the same oath which was taken by the Roman Catholics in Ireland, in 1774, with some slight alterations, substituted in its stead.

To this bill, in favour of the Roman Catholics, a very cordial support was given by the same bench of Bishops, who had set their faces very strongly, in the preceding

* Who protested against certain odious and dangerous opinions imputed to papists.

ing year, against an attempt to obtain a repeal of the corporation and test acts, in favour of the dissenters. Although the doctrines, or metaphysical interpretations of scriptural texts, of the catholic and English churches be, in many instances, diametrically opposite, and those of the church of England and the presbyterians, and other dissenters, in all essential points exactly the same; yet certainly there is a very material difference indeed between the sentiments of the catholics and those of the dissenters concerning the grand question of church-establishments. If the dissenters should predominate in the state, church-establishments must fall. If the doctrines of popery (though this was not by any means to be apprehended) should regain an ascendancy in this country, still our religious establishments would be preserved. In short, it was confessed that it was by ecclesiastical policy that christianity was maintained in this country: and as ecclesiastical establishments had arisen originally out of the purity, piety, and disinterested zeal of former times; so it was reasonable that these establishments should now be brought to the aid of those enfeebled and fainting principles from whence they had sprung. The prelate the most distinguished for his zeal on the side of the catholics and against the dissenters, was Bishop Samuel Horsley, just mentioned, whose ardour in the christian cause had been but little known when he was engaged in the studies of mathematics and algebra, or in the business of a tutor, either at Cambridge or Oxford; but which, very properly, shone forth more and more, in proportion as he was

raised, or had the prospect of being called to ecclesiastical preferment. This gave the more pleasure to the zealous friends of the established church, that it was a little mingled with surprise; as the preaching of St. Paul also did, for a like reason, to the first christians, after his conversion, on his way to Damascus.

A petition from the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, for a repeal of the test acts as far as relates to Scotland, was brought forward in the House of Commons on the 10th of May, by sir Gilbert Elliot; who concluded a speech replete with all that elegant delicacy of manner, and that argumentative precision for which he is so eminently distinguished, by moving in behalf of the petitioners, for a committee of the whole House "to consider how far the provisions of the act, 25th Car. II. cap. ii. which requires persons holding any offices, civil or military, or any place of trust under the crown, to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper according to the usage of the church of England, extend, or ought to extend, to persons born in that part of Great Britain called Scotland." This motion was supported by Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Anstruther, Sir Adam Ferguson, and Mr. Fox. It was opposed by the Lord Advocate for Scotland, the Master of the Rolls, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Pitt.

In support of the motion, it was urged, among other arguments, that Scotland, by its constitution, and by treaty, had a separate church and a separate form of religion. By the treaty of union, she was to have a free communication of civil rights. But a test which, as a condition for attaining those civil rights, imposed on her a necessity of

of departing from the form of her established religion, and to submit to that of England, either abridged her religious liberty by means of the civil attainments, or abridged her civil attainments by means of the obligations of religion.

Mr. Fox reminded the House of what, he said, was sometimes forgotten: that the two nations were, at the time of entering into the treaty of union, independent kingdoms meeting to treat, and meaning to form the treaty, on terms of perfect equality. Was it not an infringement of that equality, that a Scotchman, entering into any British office, should make a solemn profession of his attachment to the church of England; which to a scrupulous man might imply a dereliction of the principles of his native church, while there was no similar obligation on an Englishman appointed to an office in Scotland?

Mr. Pitt insisted that the test which was now the subject of discussion, must have been understood as a stipulation at the time of the union, since it had been acquiesced in, from that period to the present, without the smallest complaint by those most interested to complain of the hardship, and who had it most in their power to claim with effect any right or privilege. The hardship was merely imaginary, and arose solely from a false view

of the test in question. It was not a dereliction of the principles of the church of Scotland, but merely a pledge of amity with the church of England; a declaration, that the person taking it was not so disaffected to that church as not to be willing to communicate with her. This willingness to communicate with her neighbour church, he understood to be the general sentiment of the members of the church of Scotland. But in Scotland, there were, as in England, sectaries of various denominations, whose sentiments were less liberal. Against such sectaries it was just, as well as expedient, that this test should operate; otherwise, the church of England would suffer an encroachment and a danger from them, to which, from the sectaries of England she was not exposed, as the legislature had repeatedly declared its intention to guard her. For as there was no test in Scotland, an exemption in favour of that country, would let in upon the church of England dissenters and sectaries of every denomination, and thus break down the fence which the wisdom and justice of parliament had so often and so lately confirmed around her.

Sir Gilbert Elliot's motion was therefore negatived by a considerable majority: the numbers being 149 to 62.

CH A P. XII.

The order proper to be observed in Narration. Apology for not always adhering strictly to that of Time. Message from his Majesty relative to Russia, and the Augmentation of our Naval Force. The only Terms on which the Czarina was willing to make Peace with the Turks. The Mediation of the Allies for effecting that object, hitherto fruitless. Growing Coldness and Jealousies between the Empress of Russia and

and the British government. The Pride and Ambition of the Empress excite a Spirit of Resistance in various European Nations. Motion for an address to his Majesty on the Occasion of his Message to Parliament. Debates thereon ; but the Motion carried in both houses. Various Motions against the Russian Armament. Conduct of Mr. Pitt. Character of a great Minister. Two Great Political Schools. Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox approve and applaud the French Revolution. Mr. Burke provoked, makes a violent Attack on this Revolution, and the New French Constitution. This Subject constantly introduced into all Debates on all Questions. Altercations between Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox. Rupture between these Old Friends, and final separation. State of the Province of Quebec. Bill for the Government of Canada. Debates thereon in both Houses. The Bill passed.

WE have not deemed it necessary, as our readers will have perceived in what we have hitherto related of the parliamentary business of 1791, to adhere strictly to the order of the time when the particular subjects of discussion and decision were first brought forward ; but have pursued different subjects, without interruption, to certain marked periods in their progression if not to their final determination ; and passed on, in our narrative, from certain things to others, to which they bear an evident analogy or resemblance. It is not the aim of this annual sketch of the passing years, to give a mere chronicle of facts, but to arrange the principal events and subjects of attention, in such a manner as to form a picture that may be contemplated without distraction, and with some degree of interest and satisfaction. But for this end, the arrangement of transactions and events, in the mere order of time, is not sufficient : it is

necessary to class them together as much as possible, without deviating too far from the chronological order, under general heads and common principles ; and as they are connected together by the relation of cause and effect *. We are abundantly sensible of the disadvantages under which we labour, in attempting to view events so recent, in their true light, and to give to all things their just places and proportions. This will be more happily effected by future historians, for whose use we transmit materials ; but these, for the convenience of transmission, should be shaped into a kind of imperfect mould or form, like those rude resemblances of various utensils that are sometimes brought in ships, rather than mere blocks of wood, from the forests of Norway.

It was announced to the parliament, in his Majesty's speech from the throne, that a separate peace had taken place between Russia and Sweden, but that the war between the

* The three great bands of association among our ideas has been observed by metaphysicians, from the time of Aristotle to the present, are similitude or dissimilitude ; cause or effect ; and contiguity in time and place. In proportion as variety of matter acquires an appearance of uniformity, by means of these bands of connection, compositions of all kinds take hold of the mind, and become interesting.

the former of those powers and the Porte still continued; and that the principles on which his majesty had hitherto acted, would make him desirous of employing the weight and influence of this country in contributing to the restoration of general tranquillity. Of the various subjects touched on in his Majesty's speech, this was by far the most important to Great Britain and Europe; and excited accordingly a more than ordinary degree of attention and expectation.

On the 29th of March 1791, a message was delivered from his Majesty to both Houses of parliament, stating, that his Majesty thought it necessary to acquaint them, that the endeavours which he had used, in conjunction with his allies, to effect a pacification between Russia and the Porte, having hitherto been unsuccessful; and that the consequences which might arise from the further progress of the war, being highly important to the interest of his Majesty and his allies, and to those of Europe in general, his Majesty judged it requisite, in order to add weight to his negotiations, to make some further augmentation to his naval force; and relied on the zeal and affection of parliament, for the defraying of such expences as might be incurred by those additional preparations. We have already seen that the powers who had meditated in the convention of Reichenbach, had endeavoured in vain, on the conclusion of that treaty, to incline the Empress of Russia to peace with the Porte on the same terms of the *status quo*, on which it had been determined that peace should be made between the Porte and Austria.

The answer constantly returned by the Empress to the pressing solicitations of the allies on this head, was, that she would admit of no interference between her and the Turks, and should consult her own discretion in whatever related to that business, without submitting to the decision of any power whatever. Alarmed however at the strength of the allied powers, and above all, at the new external relations, as well as internal situation of Poland, she offered to give up all her conquests on the Turks, excepting the town and dependencies of Oczakow, the country of the Oczakow Tartars, situated between the Bog and the Neister, the possession of which would, on the one hand, be a barrier against the eruptions of the Tartars into the territories of Russia; and, on the other, open at some future period, more auspicious than the present, to schemes of aggrandizement into the provinces, and the very heart of the Turkish empire.

The King of Prussia, the immediate successor of Frederic the Great, had shewn, as above related, a prudent and just jealousy of the ambitious designs of Catharine; and by the formation of a close alliance with Poland, and other measures, wisely endeavoured to prevent her views of aggrandizement to all, or nearly all these measures, already carried into execution, and to which Great Britain had given her countenance. We had also, in concert with Prussia and Holland, offered to mediate a peace in the east of Europe, soon after the fall of Oczakow in 1788. We restrained Denmark from joining her arms to those of Russia for assisting the Swedes: and this, with an avowed determination of

of supporting the balance of the north. In the summer following, in 1790, we made a new treaty with Prussia: a treaty of more than defensive alliance; of strict and perpetual union, in order to protect not only the interests of the two contracting powers, but the tranquillity and security of Europe. We had now, a second time, pressed our mediation on Russia; but pressed it in vain. The Czarina not only persisted in her resolution to carry on the present war with the Turks unless she should be permitted to dictate a peace on her own terms, but seemed to have denounced a new war against another of our allies, Poland. So nearly as 1789, she had given notice that she should consider the new arrangements of the republic as a violation of her treaty and guarantee of a former arrangement; and thus prepared a plea for hostilities against that unfortunate country at a more convenient opportunity. The seeds of mutual jealousy and alienation had been sown between Great Britain and Russia from the period that the Czarina, in the time of our distress, in the American war, took the lead in the armed neutrality, for the express purpose of resisting and reducing the naval power of this country. At the expiration of the commercial treaty between Russia and England, she not only declined to renew it, but obliged our merchants to pay, in duties, 25 per cent. more than what is exacted from other countries, though they give half a year's credit for their exports, and are always a whole year in advance for their imports: and at the same time that she declined to renew any commercial treaty with us, she

made one with France, and another with Spain: in addition to which, she entered with those two kingdoms into a quadruple alliance, plainly pointed against Great Britain. In a word, the Empress of Russia, flushed with success and most strongly fortified by treaties of alliance, had assumed a menacing attitude and frowning aspect, which naturally produced a counter confederation, and excited throughout a great portion of Europe a spirit of jealousy, vigilance, and hostile resistance.

Such was the state of Europe, and such particularly that of this country in relation to Russia, at the moment when the message from his Majesty, just mentioned, was taken into consideration in the House of Commons. The minister moved for an address to his Majesty on the occasion, after the usual form. He supported the measure that was the object of the address, on the ground that we had a direct and important interest in the war between Russia and the Porte. Having entered into defensive alliances, which were admitted to be wise and politic, we ought to adhere to them. Prussia was our ally, and ought to be supported. The progress of the Russian arms against the Porte was alarming. Should the power of the Porte be further humbled by its aspiring rival, Prussia would instantly feel it: and not Prussia alone, but all Europe itself, the political system of which might be shaken to its very foundation.

Mr. Fox was of opinion that Prussia could not be endangered by any progress which the Russian arms could make in Turkey. The Empress offered to cede all her conquests

between the Neister and the Danube; and proposed only to reimburse those which were situated between the Neister and the Don: she insisted that she should surmount all her conquests without a single exception. Our only ground of objection, therefore, with the Empress, was, her unwillingness to retrace the track of country above-mentioned; which although, in general, barren and unprofitable, was particularly desirable to her, as it contained the town of Oczakow: a place of much importance to the safety of the Russian dominions. Now, he remarked, was taken in the year 1788, subsequently to a period we had been informed of by His Majesty from the throne, there was every prospect of a continuance of peace. Why did our ministers follow up their system of offensive alliance with consistency? In the negotiations at Reichenbach, when they found the Emperor inclined to peace, they might have embraced the opportunity of securing the Empress by some means, and with the same advantages. An alliance with Russia seemed to him the most natural and advantageous that we could possibly form.

Mr. Pitt contended that the aggrandizement of Russia, and the possession of Turkey, would materially affect both our political and commercial interests. The accusations against ministers of their not having taken pains to include the Emperor in the negotiations at Reichenbach, he considered as trifling; for, when the Emperor manifested a favourable disposition, it would have been imprudent to suspend negotiations with him, at the moment when their being entirely broken

off, in order to wait for the concurrence of the Empress.

Mr. Burke observed, that the attempt to bring the Turkish empire into consideration of the balance of Europe was extremely new, impolitical, and dangerous:—and the question seemed not to be whether Russia should not dismember the Turkish empire? but merely this, whether she should or should not retain possession of Oczakow? when the Empress consented to cede all her conquests between the Neister and the Danube, she condescended, in his judgement, to concede more than could be well expected from a great power in the career of victory. We were, it appeared, to plunge ourselves into an immoderate expence, in order to bring christian nations under the yoke of severe and inhuman infidels. If we acted in this wanton manner against the Empress of Russia, might we not reasonably suppose that her resentment would burst forth against us when we least expected it? when its effects would be more alarming? and when another armament would be necessary to repel her threatened vengeance?—The address was carried by a majority of only 93.—Ayes 228. Noes 135.

By so numerous a minority, Mr. Grey was encouraged to move on the 12th of April, a series of resolutions, to the number of eight, declarative of certain general and undeniable positions, with regard to the interest of this country in the preservation of peace; the just causes, and unjust pretexts for war; facts that had appeared during the hostilities between Russia and the Porte, which did not seem immediately to involve the interests of Great Britain, or to threaten an attack

attack on her possessions or those of her allies ; and concluding, " That the expence of an armament must be burthensome to the country, and is, under the present circumstances, as far as the House is informed, inexpedient and unnecessary."

In support of Mr. Grey's motion, it was urged, among other arguments, that Russia was so far from deriving any increase of strength and power from her conquests to the south, that every accession of territory to her in that quarter was an accession of weakness ; and that, therefore, the true method to prevent her from disturbing the peace of Europe, would be to permit her to pursue her present schemes. But, were the Empress to realize all her imputed views of ambition, to get possession of Constantinople, and exterminate the Turks from Europe, still, Mr. Grey contended, that mankind, so far from being injured, would be greatly benefited by it. It was asserted, on the other hand, in opposition to Mr. Grey, and in defence of the measures of administration, that the possession of Oczakow by the Empress would facilitate not only the acquisition of Constantinople, but of Alexandria, and all the Lower Egypt ; which would transfer into the hands of Russia the supremacy of the Mediterranean, and render her a formidable rival to Great Britain, both as a commercial and naval power. But the Empress was not only charged with designs on the Porte, but on the liberties and independence of all the northern powers. In the course of this debate many severe observations were made on the obstinate silence of the minister, with regard

to many points, concerning which it was proper that the House should be informed. When he changed his principles and his mode of conduct, it was alleged by Mr. Courtney, he took shelter in existing circumstances. When questions were put to him relative to the measures he pursued, he told them that the country had, and that they ought, to have confidence in his Majesty's ministers. These two phrases, *existing circumstances* ; and *confidence in his Majesty's ministers*, were often the hinges on which many long and elaborate speeches turned.

Mr. Dundas replied, that while a negotiation was on foot, relative to any particular points, his Majesty's ministers did not think it their duty to make them subjects of public discussion. Mr. Grey's motions were negatived by a majority of only 80. The numbers for them being 252. Against them 172. In this day's debate, Mr. Sheridan, in a long and elaborate speech, ran over the political map of Europe, and came, in conclusion, to what was now the grand centre of all political councils and measures, the French Revolution. He avowed, in the most explicit and strongest terms, the sentiments he had formerly expressed on that subject. The improvements of modern times, and the progress of modern philosophy had wiped away ancient prejudices ; and by men of the best heads and hearts in both France and England, the two countries were not any longer considered, and ought not to be considered, as natural enemies. They might have been good neighbours, and mutually beneficial to each other, if the French nation had been permitted, without foreign interference,

to regulate their own interests.

The decrease of the minister's considerable majority in favour of address to the crown on the subject of the Russian armament, engaged the members in opposition to the present ministry, to push the question by further motion in parliament. The ground which they now stood was generally popular. To war, in a commercial country like Britain, people are naturally, and not reasonably averse; and they had early been accustomed to con-

sider Russia as a friendly country, which no rival interests should induce us to quarrel, and with which intercourse and mutual advancement of trade should hold us connected. Resolutions differently worded or framed, but tending to the same end with those brought forward by Mr. Grey, were moved by Mr. Baker, Mr. Grey again, and Lord Grenville; but negatived by larger majorities than those that met aside Mr. Grey's first string of motions.

In the debate on the resolution moved by Mr. Baker on the 15th of April, Mr. Fox spoke with even more than usual force and animation.

In the conclusion of his speech he introduced the French Revolution in much the same manner as it had been brought forward in the preceding debate by Sheridan. But he was much more explicit than Mr. Sheridan, on the points that formed the principal objects of his approbation; and on the whole, he did not hesitate to declare, that the new constitution of France was, in his judgment, "the most stupendous

and glorious edifice of liberty that had been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any time or country." It is proper here, for a reason which will by and by appear, to mention that, as soon as Mr. Fox sat down, Mr. Burke rose up in great agitation: but the cry of "the question," begun on the Opposition benches, and re-echoed on all sides of the House (for it was by this time three in the morning) obliged him, for the present, to keep silence, and to give way to an immediate division of the House.

An address to the King, in answer to his message, was moved by Lord Grenville on the 29th of March, and carried by a majority of 97 to 34. But three motions against a war with Russia were successively made by the Earl Fitzwilliam: the first on the 1st of April; the second on the 9th of May; the third on the 8th of June: all of them negatived, and the last, which was for "an Address to his Majesty not to prolong parliament while the negotiation with Russia was depending," with a division.

The principal supporters of Lord Fitzwilliam's motion were, the Lords Stormont, Porchester, Rawdon, Carlisle, Loughborough, and the Marquis of Landsdown. The chief speakers on the opposite side, were, the Lords Grenville and Hawkesbury; the Dukes of Leeds and Richmond; and the Lord Chancellor Thurlow. Lord Fitzwilliam's motions were supported on the same grounds as those of a similar tendency in the House of Commons:—the injustice of an attack on Russia; its impolicy and inexpediency, and its dangerous consequences. On the side of administration,

tion, the same necessity was urged for confidence in the executive government during a negociation, as in the House of Commons: and the silence of ministers was justified as a duty which, in their situation, they owed to their country. The importance of our trade to Russia was not disputed: but its interruption was not allowed to be a necessary consequence of the present measure of preparation; and it was contended, on general principles, that the preservation of our national trade, as of every other national advantage, depended on the maintenance of our political importance in Europe: which the immoderate aggrandizement of any single power must unavoidably impair.

This last argument must, undoubtedly, have had great weight with all candid and comprehensive minds: but from the first to the last of the debates respecting the Russian armament, it was evident that the majority of the nation was against the minister: who, being somewhat in the habit, as was very generally believed, of giving way to counsels, and even of being active in the execution of measures which he did not approve, did not attempt to command the public approbation by their superior wisdom, and by a resolute perseverance in his designs; but, still retaining his office, abandoned the affairs of the north of Europe to their fate, and was drawn by degrees into a new and even opposite course of conduct. Poland was finally dismembered,—the Turkish empire exposed to future attacks—and the period of rivalry and contention between Great Britain and

Russia for commercial and naval greatness, hastened.

The great mass of the people, comprehending even those of easy and affluent circumstances, especially if these be the result of trade, are not accustomed to look forward to remote consequences; and have neither the capacity nor inclination to balance present inconveniences against future advantages, nor present advantages with future losses and dangers. Their prospect of the political horizon is extremely confined, and their knowledge imperfect within the circle:—their great object is present ease, pleasure, and gain. All wars, though these in the present unfortunate state of things are unquestionably necessary to preserve that energy of character on which the political independence of nations rests as on its foundation, are execrated as unnecessary and wanton interruptions of public tranquillity and prosperity, as well as private happiness. The military spirit departs from the busy exchange; the territories as well as the commercial privileges of the state are invaded; foreign and mercenary troops are called in in vain. These consider their employers, not as their sovereign Lords, but as their pay-masters: and it is well if, instead of courageously repelling invasion, they do not themselves become invaders. The public honour and safety being impaired, patriotism is discouraged and dies; commerce itself languishes, or seeks out new stations; and an universal and solitary selfishness and indifference to the affairs of the public, excepting as far as they are connected with feuds and factions, becomes the sign that invites foreign and hostile armies,

armies, and finally subjects the divided states to new masters. The truth of this theory is miserably illustrated by the fall of so many commercial states in our times, particularly that of the United Provinces; and by the imminent dangers which at the present moment are suspended over the heads of others. It seems to be extremely fortunate for this great and highly commercial country of Great Britain, that in the East Indies, the grand source of our commercial wealth, we do not hold our territorial possessions without a severe struggle; without frequent appeals to the sword, which would nourish and keep alive a military spirit and military habits in the British nation, even if our wars in Europe and America were, as we wish they were, and think they might well be, somewhat less frequent.

The conduct of the ministry, in giving way to the popular clamours against a war, and even the preparations for a war with Russia, naturally became a subject of observation, and of not a little animadversion. It was admitted, that there is no British minister but who must, and ought to pay regard to public opinion: but that a minister, who is conscious that his measures are right, and the popular opposition to them founded in error and delusion, when supported by a decided majority in both Houses of parliament, ought not to abandon his views, from any apprehension of losing his place, in consequence of any popular discontents. Truth is stable, being fixed in nature, and is illustrated and confirmed by the progress of time. Error and delusion are temporary and transient. It is not enough, it was said, that a minister be honest, diligent, and

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protect himself and his measures by arts of management. He should possess an inventive and sublime genius, that can penetrate into things which would not in all cases be prudent, or perhaps possible, to explain to the nation. He should not only be profound in his views, but firm and magnanimous in his conduct; and possess such confidence in the wisdom of his measures as may enable him to foresee, and to foretell the effects of his conduct, and boldly to appeal to this from the hasty decisions of the blind and unadvised multitude. On the other side, it was observed, that it is the duty of a senator and statesman to do, if not all the good that he would, yet all the good that he can: and that, in order to be in a situation for doing some good, it is necessary, on some occasions, to fall into the wake of the court; and on others, to sail before the popular breeze.

The politicians of 1791, and we believe those of the present day, may be divided into two classes: The Theorists and the Empirics. The importance of this subject will excuse a brief digression.

The philosophers of ancient times were chiefly employed in moral, as those of modern times are in physical investigation. Moral knowledge accompanied by suitable practice, is styled in our sacred scriptures Wisdom, by way of eminence; as it also is in the writings of the Persians, the Arabians, and the Hindoos. The nature of the mind, the conduct of the passions, and the chief end and supreme good of mankind, were studied with close attention and nice observation. There is nothing of this kind that has exceeded, or can exceed, what is interspersed

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terspersed in the books of the Old and New Testament, or even what has been written by Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle. It was to philosophers, men addicted to the study of general, but particularly moral, comprehending political truth, that colonists, in the course of migration from east to west, applied for laws, both constitutional and civil. And, in all the different stages of the ancient states with which we are at all acquainted, men in public offices endeavoured to justify their conduct by general maxims drawn from great authorities, or from examples in history, or observations on actual life. After the revival of literature in Italy, we find a great deal of politics in the writings of that country. Aristotle begat Machiavel, with many others; and Machiavel Montesquieu and his brethren. From the Italian school sprung various branches in other countries, besides France, and particularly in Great Britain; where we find, among many other names, those of Milton, Buchannan*, Hobbes, Harrington, Algernon Sidney, Locke, Sir Robert Filmer, and Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun. So late as the reign of James I. learning and philosophy were called to the service

of politics, with prosperous success, in the settlement of the affairs of Ireland, in the persons of Lord Salisbury, Sir John Davis, Sir Edward Coke, Lord Bacon, and the King himself. Learning and philosophy maintained their ground, if not always, nor perhaps often, in the conduct of administration, yet in political writings, as well as in the debates of both the English and the Scottish parliaments, until the Union, and even the accession of George I. Even after this period, and at the present, there are not a few who lean to the economy of that old school. In this country, as well as in France, are many who entertain very exalted ideas of what may be done in the ways of both legislation and the management of affairs, by an ingenious, profound, and accomplished statesman; such a statesman, as it is said, on all great emergencies casts an eye over the wide field of history, as well as the present state of the world, in order to discover the most prosperous courses in the most similar situations. Nor does his genius droop when examples fail. He calls up possibilities before his imagination; compares them with realities and with one another; and, distinguishing

* This celebrated treatise of *Buchannan de Jure Regni apud Scotos*, the principles of which were drawn from those of the ancient republics, and to which nothing of any value has been added by the swarm of writers on the rights of man and nations, and in defence of the French revolution, was published before the writings of Machiavel; but not before the example of political speculation had been given by Italy to France and other countries, in which Buchannan long resided, and where, it may be presumed, his mind received a bias to such speculations. It is to this circumstance in his life, taken in conjunction with his unrivalled knowledge of ancient writers, that we are to ascribe his zealous attachment to freedom: Knox, Melville, the Ruthvens of Gowrie, and others of his countrymen, able as well as zealous assertors of liberty, both civil and religious, had lived much abroad. It was scarcely possible that such a mind as Buchannan's could have been formed, in such an age, altogether in the Highlands of Scotland.

guishing what is only difficult, what is wholly impracticable, avours to form new, where he not improve existing conjunctures. Theories, however refined, and, control the perversity of singular accidents, by supposing comprehending them: general principles, like long levers, are able to move great masses of matter. These, nations as well as men, be guided in their conduct, if would not resign themselves to the caprice of mere chance, and the less indolence of mere scepticism. But the greater part by far even in our nation, belonged rather to the second class, or what we have denominated political empirics. They were of opinion, that their utmost political wisdom and foresight did not extend to any sphere or distant period of time; but seemed rather to lean on the maxim of the celebrated Sixtus, who was wont to say to his cardinals, "Let us eat and drink, and pass away our time as best as we can, for the world goes on of itself." That theory is not to be introduced in politics as in geometry; and that, in the conduct of public affairs, men should feel, that they may see it. This has been gradually, though insensibly, formed since the reign of Queen Anne; after which the introduction of learning and science into the conduct of great affairs, became less and less in vogue. Things were governed by political combination, family connexions, and lastly, court favours. Attempts were made, with various success, to break through these, by appeals to the sense of the nation. It was on this ground that the present minister first stood, as

his father had done before him. The necessity of accommodation to other powers, principles, and passions, induced him, it was generally supposed, as in the instance of the Russian armament, to relax somewhat from his own rigid maxims and enlarged views, in order that, by still retaining possession of the helm, he might steer it aright when the tide of the times would permit him to do so.

In this country there had been, for a long course of time, a tendency in politics, as in philosophy, to descend from the heights of abstraction and general and comprehensive views of the relations of things, to mere experiment; until, at last all regard even to the balance of power was lost. The violent capture of Corsica, the partition of Poland, the dismantling of the barrier towns by the great innovator Joseph II: acts of injustice that have brought the most dreadful calamities, by substituting a partitioning policy and the law of the strongest, to public law, or the law of nature and nations, neither awakened the jealousy of our statesmen, nor disturbed their slumbers. A century ago, a young gentleman when he wished to rise in the state, applied diligently to the study of historians, civilians, and moralists, ancient and modern. At present, were a speaker in either House to interlard his discourse with a variety of learned allusions and quotations, he would either not be listened to, or be laughed at; and deservedly, if he carried this humour to the height of former pedantry. But our speakers in parliament, for the most part, have carried the expulsion of learning and philosophy to the extreme;

while they run into an extravagancy more silly and ridiculous: that of being heard for their much speaking, and that of pressing their notions on the acceptance of the senate and the applause of the public, by the powers of oratory. When sound and manly sense died away in the Roman government with the spirit of liberty, philosophy decayed, and its place was usurped by rhetoric. We return from this digression to the total neglect of the European balance of power, and of the consequences to be apprehended from the exclusive aggrandizement of a power already preponderant.

A messenger having been sent to the court of Berlin, to notify the delivery of the king's message to parliament, he was, after the first debate and division of the House, recalled by another messenger, who proceeded forward with dispatches, stating the temper and tone of the House of Commons and the British nation, on a subject of a war with Russia; and the probability that the plan concerted between the courts of London and Berlin for a settlement of the north and east of Europe must be abandoned.

The last point, except the usual application for supplies to the House of Commons, recommended in his Majesty's speech to the attention of parliament, was, as we have seen, the state of the province of Quebec, and such regulations as might be necessary in the present circumstances and condition of the province for its government.

On the acquisition of Canada, by the peace of Paris, 1763, a proclamation was issued by his majesty, promising for the encourage-

ment of such British subjects as should afterwards settle there, that measures should be taken for extending to that country the benefits of the British constitution. The province, meanwhile, underwent that degree of change which could not fail to take place after its cession to Great Britain: British subjects were drawn by the proclamation to acquire property in Canada, and others to settle in the unoccupied lands in the interior of that province; while many loyalists, in consequence of the revolution in America, naturally emigrated to a country so near, and in many respects bearing so near a resemblance and affinity to their own. These Britons, or descendants and fellow-subjects with Britons, carried with them a strong attachment to British laws and the British constitution; and they did not fail, by frequent applications, to remind government of the promise made to them in the royal proclamation, of extending the benefit of that constitution in its Canadian territories; while, on the other hand, the native Canadians were swayed, not less by attachment to ancient customs than by a jealousy of ancient privileges, to oppose such an extension in many particulars; though willing to admit the excellence of our constitution, as being, on the whole, favourable to liberty and the rights of the subject. The seigneurs, or noblesse of Canada, in particular, who, under the French government, enjoyed many distinctions, were particularly tenacious of those feudal rights and immunities which the introduction of a new form of government might infringe or abolish.

The British government had been

at great pains to investigate facts and circumstances necessary for their direction in the framing of a new constitution for the Canians, ever since this subject was agitated in parliament in 1788: it was now, at last, brought forward in the form which, on the first inquiry, seemed the most expedient to be adopted, by a message from the King, delivered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons, on the 10th of March. Mr. Pitt on this occasion entered into the fullest detail of all the heads of the bill proposed. Regulations of the minutest kind were explained. The principal feature of the plan was, the division of Canada. By this division, it was intended to remove the causes of those disputes which for a long time subsisted between the ancient inhabitants of Canada and the newly established British and Anglo-American settlements, and by giving a separate legislature to each, to provide for the establishment of such laws and regulations as should be found best adapted to the peculiar interests and local situation of each.

In the present bill, Lower Canada was made to extend, along the banks of the river St. Lawrence, to the lakes Ontario, Erie, and Superior; of which the last is fifteen hundred miles in circumference, and none of the others less than six hundred, constituting the greatest inland nation, and the largest pieces of fresh water in the known world. The river St. Lawrence, which they run a winding course of seven hundred and fifty miles; and may easily be made navigable to its mouth. This country, with the

exceptions of the banks of the river, its numerous isles, and some spots on the lakes, remains as it came from the hand of Nature; being covered with immense forests of trees of a surprising height and thickness, and almost the exclusive habitation of wild animals. For a thousand miles on the sides of the lakes, and the numerous and noble streams that swell the St. Lawrence from the north and south, there is seldom to be discovered the vestige of a man; the few solitary and naked savages that occasionally meet the eye, are so shy, and look so fierce and barbarous, that, instead of humanizing the scene, they increase the gloom of the wide wilderness. As in Africa, the negroes are under the necessity of going armed against the treachery of the white people: so here, in return, the white must be on their guard against the force or fraud of the red species; not indeed through fear of slavery, but of murder; the rude aborigines not having yet learned to labour themselves, or to derive benefit from the labours of others. The Indian, leaving to his wives, for he is a polygamist, the care of his scanty field of maize, makes war or hunting his sole occupation; the one to gratify his revenge, and the other to procure skins, to be exchanged for articles of necessity or luxury. The latter are confined to spirituous liquors, which he calls strong water; and the former, nearly to a coarse blanket and a gun, with powder and ball. In winter, which lasts from the middle of December to the end of April, though it lie between the 50th and 65th degrees of N. latitude, the earth is entirely covered with snow to the depth of five or

six feet, and is passable only in snow shoes. The gradual cultivation of the continent, will no doubt at a future, but remote period, bring the climate to the temperature enjoyed in the same parallels in the old world. For each of these provinces, a legislative council and an assembly were established, in imitation of the British constitution. The members of the council were to be hereditary, or for life, at the option of the King: and the members of the assembly to be elected by proprietors of freeholds equal in value to forty shillings per annum: but in towns, or townships, by the owners of houses worth 5*l.* per annum, or by renters of houses paying ten pounds in six months. Both provinces contained one hundred and fifty thousand white people, employed in agriculture and furnishing corn, lumber, peltry, and some iron and fish for Britain and the West Indies, to the amount of 40,000*l.* and importing British manufactures to nearly the same value. This provincial parliament is septennial, and meets once at least in the twelvemonth, at the call of the governor, who represents the sovereign; and may refuse his sanction to any proposed law till the final resolution of Britain is known. In Lower Canada, of which the population considerably exceeds an hundred thousand, the assembly must not be less in number than fifty, nor the council less than fifteen; and in the Upper, the assembly must not be less than sixteen, nor the council less than seven. The clergy are allowed one-seventh of the land, in lieu of tithes; and a bishop of the English church is to be nominated by the crown. Internal taxation by the British

government is completely renounced; but the external regulation of commerce and trade as strongly asserted. Against the abuse of this power, however, a remedy was provided, by a provision, that the levying and imposing of taxes on external commerce and trade, was to be reserved to the legislatures of the two provinces. All laws and ordinances of the whole province of Canada, at present in force, were to remain valid until they should be altered by the new legislature. On the 8th of April, when the report of the committee on this bill, made on the 28th of March, was to have been taken again into consideration, Mr. Hussey moved its re-commitment.

Mr. Fox, who had not opposed the principle of the bill, either when it was first announced, or on the first or second reading, seconded Mr. Hussey's motion, and stated several objections to the bill. In breaking ground, he took post on the political philosophy of the day. He expressed his hope, that in promulgating the scheme of a new constitution, the House would keep in view those enlightened principles of freedom which had already made a rapid progress over a considerable portion of the globe, and were every day hastening more and more to become universal. He objected to the proposed mode of representation, as being too scanty; to the division of the country into two provinces, which would retard and not accelerate the coalition of the French and English, and the adoption of the British laws and customs; to the establishment of the clergy, which was enormous; and to the mode of electing the council, which he thought should be

be chosen by the assembly. There was not in the province, he observed, either property or respectability sufficient for the support of an hereditary nobility. He meant not to discuss the general proposition of what use hereditary powers and hereditary possessions might be, abstractedly considered; but he confessed, that he saw nothing so good in them as to make him wish for their introduction among a people with whom they were formerly unknown. He did not think it prudent to destroy them in kingdoms, where they already formed a part of the constitution; but he thought it extremely unwise to give them birth in countries where they had not before any previous existence. He could not account for such a conduct, unless by the supposition that an opportunity was eagerly embraced of reviving in Canada, formerly a French colony, those titles and honours, the extinction of which some gentlemen so much deplored, and of awakening in the west that spirit of chivalry which had so completely fallen into disgrace in a neighbouring kingdom. The provincial constitution of Canada, he said, should be as free as possible, that the people might see nothing enviable in the neighbouring states. The governments established in the United States of North America, would have furnished better models for imitation than that which had been followed. As the love of liberty was gaining ground, in consequence of the diffusion of literature throughout the world, he thought that a constitution should be formed for Canada as consistent as possible with the genuine principles of freedom. The

shadow only, and not the substance of liberty, was granted by the present bill; and this was his principal reason for opposing it.

Mr. Pitt very readily assented to the commitment of the bill, which he was anxious to have fully discussed: in the mean time he replied to the objections of Mr. Fox, that an elective council, independent of the crown, the cause that seemed to form the chief objection to the bill, would render the whole system democratical, and might soon detach the colony from Great Britain. As an aristocratical principle was a component part of a mixed government, which he conceived to be best for our colonies and us, it was proper that there should be such a council in Canada as was provided by the bill, and which might, in some measure, answer to our House of Lords. The division of the country into two provinces, he considered as the most likely method to produce that coalition of French and English parties, which he admitted with Mr. Fox to be extremely desirable. If there were to be only one house of assembly, and the two parties, as might be sometimes expected, prove equal, or nearly equal in numbers, a perpetual scene of altercation would succeed, and the breach become factious. On the other hand, by the establishment of two distinct assemblies, all cause of complaint would be removed; while the French subjects, being left to their own choice, and not influenced by the pride of party, would most probably adopt the English laws, from an unprejudiced observation of their superior utility, as to the number of which

the assembly would consist. This, according to the present population of Canada, could not with propriety be augmented; but when the population should be actually increased, there would not be the smallest objection to any reasonable addition.

This was the sum and substance of what was advanced in the House of Commons for and against the Canadian bill; which was indeed framed with so much judgment, so much regard to the customs, manners, opinions, and prejudices of those for whom it was intended, and on principles so analogical to those of the British constitution, that little could be said in opposition to it, of any weight, or with any degree of plausibility. The debates in the House of Commons, in which the same arguments were urged and illustrated at greater length, derive their chief interest from the speeches of Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox on a great and collateral subject, in the present times, much and warmly agitated; and which announced the secession of the former gentleman from the party with whom he had so long acted in politics, and put a period to the intimate friendship and connexion which had subsisted between him and the latter.

The extreme emotion in which Mr. Burke rose to reply to the eulogies on the new constitution of France, but from which he was prevented by a general cry of the House for the question, has already been mentioned. By this restraint, and by ruminating for days and weeks on those eulogies, which he considered as an attack on himself and his book, the emotions he felt on their delivery, sunk deeper in his mind; and from that time a

breach was made in that mutual friendship and esteem, which had long subsisted between him and Mr. Fox, and which, notwithstanding the attempts of mutual friends to reconcile them to each other, was gradually widened.

Mr. Burke, on the next discussion of the Canada, or Quebec bill, which took place on a committee of the House on the 6th of May, took an opportunity to state his decided opinion concerning the revolution in France, and the doctrines maintained by the advocates for that revolution. Those doctrines he stigmatized in terms of the greatest asperity, and then began to relate the horrid and nefarious consequences, as he termed them, which had resulted from those doctrines in France and her colonies; when he was called to order by several gentlemen on the same side of the House with himself, who animadverted on the irregularity of such a discussion and narrative in a committee on the Quebec bill.

Mr. Burke declared in a very serious and emphatic manner, that he took the present opportunity to warn the House of the danger threatened by the existence of a faction in this country, determined to undermine and overturn the constitution. But it was contended, by the members on the same side of the House with Mr. Burke, that if such a design really existed, it was of sufficient magnitude to be brought forward; and that it was Mr. Burke's duty, since he was so well assured of its existence, to bring it forward, not collaterally and irregularly on the Canada bill, but in a separate form, and on a day set apart for its consideration. After not a little con-

fusion, and much time wasted in fruitless altercation,

Lord Sheffield at last moved, "that dissertations on the French constitution, and to read a narrative of transactions in France, are not regular or orderly on the question (subject) before the House; and that the clauses of the Quebec bill be read a second time, paragraph by paragraph." This motion was seconded by Mr. Fox, who, though not perfectly in order, could not delay the melancholy task of refuting certain charges that had been brought, wantonly and without provocation, against him. At the same time he declared, that if, after five-and-twenty years, he was to lose the friendship of the man from whom he had learned more than from all books and all men, from whose writings, speeches, and familiar conversation he had drawn all his political knowledge, and for whom

his regard and friendship were unabated, it would hurt him to the end of his life. Mr. Burke, he said, had come down to the House that night, not to debate the clauses of the bill, then before the committee, but to fortify misrepresentations of something which he (Mr. Fox) had said in a former debate. This seemed to indicate something like an eagerness to seek a difference of opinion, and an anxiety to discover a cause of dispute. If Mr. Burke's intention had been merely to preserve the constitution from the dangers with which it was threatened by the political sentiments and the conduct of certain societies, he would probably have given notice of a particular day for the purpose, or taken any other occasion of doing it, rather than that which had furnished the means of calumniating his friend*.

Mr. Fox, after complaining of the

* That the reader may be enabled to understand precisely what is here charged against Mr. Burke, it is necessary to mention the following particulars:—The King, it was said and believed, had lately and at different times used some expressions very favourable to Mr. Fox. The minister, it was reported, in order to secure himself in his situation, had given out the watch-word, that Mr. Fox was by principle a republican; and it was supposed that, in pursuance of this plan he instigated Mr. Burke to bring forward, on the present occasion, a discussion of French principles, and an attack on Mr. Fox in the House of Commons. Mr. Fox, who certainly appears to have given credit to this report, on the day first appointed for the commitment of the Quebec bill, which was afterwards postponed till after the Easter recess, paid a visit to Mr. Burke (which was his last) accompanied by a friend. Mr. Burke treated him with usual confidence. Mr. Fox, on his part, as a mark of his usual confidence in Mr. Burke, mentioned what he had heard of the design, which indeed had the appearance of a plot, just mentioned. Mr. Burke denied the existence of any such plot; and mentioned the real circumstances on which he supposed the report of this plot to have been founded, but avowed his intention of entering fully into a discussion of French principles. Mr. Fox requested that this discussion might be postponed for some time, and not take place on the recommitment of the Quebec bill. The effect of Mr. Burke's refusal to comply with his request, on the mind of Mr. Fox, though naturally generous and above suspicion, may be easily conjectured.—Whether Mr. Burke, on this occasion was actuated by pure patriotism and a love of mankind, or partly by a jealousy and envy of Mr. Fox, or partly by motives of self-interest, was questioned at the time, and is perhaps still a matter of some uncertainty.—The finest geniuses, the most generous dispositions, are not unfrequently

the time and manner in which his friend had brought on their discussion, restated his opinion on the French revolution. This opinion, he was at great pains to shew, only related to the French revolution, not to its new constitution, which remained to be improved by experience, and accommodated to circumstances. Republican principles, as applicable to this country, he totally disavowed. But the revolution had done away the ancient arbitrary government, and established in its stead, one which provided for the good of the people. Under this view of it, he would not retract his former panegyric, but still maintain, that it was one of the most glorious events in the whole history of mankind. If these principles or these opinions were dangerous, it was from his honourable friend that he had learned them. During the American war they had felt and owned; they had together rejoiced at the successes of a Washington, and wept over the fate of a Montgomery. His friend had said then, with equal energy and justice, "that he knew not how to draw a bill of indictment, and crowd it with all the techni-

cal terms of abuse made use of in the Old Bailey against a whole people." It was presumption and intolerance beyond all precedents, civil or religious, to accuse a whole nation of vice and folly, because they dared to think for themselves. In the opinion of that House, 1780, the influence of the crown increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished. To this opinion his right honourable friend had subscribed. If the influence of the British crown was thought dangerous what, in the eyes of reflecting Frenchmen, must the influence of the crown of France have appeared? His right honourable friend had professed an enthusiastic attachment to our own monarchical constitution. Did he remember that, in the year 1788, when his Majesty in a speech from the throne lamented the loss which America had sustained in being deprived of the advantages resulting from a monarchical government, how he had ridiculed the speech, and compared it to a man's opening the room, and saying, "at our parting, pray let me recommend a monarchy to you."

Mr. Burke complained heavily of

found in conjunction with a sensibility and an irritability of temper which receive and give way to various impressions. Attention has the microscopical power of magnifying its object: and this power we can command at pleasure. Hence that wonderful variety of opinions that prevail on so many subjects, among men of equal understandings, and sometimes even with the same men in different circumstances; for while reason and truth are uniform and invariable, the interests and passions of individuals are various and fluctuating: and when once the will begins to lead the judgment, fertility of invention, instead of enlightening, darkens and deceives the mind.—Mr. Burke, amidst continual changes in the tone and tenor, and even the principles of his conduct, found plausible pretexts (so various was his knowledge and fertile his imagination) in partial views, ingenious combinations, and nice distinctions, for all his tergiversations, and whatever he chose to think or do.

of the charge of inconsistency, and abandonment of former principles, aggravated, as it was, by the circumstance of its having been made by one with whom he had lived in friendship and intimacy for two-and-twenty years. His opinion of the French revolution was well known. This opinion he thought himself called on to give, from a conviction that there existed in this country, a party by whom an imitation of the French constitution was zealously recommended, and doctrines encouraged of a kind the most dangerous to the safety of the state. He remarked the difference between the political constitutions and situations of France and America, and some other observations fit to be made in different countries, in order to vindicate himself from the charge of inconsistency brought against him. But he did not insist, either at great length, or with his usual felicity, on this subject:—the arrow seemed to have pierced deep; and he gave way to the plaintive expressions of pain. He mentioned his services to the public, in various shapes and on various occasions; and also his advanced years. He returned again and again to the unkindness and the cruelty of his friend, in endeavouring to libel his life, and render him odious. This was a melancholy, but not a dishonourable day for him. Unsupported by one side of the House, disavowed and dishonoured by the other, he had yet done his duty; he had devoted himself; he was a willing victim to the good of his country. To the safety of his country he had sacrificed private friendship and party support; and he trusted that his country, in return,

would measure the rectitude of his opinions and the importance of his warnings, by the price which they had cost him. He was ready to meet the right honourable gentleman (who had charged him not only with a general inconsistency of conduct, but with having spoken on the French revolution without due information upon that subject) hand to hand, and foot to foot, in a fair and temperate discussion. But it seemed that this was not the principal ground of quarrel. He was accused of having attempted to bring forward a discussion of French principles, in order to fix a stigma on certain republican tenets advanced in a former debate, and consequently on those who abetted and supported them. This charge he denied in the most positive terms, and also solemnly declared, that in what he had said on the subject of French principles, he had made no reference whatever to any of Mr. Fox's speeches.

Mr. Fox rose up to reply to Mr. Burke in very great emotion; but tears for some time impeded his utterance:—and this circumstance caught more than any words could have done, the sympathy of the House. When the conflict of contending passions had a little subsided, he expressed the greatest obligations, esteem, and affection for Mr. Burke, whom, notwithstanding all his harshness, he found that he must still love. If he had given offence by any imprudent or intemperate language, he hoped that his right honourable friend would recollect their past friendship, and forget. They had formerly differed in their sentiments upon other occasions, without the least

least interruption of their intimacy. But he could not help perceiving that his right honourable friend now displayed something more than a mere difference of opinion: he seemed to discover a secret wish and disposition essentially to injure him. Granting that he had been indiscreet and warm in the terms of his opinion of the French revolution, surely this does not deserve the severe and pointed epithets which had been heaped upon him that day.

Mr. Burke said, loud enough to be heard, that he did not recollect his having used any such epithets.

If, said Mr. Fox (with great presence of mind, and an happy application of this circumstance) my right honourable friend does not recollect the epithets, neither do I; if they are out of his mind, they are also out of mine. After this animated parenthesis, he proceeded to illustrate the argument into which he had formerly entered, that the soundest political principles, and those which had formerly been held and recommended by Mr. Burke himself justified the resistance of the French to their former government. This rejoinder of Mr. Fox, though introduced with great tenderness and affection, in its progress assumed an air of great sarcastic severity: though this indeed unavoidably arose out of a comprehensive view and strict amount of the various inconsistencies which he remarked in the conduct of his political preceptor; whose maxims Mr. Fox chose to follow, rather than his example. After enforcing in various ways all the different topics already mentioned, and some others of less

consequence, he said, towards the conclusion of his speech, that he could not help again observing, that he had been unjustly and unfairly treated. But he would not suffer this to step between him and his friend. It was his intention to keep out of the right honourable gentleman's way until time and reflection had altered his sentiments on the subject of their difference; when he doubted not but their common friends would endeavour to re-unite them.

Mr. Burke rose again and commented on what had fallen from Mr. Fox. He had never, he said, affirmed that the English constitution might not, like every other constitution, be amended in some points. Though he had formerly thought that the influence of the crown of Britain ought to be reduced to a limited standard, it did not follow that the French were right in reducing that of France to nothing. He had been favourable to the Americans, because he supposed they were fighting, not in order to acquire absolute speculative liberty, but to keep what they had under the British constitution. He painted the follies, iniquities, cruelties, and horrors of the French republicans with his usual and splendid eloquence. On a subsequent occasion, when the subject was introduced, as it very often was, he said that he had been falsely accused of abusing republics, for the purpose of recommending monarchy. He affirmed that he had never abused any republic, ancient or modern. He did not consider France as a republic; no, it was an anomaly in government. He knew not by what name to call it, nor in what language to describe

scribe it. It was a compound (reciting the verses from Milton) of the sublimely obscure and tremendous figure of Death, having the likeness of a kingly crown upon the seeming head, with the cry of hell-hounds, that bark without ceasing around the waist of Sin. It was a shapeless monster, born of hell and chaos!

Mr. Pitt called the attention of the House to the singular situation in which it stood with respect to the question before it; and having declared his own opinion to be that Mr. Burke had not been, even in the first instance, at all out of order, suggested the propriety of withdrawing the motion that had been made by Lord Sheffield; and it was withdrawn accordingly.

Mr. Pitt conceived that the constitution could be in no immediate danger; but professed, that if hereafter there should appear to be a more serious ground of apprehension, and that ground should be distinctly stated by Mr. Burke, he should be eager to give that gentleman his warmest and most effectual support. He thought Mr. Burke entitled to the gratitude of his country for having on that day, in so able and eloquent a manner, expressed his sense of the degree of danger which already existed; and assured him that he would himself most cordially co-operate with him in taking every possible means to preserve what he esteemed the most perfect constitution in the world, and to deliver it down to posterity as the best security for the prosperity, freedom, and happiness of the British people.

The consideration of the question before the House, which had been so often interrupted by political

disquisitions on the French revolution, and the personal allusions which these produced, was resumed at different times; and the Canadian bill, after undergoing several alterations, passed the House of Commons on the 18th of May. The principle of these alterations were, the increase of the number of the assembly in Lower Canada to fifty, instead of thirty, with which the blank was originally filled up; and the limitations of the assemblies to four years, instead of seven.

In the House of Lords, the bill was animadverted on by the Lords Rawden, Stormont, and Loughborough. The chief objections made to it were, the division of the provinces, the hereditary nobility or members of the legislative council, and the dependent situation of the judges. The two first were made and answered on nearly the same grounds with those that had been debated in the lower House.

The bill was supported by Lord Grenville, who, to the objection that had been made, against the division of the province, that the lower might oppress the trade of the upper, by exorbitant duties on the commodities passing through its territory, answered, that Great Britain, in giving this constitution to Canada, did not part with the superintending power, which she exercised in the very act of modelling that constitution; but would certainly, if the lower province should pass any law oppressive on the upper, control that oppression, and remove the grievance. He feared that the law of Canada was not yet in a state of sufficient certainty or cultivation, to admit of the independency of the judges: but

he hoped the time was not far distant when this object might be attained; when a general system of known laws, and an establishment of salaries sufficient for the encouragement of respectable men to accept of the offices of judges there, would make their appointment for life expedient.

The act was at length passed, including the following provisions:

The appointment within each of the two separate provinces into which Canada was divided, of a legislative council and assembly; by whom, with the assent of his Majesty, or the Governor appointed by his Majesty, laws may be made for the government of each respective province:

A power in the governor authorised by his Majesty, to summon members to the legislative council: such council to consist of not fewer than seven in Upper Canada, and fifteen in Lower Canada: the seats of the counsellors to be for life:

A power to his Majesty to annex to hereditary titles of honour, the right of a seat in such council:

Besides the forfeiture of seats in the council, and extinguishment of hereditary honours by treason in England, hereditary seats in that council were declared forfeited during the life of the defaulter; and life-seats vacated, by an absence of four years from the province, without his Majesty's or the Governor's permission, or by taking an oath of allegiance to any foreign power.

The assembly in Upper Canada to consist of not fewer than sixteen; to be returned from certain districts or territories, into which the province was to be divided. The qualification of voters for dis-

tricts to be forty shillings freehold; and for townships the property of a house of five pounds yearly rent, or a twelve month's residence in a house of ten pounds rent.

Certain descriptions of persons were disqualified from being elected or voting for a member of assembly, namely minors, ecclesiastics, or persons attainted of treason or felony.

The council and assembly to be called together once at least in every twelve months; and the continuance of the assemblies to be for four years, subject to dissolution or prorogation by the governor:

The Governor may, in his Majesty's name, give to or withhold his assent from the bills passed by the assemblies and legislative councils;—or he may reserve them for the signification of his Majesty's pleasure thereon. Bills assented to by the Governor, to be transmitted to his Majesty; who may, within the space of two years, annul such bill, by declaring his disallowance of them. The bills reserved for the signification of the King's pleasure, to have no force till his Majesty's assent is communicated.

The laws in force in the provinces at the time of the commencement of the act, not repealed or reversed by the act itself, to continue in force till repealed or reversed by the respective assemblies, with assent of his Majesty or the Governor, in manner above mentioned.

With respect to the ecclesiastical establishments of Canada, the provisions of the act of the 14th year of his present Majesty, and of his instructions to the Governor, by which the dues and tithes of the protestant

stant inhabitants of any parish reserved for the support of a permanent clergy, were continued in this act. And besides that fund a lotment of lands was directed to be made out of the crown lands for the encouragement and support of protestant clergy; and in future grants of land, a seventh part was directed to be appropriated for that purpose. Parsonages or rectories were to be erected by the Governor, by whom incumbents were to be presented, subject to the rights of institution, and to the ecclesiastical authority of the Bishop of Nova Scotia.

These provisions, with respect to clergy and other religious and ecclesiastical matters, to be alterable or repealable by the assemblies; the acts varying or repealing them, were directed to be laid before the British parliament, previous to receiving his majesty's assent; such assent not to be given unless the parliament should address his majesty to withhold it.

Future grants of land in Upper Canada, to be in free and common socage, as in England: and the same in Lower Canada, where the Governor shall desire it. And in either Canada, the owners of lands formerly granted on provincial tenures, may, on surrender into his majesty's hands, obtain fresh grants, to be holden by such soccage tenure.

The act contained a provision, in addition to the general declaration contained in the 18th of George the 1st, chap. 12, with respect to the power of taxation of the colonies by the British parliament, that nothing in this act should prevent the Parliament of Great Britain from imposing prohibitions, or impos-

ing duties for the regulations of commerce or navigation, but with the proviso that the produce of such duties should be applied to the use of the respective provinces, in such manner as the laws of their own legislature should direct.

The commencement of the act was in the discretion of his majesty in council; but the time for calling the legislative council and assembly was directed not to be later than the 31st of December, 1792; and till that period, temporary laws and ordinances were allowed to be made by the Governor and the executive council, formerly established by the Quebec act, made in the fourteenth year of his majesty's reign.

It would be difficult to conceive any deliberations in which a legislature could be engaged of greater dignity and importance than such as relate to the form of a constitution and government for a country of vast extent, and considerably advanced in population and the arts of civilized life. The British legislature, on this occasion, conducted itself with a degree of equity, wisdom and foresight, suitable to the occasion. They extended to Canada the constitution of Great Britain, subject to those improvements and modifications which future circumstances might show to be necessary or expedient, but which the nature of its legislative power might prevent from being inconsiderately and rashly adopted. They gave to this province the independence necessary to the freedom and welfare of its inhabitants; but preserved that degree of connexion with Britain which is conducive to the safety and the prosperity of the whole united empire.

CHAP. XIV.

Libel and Quo Warranto Bills. State of the Finances, including the Revenue produced, and the Expences incurred by the possession of the British Territories in the East Indies. Bill for the Establishment of a Company at Sierra Leone, on the coast of Africa. Speech from the Throne and Prorogation of Parliament.

ON the 20th of May, Mr. Fox, agreeably to previous notice, made a motion for a grand committee of the courts of justice, to enquire into some late decisions of the courts, in cases of libels. Mr. Fox contended, that where any special matter of law is pleaded, the judge and not the jury, is to decide: but that, where a general issue is joined, the law is so implicated with the fact, that they cannot be separated and therefore that the jury must as in all other criminal processes, bring in a general verdict of Guilty, or Not Guilty. With these sentiments Mr. Pitt coincided. And, though the object of Mr. Fox's motion, through the opposition of Lord Thurlow and other lawyers, was not accomplished in the present session, a declaratory act, to quiet the public mind on this head, and to prevent the endless controversies to which doubts on the question give rise in the courts of justice, was carried through the House of Lords, and received the Royal sanction in the

next:* when also, in consequence of a motion made by Mr. Fox, in the present year 1791, and supported by that gentleman, Mr. Erskine, and others, for "leave to bring in a bill to explain the act of the 9th year of Queen Anne, relative to *quo warrantos*," a law was enacted, depriving the Attorney General, in right of the crown, and every other individual, in his own right, of a power to disturb the possessor of any franchise in a corporation, after having quietly exercised it for six years. The end of this law was, to secure the rights of election, and prevent vexatious prosecutions for political purposes.

A select committee of the House of Commons in 1786, gave in a report of the national revenue and expenditure at that time, together with an estimate or computation of what might be expected to be the annual amount of such a revenue and expenditure in future. That period might perhaps be thought rather too early for such a report when there was yet no opportunity of

* An account of which, and the debates thereon will be given in our volume for the year 1792.

of stating the average produce of taxes lately imposed, and when the expenditure was clogged with arrears still remaining due, of the very heavy expences of the American war. But it was necessary at that juncture to have such a document laid before parliament, when the plan for applying a million annually towards the extinction of the national debt, was brought under their consideration. Now when, at the distance of five years from the inquiries of that first committee, the effects of both the new taxes imposed, and of the regulations for the more faithful collection of the old could be better ascertained, it seemed a very expedient measure to have the report of a new committee of the

present parliament, on the same subject of the public income and expenditure. A motion was therefore made for the appointment of such a committee, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on Friday the 8th of April, "who should consider and report the amount of the public income and expenditure during the last five years; and that the same committee be also directed to inquire what the public revenue and expenditure might be expected to be in future; and what alteration had taken place in the amount of the national debt, since the fifth of January 1786." The result of the comparison made by this committee, between the annual income and expenditure, was as follows:—

Annual Income	-	-	-	£.16,030,285
Expenditure, including a Million for liquidating the National Debt	-	-	-	15,969,178
Balance in favour of the country	-	-	-	61,107

This report being referred to by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his account of the state of the finances, on Wednesday the 18th of May, became a subject of discussion in the House of Commons.

Mr. Sheridan remarked, That the report of the present committee shewed the fallacy of that estimate of future expence which had been made by the former committee in 1786. That estimate amounted to the annual sum of 14,478,181*l.*; whereas the actual amount, now stated by the present committee, is 15,969,178*l.*: which, after the deduction of the annual million for discharging the national debt, exceeded the former report of the

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future expence in the sum of 949,997*l.*

To this remark it was briefly replied, that the increase of the expenditure beyond the computation of the finance committee in 1786, arose chiefly from incidental charges, which that committee could not foresee, and which, in fact, made not any part of the permanent expence of the nation.

This subject was again brought forward, and more fully discussed in a committee of the whole House, on the 3rd of June, when Mr. Sheridan moved no less than forty resolutions; the principal purport of which was, First, To prove the mistake in the report of the committee of 1786, and to place it in a strong light.

T

light. Secondly, To show a comparison between the public income and expenditure, on an average of three years, from the 6th of January 1788, to the 6th of January 1791; by which it was meant to shew that, even on the least and most favourable average, instead of there being a surplus, according to the report of the present committee. there was in fact a very great deficiency. Thirdly, To exhibit the amount of the sums voted for the service of the current year 1791: by which it might appear, that the expence of the present establishment was not only much beyond the estimated expence at the first committee, but also that of the last. Fourthly, That allowing the surplus calculated by the present committee on the ordinary income and expenditure of the nation, this surplus was inadequate to those extraordinary expences which appeared on the report of the committee itself, likely to be incurred; even without taking into consideration those unforeseen and unexpected articles of expenditure, in which, from the expence of the three last years, it seemed probable that the country might hereafter be involved.

Of this long series of resolutions the greater part were negatived, and others amended, according to the *data* laid down by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Rose, and other gentlemen on the same side of the House. To these were added other resolutions, arising out of such views of the subject as seemed proper for ascertaining the circumstances of the nation. The whole of these resolutions, namely, the amended and the additional resolutions, were passed in the House of Commons, on the 7th of July.

The resolutions were as follow:—

1st. ‘ Resolved, That it appears
‘ that the select committee of 1786
‘ proceeded upon a supposition
‘ that the annual and permanent
‘ taxes then subsisting, were likely
‘ to produce annually the sum
‘ of 15,397,471*l.*; namely, the land-
‘ tax 1,967,650*l.* the malt duty
‘ 632,350*l.*, and the permanent
‘ taxes 12,797,471*l.*

2nd. ‘ Resolved, That it appears
‘ by the report of the select commit-
‘ tee of 1791, that the produce of
‘ the said permanent taxes in the
‘ year 1786, was 11,836,531*l.*
‘ being less by 960,940*l.* than the
‘ sum estimated; in the year 1787,
‘ 12,754,795*l.*, being less by
‘ 42,676*l.* than the said sum; in
‘ the year 1788, 12,812,952*l.*,
‘ being more by 15,481*l.* than the
‘ said sum; in the year 1789,
‘ 13,209,871*l.*, being more by
‘ 412,400*l.* than the said sum; and
‘ in the year 1790, 13,782,393*l.*,
‘ being more by 984,922*l.* than
‘ the said sum, including 193,000*l.*,
‘ being the amount of one fifty-
‘ third weekly payment.

‘ That the produce of the said
‘ taxes, upon an average of the first
‘ two years (*viz.* 1786 and 1787)
‘ amounted to 12,295,663*l.*, being
‘ 501,808*l.* less than the sum esti-
‘ mated.

‘ That the produce of the said
‘ taxes, upon an average of the first
‘ three years (*viz.* 1786, 1787, and
‘ 1788) amounted to 12,468,092*l.*,
‘ being 329,379*l.* less than the sum
‘ estimated.

‘ That the produce of the said
‘ taxes, upon an average of the first
‘ four years (*viz.* 1786, 1787,
‘ 1788, and 1789) amounted to
‘ 12,653,537*l.*, being 143,934*l.* less
‘ than the sum estimated.

‘ That the produce of the said
‘ taxes,

' taxes, upon an average of five
' years (viz. 1786, 1787, 1788,
' 1789, and 1790) amounted to
' 12,879,308*l.*, being 81,837*l.* more
' than the sum estimated.

' That the produce of the said tax-
' es upon an average of the last four
' years (viz. 1787, 1788, 1789 and
' 1790) amounted to 13,140,002*l.*
' being 342,531*l.* more than the sum
' estimated.

' That the produce of the said
' taxes, upon an average of the last
' three years (viz. 1788, 1789, and
' 1790) amounted to 13,268,405*l.*
' being 470,934*l.* more than the
' sum-estimated.

' And that the produce of the
' said taxes upon an average of the
' last two years (viz. 1789 and
' 1790) amounted to 13,496,132*l.*
' being 698,661*l.* more than the
' sum estimated.

3rd. ' Resolved, That in this cal-
' culation the select committee of
' 1791 have adverted to all the ad-
' ditional impositions which ought
' to have been deducted from their
' estimate, except tobacco licences,
' which amount in the whole to
' 81,753*l.* and that they have made
' no allowance for the diminution
' arising from the exemptions al-
' lowed in the horse tax, or for the
' repeal of the tax upon linens and
' stuffs.

4th. ' Resolved, that no complete
' account can yet be given of the
' produce of the land and malt-
' taxes for the last five years.

' That the net produce of the
' land-tax appears liable to no ma-
' terial variation from year to year,
' and may be stated at 1,972,000*l.*
' being 5,000*l.* more than the sum
' estimated.

' That the net produce of the
' malt-tax in the years 1786, 1787,
' and 1788, appears to have been

' upon an average 597,171*l.*, being
' 35,179*l.* less than the sum esti-
' mated.

5th ' Resolved, That it appears
' by the report of the select com-
' mittee of 1791, that the total
' amount of the interest and charges
' of the public debt, and of the
' sums issued for the reduction
' thereof, of the charges upon the
' aggregate and consolidated fund,
' and of the sums granted for the
' supplies (including the deficien-
' cies of the land and malt, the de-
' ficiency of the grants for the year
' 1785, and the amount of the
' prizes in the lotteries of the se-
' veral years, with the charges at-
' tending them, has been during the
' last five years 88,116,916*l.*, and
' that the whole of the above
' charges, except the sum of
' 207,000*l.* which remained to be
' provided for in the present year
' under the head of Deficiency o.
' Grants, has been defrayed by the
' produce within the said five years
' of the permanent taxes, by the
' annual aids on land and malt, and
' by the sums arising from extra-
' ordinary resources, with the ad-
' dition of a loan of one million
' raised by tontine, and of 187,000*l.*
' raised by short annuities.

6th ' Resolved, That, over and
' above the sums granted for the
' supplies, there appears to have
' been an increase in the navy debt
' within the said period, which is
' stated at 457,950*l.*, and an arrear
' incurred in the ordnance, under
' the head of Unprovided, to the
' amount of 61,909*l.* and that the
' deficiency of grants of the year
' 1790 exceeds that of the year
' 1785, by the sum of 80,590*l.*

7th. ' Resolved, That the sum
' voted for defraying the expence
' of the armament of 1790, and
' for

‘ for the charge of 6,000 additional
 ‘ seamen for the service of the
 ‘ present year (amounting to
 ‘ 3,133,000*l.*) is not included in
 ‘ the above account; but that a se-
 ‘ parate provision has been made
 ‘ for discharging the same, inde-
 ‘ pendent of the future income
 ‘ of the country, as estimated by
 ‘ the committee of 1791.

8th. ‘ Resolved, That the select
 ‘ committee, appointed in 1786, to
 ‘ examine and state the accounts
 ‘ relating to the public income and
 ‘ expenditure, and to report what
 ‘ might be expected to be the an-
 ‘ nual amount of the said income
 ‘ and expenditure in future, have
 ‘ stated the expected future expen-
 ‘ diture upon a permanent peace-
 ‘ establishment, including the an-
 ‘ nual million to be paid to the
 ‘ commissioners, at the sum of
 ‘ 15,478,181*l.*

9th. ‘ Resolved, That the select
 ‘ committee, appointed in the pre-
 ‘ sent year 1791, to examine into
 ‘ the amount of the public income
 ‘ and expenditure during the last
 ‘ five years, and also to report to
 ‘ the House what may be expected
 ‘ to be the annual amount in future,
 ‘ state the expected expenditure,
 ‘ upon a permanent peace establish-
 ‘ ment, including the annual mil-
 ‘ lion to be paid to the commission-
 ‘ ers, at the sum of 15,969,178*l.*;
 ‘ which is exclusive of the sum of
 ‘ 12,000*l.*, since charged on the
 ‘ consolidated fund for the pay-
 ‘ ment of an annuity to his Royal
 ‘ Highness the Duke of Clarence;
 ‘ and that the above sum exceeds
 ‘ the permanent peace-establish-
 ‘ ment, as stated by the committee
 ‘ of 1786, by 490,997*l.* of which
 ‘ 42,203*l.* is on account of the in-
 ‘ crease in the interest and charges
 ‘ of the national debt; 2,000*l.* on

‘ account of the interest on exche-
 ‘ quer bills; 14,499*l.* on the dif-
 ‘ ference in the charges on the ag-
 ‘ gregate and consolidated funds,
 ‘ and of the produce of the appro-
 ‘ priated duties; 200,000*l.* in the
 ‘ navy; 148,842*l.* in the army;
 ‘ 27,000*l.* in the ordnance; 4,311*l.*
 ‘ in the militia, and 54,142*l.* in the
 ‘ miscellaneous services.

10th. ‘ Resolved, That the ex-
 ‘ ceeding in the estimate stated by
 ‘ the committee of 1791, on the
 ‘ five heads of navy, army, ord-
 ‘ nance, militia, and miscellaneous
 ‘ services, above the estimate stated
 ‘ by the committee of 1786, on
 ‘ the same five heads, amounts
 ‘ to the sum of 434,295*l.*

11th. ‘ Resolved, That the select
 ‘ committee of 1791, do not ap-
 ‘ pear to have thought it their duty
 ‘ to inquire into, or to state any
 ‘ opinion respecting the ground of
 ‘ necessity for such increase under
 ‘ the above heads of service, the
 ‘ estimates and accounts of which
 ‘ come annually under the revision
 ‘ of parliament.

12th. ‘ Resolved, That the ex-
 ‘ pence of the present year, accord-
 ‘ ing to the services already voted,
 ‘ and exclusive of any extra expence
 ‘ for the present armament, will
 ‘ amount to about the sum of
 ‘ 16,833,920*l.*, exceeding the per-
 ‘ manent peace-establishment of the
 ‘ select committee of 1786, by the
 ‘ sum of, 1,355,739*l.*; and the en-
 ‘ larged estimate of the committee
 ‘ of 1791, by the sum of 864,742*l.*
 ‘ but that there is included in the
 ‘ above sum of 864,742*l.* an excess
 ‘ of 131,405*l.* upon the navy;
 ‘ which is more than accounted for
 ‘ by the sum voted for the repairs
 ‘ of frigates in merchants yards;
 ‘ which expence will not recur
 ‘ again; and an excess of 107,484*l.*
 ‘ upon

‘ upon the army, which is more than
 ‘ accounted for, by no allowance
 ‘ being made in the grants of this
 ‘ year for army savings, similar to
 ‘ that which is made in the estimates
 ‘ of 1786 and 1791; and by an
 ‘ advance of 71,569*l.* on account
 ‘ of troops serving in India, which
 ‘ is to be repaid by the East India
 ‘ Company. And an excess of
 ‘ 68,676*l.* upon the ordnance, of
 ‘ which 61,907*l.* arises from the
 ‘ discharge of ordnance unprovided,
 ‘ and also an excess of 557,177*l.*
 ‘ under the head of Miscellaneous
 ‘ Services, of which 432,444*l.* is
 ‘ on account of American sufferers:
 ‘ an article of expence expressly
 ‘ excluded from the estimates above
 ‘ mentioned, and the remainder on
 ‘ account of various miscellaneous
 ‘ services peculiar to the present
 ‘ year.

13th. ‘ Resolved, That the select
 ‘ committee, estimating upon an
 ‘ average of the three last years,
 ‘ and adverting to the additional
 ‘ weeks receipt in 1790, have cal-
 ‘ culated the future probable annual
 ‘ income at the sum of 16,030,286*l.*
 ‘ which exceeds the future expen-
 ‘ diture, as estimated by the said
 ‘ committee, by a sum of 61,108*l.*;
 ‘ that the above income is calcu-
 ‘ lated upon a revenue which ap-
 ‘ pears to have been progressively
 ‘ increasing, and is exclusive of any
 ‘ addition to be expected from the
 ‘ amount of the taxes of 1789, or
 ‘ from the increased produce of the
 ‘ duties on tobacco; and likewise
 ‘ exclusive of the profits of the lot-
 ‘ tery, which amounted in the
 ‘ present year nearly to 300,000*l.*
 ‘ and of any sums to arise from
 ‘ any incidental or extraordinary
 ‘ resources.

14th. ‘ Resolved, That the mo-

‘ ney remaining due upon the
 ‘ principal and interest of the
 ‘ American and East Florida
 ‘ claims, which has been directed
 ‘ by parliament to be paid by
 ‘ instalments, is stated to have
 ‘ amounted, on the 10th of October
 ‘ 1790, to 1,546,062*l.* exclusive
 ‘ of the interest payable on such
 ‘ part of it as remains undis-
 ‘ charged, and exclusive also of
 ‘ further annual payments and
 ‘ pensions to American loyalists,
 ‘ amounting to 54,211*l.* per an-
 ‘ num.

15th. ‘ Resolved, That, besides
 ‘ this article so stated by the com-
 ‘ mittee, it appears from the ord-
 ‘ nance estimate inserted in their
 ‘ appendix, that the estimate of the
 ‘ future annual expence of that
 ‘ office is exclusive of such sums as
 ‘ are contained in the estimate of
 ‘ the board of land and sea officers,
 ‘ for additional works, for security
 ‘ of his Majesty’s dock yards, and
 ‘ of any other fortifications, or
 ‘ other new works to be carried on
 ‘ in the West Indies, North Ame-
 ‘ rica, or elsewhere.

16th. ‘ Resolved, That during
 ‘ the last five years, the sum of
 ‘ 5,424,592*l.* including 674,592*l.*
 ‘ arising from annuities expired or
 ‘ unclaimed, and from dividends on
 ‘ stock bought, has been applied to
 ‘ the reduction of the national debt;
 ‘ that the sums by which the debt
 ‘ has been increased within the
 ‘ same period, appear, by the re-
 ‘ port of the select committee, to
 ‘ have amounted to 1,602,589*l.*
 ‘ leaving a balance of 3,822,003*l.*
 ‘ and that the annual interest on the
 ‘ stock bought, and the present
 ‘ amount of the annuities expired
 ‘ or unclaimed, appears to be
 ‘ 254,804*l.* in addition to the mil-
 ‘ lion

‘ lion annually charged on the consolidated fund.’

We have already detailed at large the proceedings in the committee of ways and means relative to the expences of the armament against Spain, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward at an early period of the session. The payment of the capital of the expences of this armament was provided for by certain taxes appropriated to

that purpose ; a measure of such spirit and energy in finance, as met the approbation of all parties. The ordinary supplies of the year were moved at a later period, the 18th of May ; which we shall briefly state in abstract in this place, as the particulars, including the expences of the armament, and of the additional 6,000 seamen voted in December, 1790, are accurately specified in our Appendix.

Expences of 18,000 seamen, for the service of 1791	-	£. 936,000
Expences of the navy	-	689,395
Building of ships, repairs, &c.	-	506,010
		<hr/>
		2,131,405

The total charges of the army, including the corps for New South Wales			-	-	1,856,326
Ordnance			-	-	443,678
Deficiency of land and malt tax (estimated)			-	-	400,000
Deficiency of grants for the year 1790			-	-	207,728
Miscellaneous services of various kinds			-	-	689,231
					<hr/>
		Total			£. 5,738,368

The ways and means were provided for without the necessity of recurring to any new taxes, by the following articles:—

The land and malt as usual	-	-	-	£. 2, 750,000
The surplus of last year, disposable by parliament, after deducting all the charges on the consolidated fund	-	-	-	303,221
The resource arising from the lottery	-	-	-	306,250

The next article was the growing produce of the consolidated fund for the next twelve months, beginning at the 5th day of April last, and ending on the 5th of April 1792. The committee might judge of the amount of the growing produce, from the report of the finance committee founded on the experience of the last three years. It appeared that the average of the last three years was very short of the amount of the year before the last, and still more so of the last year.

The permanent taxes, exclusive of the land and malt, amounted to 13,472,286 <i>l</i> ., from which was to be deducted 11,361,000 <i>l</i> ., consisting of the interest and charges of the public debt, civil list, &c. and the surplus amounted to			2,110,286
Outstanding balance of accounts	-	-	154,000

Carried forward - 5,623,757

Brought forward £5,623,757

In addition to this might be taken 150,000*l.* from the probable increase of receipt, viz. 100,000*l.* tobacco, 40,000*l.* land-tax arrears, and 10,000*l.* for bounties on hemp and flax, remaining in the exchequer; for if the regulations on tobacco had taken place during that period, and if the taxes imposed in 1789 had been taken into the account, they would have made a considerable addition. The duties which would arise on the above-mentioned accounts, were taken at the very moderate sum of

120,000

If all these sums were added together, they would amount to

5,743,757

which exceeded the expences before stated by a few thousand pounds.

In the House of Lords, a committee for a similar inquiry to that which employed the finance committee of the House of Commons, was moved for by Lord Rawdon, on the 30th of March.

It was opposed by Lord Grenville as unnecessary, a committee having already been appointed in the House of Commons for a similar purpose, whose report would convey every information necessary for the satisfaction of parliament, or of the public.

The motion was negatived by a majority of 55 to 23.

As an additional proof of the national prosperity, an act was passed, obliging every future minister to provide in every loan one per cent above the interest of the sum borrowed, for the gradual extinction of the principal; a regulation which, notwithstanding the immense loans contracted has been strictly adhered to.

The state of the finances in India was laid before the House of Commons by Mr. Henry Dundas, on Tuesday the 24th of May. It appeared by his statements, that the British revenues in the East Indies, amounting in all to seven millions, after defraying all the ex-

penses of government, left a clear surplus of near a million and a half, either to be laid out in investments, or applied to contingent services.

Mr. Paul Benfield alleged, that in Mr. Dundas's statements there were several errors, which could be easily pointed out: but he declined to enter into any inquiry into the business, on account of the late period of the session.

A society of philanthropic adventurers formed a project for the establishment of a colony at Sierra Leone, on the coast of Africa, in the 8th degree of north latitude, where the soil, as was attested by Mr. Devaynes, who had long resided there, is excellent, and produces cotton, coffee, and sugar, almost spontaneously. The professed object of this society (which, in spite of great opposition from the West-India planters, became a corporate body, liable only to pay the amount of the stores risked) was, to cultivate a track of land which they purchased with freemen; and to make the experiment,—Whether Africa could not be civilized, and rendered more lucrative as a vent for manufactures, than as a nursery of slaves?

A bill

A bill for the establishment of such a company was moved for by Mr. Henry Thornton on the 30th of May. Mr. Thornton's motion was carried by a great majority; and the bill was quickly

passed through both Houses of parliament.

After a long and uncommonly busy and laborious session, the parliament, on the 10th of June, was prorogued to the 16th of August.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

THE commissioners of stamp duties met at their in Somerset-place to let to the duties payable on horses hire for travelling post and me; now out of lease. They let at an advance of 10,619l. the sum they produced last

This included thirty-three ties, besides North Britain Wales.

14th. A bill of indictment was laid on Friday by the grand jury of Middlesex, against lord viscount Dungarvan, eldest son of the duke of Cork. His lordship, being heated with wine, met a man of easy virtue, who calls himself Welden, at one of the theatres on the preceding night. On Monday being over, she prevailed on him to take her in a coach to her rooms, which drove to No. 45, Grosvenor-place. His lordship gave her one guinea, but refused to enter the house. On this, Mrs. Welsden became riotous, and called the watch, saying, if he did not give her another guinea, she would charge him with robbing her of three guineas and a half. On his refusal, the man seized his lordship, and held him four hours. His lordship's trial came on this morning at Old Bailey, and lasted six days. L. XXXIII.

hours. The wretched prosecutrix having sworn, on the trial, that his lordship had robbed her in the coach; though she had sworn, when before the justice, that she perceived she had lost her money when she offered to give the link-boy some gratuity for his trouble in calling the coach; the jury said it was unnecessary to proceed further, and begged that the defendant might be honourably acquitted. The judge said, he was perfectly satisfied; and, although they had no such record as that of an honourable acquittal, yet it would be remembered. The jury gave in their verdict—*Not guilty*. The judge then said, "My lord Dungarvan, it is but justice to you to say, that it is impossible you can go from this bar with the least imputation on your character: and as to your imprudence in this affair, you seem to be already perfectly sensible." The prosecutrix and her witnesses retired from the court amidst the hisses and execrations of the audience.

16th. This day the long expected battle was fought between Big Ben and Johnson, in a small field at Wrotham in Kent. Upwards of 2,000 persons were assembled on the occasion; Johnson having Joe Ward for his second, and Mendoza for his bottle-holder—and Big Ben with

having appeared on the island some days, the anxiety of the people in the neighbourhood was raised, but no boat dared approach the island by reason of the violent storms: these being somewhat abated, one of the best boats going to the town reached the island in safety, but found the door of the light-house bolted. This was broken open, and were at last, after some delay, met on the stairs a man in such a state as to be unable to give them an account of what had happened. They thereupon went to the light-keeper's apartments, where they found the keeper and his wife dead, with an infant alive, sucking its dead mother's breast. In another bed three children were dead, and two but just breathing; they were exposed to the elements and seemed to revive, and with them two men, assistants to the keeper, were carried to Crail, where the eldest of the children died the same day. This sad scene was produced by the carelessness of the keepers, who had neglected to remove the ashes in the lower apartments, which the high winds had blown up, and the smoke having accumulated, occasioned suffocation.

th. The ground on the N. E. of Whitehaven fell in, in three places, to the great terror of the inhabitants; but the accident was discovered to have been occasioned by the earth giving way at an old coal-work, which had been worked about fifty years ago, and left unfilled up. About the time the above accident happened, water broke in upon the pre-arranged coal-work, by which two men, a woman, and five horses, were killed.

th. *Liverpool.*—The consternation at Ashton-under-Line, be-

tween five and six o'clock on Monday evening was great. Every person in the streets was so terrified as to shriek and run into shops and houses for shelter. The thunder burst from a cloud which seemed to hang over the town, and the lightning was perceived almost in the same instant, the thunder making only one tremendous crash. It was probably well for the town, that the electric fire was attracted by the iron work which ornaments the church steeple. It struck the weather-cock, melted some part of it, and threw many stones from the steeple; it then entered the belfry, and melted the wires, &c. and also those of the clock; from thence it followed the iron rod that guides the hand of the clock, to a dial within the church, placed on the top of the organ, and in its way wrested a piece of knotty oak of four inches square from one of the beams that support the roof of the church, besides taking with it a considerable part of the cornice of the dial; from the dial it proceeded down the organ to the curtain-rod in the front of it, and running from the south to the north end of the rod, it took down an upright iron from the ceiling, and rent it with such violence, that splinters were found sticking in the opposite ceiling, as if discharged from a gun. It then penetrated through the floor of the gallery, and followed an iron pillar at the foot; and from thence it is supposed to have gone in different ways, after splitting many of the pews, as there are marks where it passed, both in the windows at the west, as well as that at the end of the earl of Stamford's chapel in the east.

DIED, aged 66, the celebrated Andrew Mercati, of Rome, of an ancient

with Humphries for his second, and W. Ward for his bottle-holder. Col. Tarleton and major Hanger officiated as umpires, and Mr. H. Aston as arbitrator. After fighting for 29 minutes, a most desperate blow, which Johnson received on his right ear, brought him to the ground; and at the 24th round he gave in. Johnson was knocked down 17 times, fell once by accident, and several times dropped on one knee. Ben never fell but when he was knocked down, and stood up to his antagonist with great courage, skill, and activity; he was much less bruised than Johnson, who was carried off apparently very much affected in mind and body.

There was a second battle between the Ruffian and Johnson's brother, which was a very severe trial of strength without skill. They were both dreadfully beaten, but the Ruffian had his jugular vein opened, and bled so copiously from the neck, that they were obliged to take him from the stage to save his life.

18th. In honour of the queen's birth-day, there was a most brilliant drawing-room at Saint James's.

19th. The sessions at the Old Bailey ended, when judgment of death was passed by Mr. Common Serjeant on the following capital convicts, viz. Ann Rhodes, Ann King, Thomas Pointer, Thomas Herbert, John Randall, Neal M'Mullen, William Smith, Seze de Souza, John Wallis, Charles Alden, Daniel Buckeridge, and George Cook, a boy about 13 years of age; 17 were sentenced to be transported beyond the seas for seven years; two to be imprisoned in Newgate for one year, and one for

three months; six in Clerkenwell Bridewell; nine to be publicly, and five privately, whipped; one was permitted to enter as an East-India soldier, and 14 were delivered by proclamation.

The university of Dublin, in full convocation, conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on the right honourable Edmund Burke.

At Powderham Castle, this day, as the hon. Miss Courtenay was standing near the drawing-room fire, in conversation with another lady, her clothes unfortunately took fire, and she was almost instantly enveloped in flames. Lord Courtenay, who stood near, had the presence of mind to throw her down and to roll the carpet round her; by which her life was saved, but not without being terribly scorched. His lordship's hands and face were likewise much burnt.

20th. *Dundalk*.—A most shocking transaction took place on Friday night last at Forkhill, within two miles of this town; at the dead hour of the night, the house of the parish schoolmaster was surrounded by a banditti, who, having broke in, took the man, his wife, and their son, a boy of fourteen years old, and cut their tongues out of their heads; after which, they took the father and mother and chopped off their fingers. So black and atrocious an act stands unparalleled in the annals of this country.

26th. A letter from Pattenweam brings an account of a most melancholy catastrophe which happened there; where the keeper of the light-house on the island of Mayo, with his family, where almost all found suffocated. No light

light having appeared on the island for some days, the anxiety of the people in the neighbourhood was much raised, but no boat dared approach the island by reason of the violent storms: these being somewhat abated, one of the best boats belonging to the town reached the island in safety, but found the door of the light-house bolted. This they broke open, and were at last, after some delay, met on the stairs by a man in such a state as to be unable to give them an account of what had happened. They therefore went to the light-keeper's apartments, where they found the man and his wife dead, with an infant, alive, sucking its dead mother's breast. In another bed three children dead, and two but just living; they were exposed to the air, and seemed to revive, and with the two men, assistants to the keeper, were carried to Crail, where the eldest of the children died the next day. This sad scene was produced by the carelessness of the assistants, who had neglected to brim the ashes in the lower apartments, which the high winds had blown up, and the smoke having no vent, occasioned suffocation.

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DIED, aged 66, the celebrated Andrew Mercati, of Rome, of an
B 2 ancient

ancient and honourable family at Florence, who, with a natural genius, aided by a liberal education, arrived at the highest degree of eminence. Before the age of twenty he was unrivalled in the science of fencing, and was elected an Arcadian poet. Exclusive of these, for his excellence in the art of drawing and painting, he had the honour of invitations from four different sovereigns, viz. the empress of Russia, the kings of Spain, Naples, and England. To this country he, however, gave the preference. He died insolvent.

In Cleveland-row, St. James's-place, in his 72nd year, of a violent urinary complaint, George Augustus Selwyn, esq. M. P. for the borough of Ludgershall, co. Wilts, and formerly representative for the city of Gloucester. He was surveyor-general of the crown lands, surveyor of the meltings, and clerk of the irons in the mint, and register in the court of chancery in the island of Barbadoes. To these places, vacant by his death, we might add the post of receiver-general of waif and stray jokes. He was educated at Oxford, to which place he returned, after making the tour of Europe, in order to finish his studies on a more improved plan, which he had adopted whilst abroad. He had not been at Oxford long, when, on account of some supposed religious irregularities, he had a hint to leave the college; which he took, and, being possessed of a good fortune, he threw himself into the fashionable circles of the town. He was highly qualified for this sphere, being possessed of much classical knowledge, a brilliant wit, good humour, and a considerable share of observation. He therefore was

soon noticed as a wit and bon vivant, and divided with the late lord Chesterfield most of the good things of their times. Mr. Selwyn took care not to be ruined by his wit (as has been the case with many others); he had "pudding as well as praise," being in possession of several advantageous places, which he enjoyed under several administrations without the least hindrance. He was at one time of his life much in the habit of gaming; but he soon gave it up (except for trifling sums), being, as he said, "one of the greatest consumers of time, fortune, constitution, and thinking." His places, being mostly sinecures, enabled him to enjoy the otium cum dignitate, which he did with singular advantage to himself and his friends. Amongst the latter he will be long lamented as the centre of good humour, wit, and conviviality. It was amongst the well-known singularities of this witty character, that he had a particular *penchant* for public executions. Whether it arose from a principle of curiosity or philosophy, it is perhaps difficult to determine; but so it was, that scarcely any great criminal was carried to the gallows, but George was a spectator upon the opposite scaffold. The execution of Damiens, the celebrated assassin, who made an attempt on the life of Louis XV., the late king of France, about thirty years ago, so excited Mr. S.'s curiosity, that he went over to Paris a month before that event, to purchase, in time, a convenient place to behold so novel a spectacle. Every thing being previously prepared, and the day arrived, George took his stand, dressed in a plain brown bob wig, and a plain suit of broad cloth, an undress

undress he generally wore, and which at that time of day evidently pointed him out as an English *Bourgeois*. The horrid ceremony commenced, when Mr. Selwyn, from his dress, and the sympathy which he shewed upon this occasion, so attracted the notice of a French nobleman, that, coming round to him on the scaffold, and slapping him on the shoulder, he exclaimed, "Eh bien, Monsieur Anglois, êtes-vous arrivé pour voir ce spectacle?" "Oui, Monsieur." "Vous êtes bourreau?" "Non, non Monsieur, je n'ai pas cette honneur, je ne suis qu'un amateur"—"Mr. Englishman, and are you come here to see this sight?" "Yes, Sir." "You are a hangman, then?" "No, no, I have not that honour, I am but an admirer of the art." Mr. Selwyn being asked, at another time, whether he would not attend the execution of a man who happened to be of the same name with one of our distinguished orators; pettishly replied, "Psha! what signifies going to rehearsals; I'll wait for the real representation."—By Mr. Selwyn's will it appears, that he leaves the young lady, Maria Fagnani, whom he calls the daughter of the marquis and marchioness Fagnani, 10,000*l.* four per cent. annuities, and the principal sum of 23,000*l.* on her coming of age, or day of marriage; but in case of her death before either of those periods, to go to the younger children of the earl of Carlisle. The legacies are, 100 guineas to each of his nephews, the hon. Charles Townshend, and Elbro' Woodcock, esq.; 30*l.* per annum to Pierre Michalin, his valet, and his wardrobe. The rest and residue of the real and personal estates (except Ludgershall) to go to the

duke of Queensberry. There are three codicils, two of them relative to the bequest to two servants; and one reserving the Ludgershall estate to the Townshend family, agreeably to the will of Mr. Selwyn's father. The executors named in the will are, the marquis of Stafford, the earl of Carlisle, and Elbro' Woodcock, esq. The two last have administered.

FEBRUARY.

5th. In the Court of King's Bench, Bartholomew Quailn, labourer, in the Isle of Ely, had been indicted for the wilful murder of Ann, his wife, when the jury found a special verdict, which was sent to the Court of King's Bench for their consideration. The facts stated in this verdict were these:—Bartholomew Quailn and Ann, his wife, came peaceably out of a public-house, where they had been drinking together, he in liquor, she not; that when they got into the highway, they appeared to be quarrelling about a bag which she wanted him to give her; that during the time they were so quarrelling, the said Ann was sitting in the street; and the jury found that the said Ann rose from the ground and walked along the said street, and her husband followed her, and gave her two or three kicks; that afterwards, several shrieks and cries were heard, and the said Ann was seen to run away from him, so crying and shrieking: and when she ran away he overtook her and kicked her down, and afterwards, when he had kicked her down, and retired a few paces from her, he returned

returned to her again, and while she was on the ground, he gave her several kicks on the thighs, and on the right and left side of her body; that when he had so kicked her, she rose once more from the ground; that Bartholomew, when she rose, kicked her down again; and after the said Ann had been so kicked down, she rose, and said to the prisoner, "You have killed me;"—and when a woman, who was near, asked the prisoner why he beat his wife, and said, if she had strength enough, she would prevent him from exercising any more barbarity upon her, he said, he would serve her in the same manner. The special verdict farther stated, that the unfortunate deceased got up, and with great difficulty walked about thirty yards, held her hand to her left side, became pale, and fell down. The jury found that the kicks so given, were given with great violence, and by the kicks the spleen was burst, of which said bursting of the spleen she afterwards died. Then the verdict found, that from the first kick, till the time she received the last kick, was half an hour, and that from the time of receiving the last kick, till she died, was 20 minutes. The special verdict likewise found, that the prisoner, on hearing of his wife's death, expressed great sorrow. The question for the decision of the Court was, whether these facts, so found by the jury, amounted to the crime of murder, or only to the offence of manslaughter?—The Court delivered their opinions *seriatim*, and were unanimous in thinking, that the prisoner was clearly guilty of the crime of murder, and sentence was pronounced.—On the Monday following Quailn was

executed at Kennington-Common, pursuant to the above sentence; and the body was delivered to Mr. Brand, surgeon, to be dissected and anatomized.

6th. This evening Mr. Stephen Clark, city-marshal, with proper assistants, apprehended, on an information, at the Cross-keys inn, Gracechurch-street, five Frenchmen, charged with feloniously breaking and entering the palace of the countess du Barré, near Paris, and stealing thereout money, plate, jewels, &c. to the value of 50,000*l.* and upwards. On them were found 1,500 guineas, and diamonds to the value of between 40 and 50,000*l.* sterling. When taken, they attempted to throw a number of diamonds into the fire. Several were found among the cinders. Four of them were conveyed to the Poultry Compter and one to the New Compter, who has petitioned to give evidence against the rest.

9th. The Thames rose this afternoon to an amazing height. The water was considerably higher than it has been for these 20 years past. New Palace-yard and Westminster-hall were overflowed, and the lawyers were actually conveyed to and from the courts in boats. This has happened several times before, viz. in the years 1235, 1730, February 9, 1735, December 25, 1736, October 14, 1747, and February 9, 1762, but not since. The water rose through the sewers, and overflowed Privy-gardens, great part of Scotland-yard, and some part of St. James's Park. The cellars and kitchens in that neighbourhood were nearly all filled with water. The damage done in the warehouses on the wharfs on both sides the river is immense; they were

were overflowed almost without exception, as was also the Custom-house quay, Tower-wharf, Bank-side, Queenhithe, great part of Tooley-street, Wapping High-street, Thames-street, &c. and all the adjoining cellars filled: most of the gardens and fields between Blackfriars-road and Westminster-bridge were overflowed. The water was so deep in several streets, that boats were used to remove the inhabitants. In New Palace-yard the scuffle for boats was so violent that several gentlemen of the long robe were thrown into the water; and, Westminster-hall not being in the list of regulated fares, the fees insisted on by the watermen were universally complained of as exorbitant.

The tides have not increased in height since; for the tide on this night fell short of the great one three feet nine inches, and that of Thursday just three feet.

10th. The case of Leftly and Mills was determined by the Court of King's Bench; the question was, "Whether a bill of exchange is liable to a protest if not paid within banking hours?" The Court determined, that it cannot be protested till the day after the day on which it is due. They also said, that bills payable at so many days after sight are not subject to a protest at all, under the act of king William III.: and that in no case ought more than 6d. to be paid for the protesting, pursuant to that act.

16th. This afternoon, about four o'clock, Mr. Arnold was robbed by a single highwayman, whose name was Carter, at no great distance from his own house, near Seven-oaks, Kent. Immediately after the robbery had been committed, Mr.

Arnold gave a general alarm, and immediate pursuit was made by Mr. Pitman, master of the Harrow public-house on Madamscot-hill, and Mr. Hall, master of the White Hart at Riverhead, and several others. The highwayman was first overtaken by Mr. Pitman near Seal, and a pistol heard to fire; and, on Mr. Hall's coming up, he found the robber on the ground, and Mr. Pitman lying near him quite dead, having dislocated his neck by the fall. The highwayman, who had received a shot in the head, was carried to Riverhead, where the ball was extracted, since which he has been committed to Maidstone gaol, but still lies dangerously ill. After the robbery, he was so incautious as to stop and drink at one or two places, and to request that the parties would say, in case any inquiry was made after a person passing that way, that he had gone a contrary one. It since appears, that after Mr. Pitman had fired, he attempted to seize the highwayman, but in the struggle was thrown from his horse, and instantly killed as above related. On searching Carter's pockets were found several papers, which led to a discovery that his lodgings were near the Pantheon, Oxford-street; where they discovered a sick man in bed, who turns out to be one Parsons, another highwayman, supposed to have been wounded by lord Falkland's servant on Hounslow-heath about three weeks ago.

22nd. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when judgment of death was passed upon James Johnson, who was convicted of a burglary on Wednesday last; one was sentenced to be transported for 14 years; 28 for seven years; five

five to be imprisoned in Newgate; nine in Clerkenwell bridewell; six to be publicly, and two privately, whipped; and 17 discharged.

Amongst the prisoners convicted of felonies, was John Belville, for stealing, at Buckingham-house, a pair of silver snuffers and stand, and two candlestick nozzles, the property of his majesty.—Miss Eliza Goter, a female companion to Miss Burney, who had apartments in Buckingham-house, and attends upon the person of the queen, was the first witness called; and she proved, that on the evening of the 24th of January she left this property in the anti-chamber, near to the queen's dressing-room, when she retired to rest in Miss Burney's bed-chamber, where she slept. She also proved, that the prisoner at the bar, who was a German, had about four years ago lived as footman to Miss Burney. William Moss, the present footman, proved, that at half-past seven o'clock the next morning, when he went into the anti-chamber, the property was gone. John Beak Heather, the pawn-broker, proved that the prisoner, on the 4th of February, offered some bits of silver to pawn; but that, suspecting he had not come honestly by them, he immediately seized him, and delivered him into the custody of Macmanus, belonging to the office in Bow-street, where information had already been lodged of this robbery having been committed, and a very accurate description given of the things stolen; and, by the confession of the prisoner, the remaining part of the property was found in his lodgings. Mr. Williams, the gentleman of her majesty's silver scullery, was called to identify the

property; and it was also proved, that Buckingham-palace was the dwelling-house of the king. The prisoner in his defence candidly confessed the fact; and stated, that he had been brought from Germany by a nobleman, and recommended by him to the service of Miss Burney; but that he soon found himself the object of a secret and unmerited enmity to the other servants in the royal palace; and, in consequence of their silent slander, was soon afterwards dismissed; that he was reduced to extreme misery and distress, a foreigner in a foreign land, without friends, money, or credit; that this situation had afflicted him with occasional distraction of mind; that urged by necessity, and in a moment when he was lost to all recollection, he committed the fact. He had only to trust to the mercy of the jury, and to the favourable recommendation of Miss Burney, to whom, he said, he had written several letters on the subject; promising, that in case they would excuse him this time, he would endeavour to raise a little money among his own countrymen, and turn his back on England for the remainder of his days. The recorder summed up the evidence to the jury with great precision, and pointed out those parts of it which tended to prove the whole charge a capital offence, and those which applied to the single felony only. The jury found him guilty of stealing to the value of thirty-nine shillings.

23rd. This morning the following capital convicts were executed before Newgate, viz. John Etherington, for returning from transportation before the expiration of his term; and John Randall, for breaking

ing open the house of George
d Grenville has returned an
r to Mons. de Luzerne, the
h Ambassador, who is at
respecting the application
by the French court for the
ion of lord George Gordon
his confinement in Newgate,
; that it was not thought
cient or proper for the king
ert the royal prerogative in
ase specified; and the am-
lor has in consequence writ-
lord George, informing him
ill success.

1. The celebrated collection
sical instruments, together
he musical library of the late
of Cumberland, were this
nocked down at Christie's.
sisted of an immense collec-
f almost all the composers
rope, for near 200 years
Handel's works, Haydn's,
garten's, and a few others,
ery high. A beautiful toned
by Green, with a piano-
top, went for 76l. 13s. His
highness was in possession
iolin by Stainer, which has
een the admiration and envy
e *Amateurs*. It is now in
undred and twenty-first year
age; and the fortunate pur-
is Mr. Bradyll, at the price
0 guineas. Another violin,
a tenor and violencello, by
ne maker, were sold for 138
is; Mr. Condell bought the
ite tenor for 50 guineas; and
l other instruments sold at
rices. All the great per-
s in town were present.

1. At the sale of the duke
mberland's books, Catesby's
al History of North Carolina,
coloured, went at 15l. 15s.;
a *Britannia et Hibernia*, at

52l. 10s. The *Antiquities of
ancient Rome*, including the Vati-
can, by Piraneli, Ross, Aquila,
&c. at 524l. 10s. This superb
work was presented to the duke
by pope Ganganelli.

A few days past, a very fortu-
nate circumstance occurred at the
Orchard House, Blackwall; Ben-
jamin Kemp, esq. breaking up an
old ship (formerly a Spaniard,
which, when she was taken, had
the greatest part of her crew killed)
discovered three ingots of gold of
considerable weight, which he im-
mediately sent up to the Bullion
Office, under a strong guard of
ship-breakers. It is supposed the
above circumstance will increase
Mr. Kemp's present wealth 25 or
30,000l. as there have been several
smaller ingots found since. She is
constantly watched, and not a
plank suffered to be moved with-
out his presence.

DIED.—At his house at Hamp-
ton, John Beard, esq. formerly
one of the patentees of Covent-
garden theatre. Mr. Beard was
bred up in the king's chapel,
and was one of the singers at the
duke of Chandos's chapel at
Cannons, where he performed in
Esther, an oratorio composed by
Handel. He appeared the first
time on the stage at Drury-lane,
Aug. 30, 1737, in sir John Love-
rule, in the *Devil to pay*. He af-
terwards, on the 8th of Jan. 1739,
married lady Henrietta Herbert,
daughter of James earl Walde-
grave, and widow of lord Edward
Herbert, second son of the Mar-
quis of Powis. She died 31st of
May, 1753. On his marriage he
quitted the stage for a few years.
He afterwards returned to Drury-
lane, and in 1744, changed for
Covent-garden, where he remain-
ed

ed until 1748. In that year he engaged with Mr. Garrick, and continued with him until 1759, when having married a daughter of Mr. Rich, he was engaged at Covent-garden, where on the death of that gentleman, he became manager. His first appearance there, was on the 10th of Oct. 1759, in the character of Macheath, which, aided by Miss Brent in Polly, ran 52 nights. In 1768 he retired from the theatre, and died universally respected at the age of 74.

It may be affirmed with the strictest justice, that through life, he fulfilled the respective duties of son, brother, guardian, friend, and husband, with the most exemplary truth and tenderness. Very early in life he married the right hon. lady Harriet Herbert; but though that lady gave him a treasure in herself, she brought him no other treasure; and his struggles to support her in something like her former state, involved him in many difficulties; and her frequent and long illnesses (occasioned principally by grief for having embarrassed the man she loved) increased those difficulties, and she sunk under them. His present widow had the happiness to repair those ravages of his fortune, and enable him to gratify the first wish of his heart, beneficence. We need not add of such a man, that as he lived peculiarly beloved, so he died peculiarly lamented.

MARCH.

3rd. This morning, soon after six, o'clock, a most dreadful fire broke out in the Albion Mills, on the Surry side of Blackfriars Bridge, which raged with such un-

abating fury, that in about half an hour the whole of that extensive edifice, together with an immense quantity of flour and grain, was reduced to ashes; the corner wing, occupied as the house and offices of the superintendant, only escaping the sad calamity from the thickness of the party-wall. It was low water at the time the fire was first discovered, and before the engines were collected their assistance was ineffectual; for the flames burst out in so many different directions, and with such incredible fury and intolerable heat, that it was impossible to approach on any side, till the roof and interior part of the building tumbling in, completed the general conflagration in a column of fire, so awfully grand as to illuminate for a while the whole horizon. The wind being easterly, the flames were blown across Albion place, the houses on the west side of which were considerably scorched and the inhabitants greatly alarmed. In the lane adjoining the Mills one house was burned to the ground, and others considerably damaged. Fortunately no lives have been lost; but the property consumed is very great; four thousand sacks of corn were on the premises, of which only thirty were not destroyed. Extraordinary as it may appear, yet it is a fact, that several pieces of cinders, &c. from the Mills, fell in King-street, Westminster, yesterday morning; a considerable quantity of chaff likewise fell in Privy-garden.

We hear from Edinburgh, that the respite which was granted to William Gadesby having expired, the sentence of the law was of course put in execution. At the place of execution he addressed himself

himself in an audible voice to the multitude, and gave a history of his life, which seems to have been one continued scene of depredation and plunder; and though only 28 years of age, his criminal exploits appear, both in variety and number, to equal, if not exceed, the most dexterous grey-haired offender. In a history of his life, wrote by himself, the following, among many other robberies, are mentioned: at 14 years of age he committed his first crime, which was stealing a pocket-book from a stationer's shop, from his master in France 300 gs., two gentlemen in Stafford, one of 9 and the other 15, a gentleman in London 70, a stage coach near Bath 60, a gentleman at Carlisle 46, at Newmarket races 80, Litchfield races 33, Leeds fair 60, Derby 6 dozen of handkerchiefs, from a silver-smith at Gloucester 80 gs. value in plate, a gentleman and a lady at Banbury 60 gs. and two watches. In Dublin, Bath, and in the north and west of Scotland he committed many robberies, by which he obtained considerable sums of money.

A gentleman has offered a prize of 20l. to the students of Oxford, for the best English poem on the following subject: "The state of the Aborigines of this island before the time of the Romans."

A court of common council was held at Guildhall; the principal business of which was, to vote the Chamberlain 600l. in lieu of money he had advanced to the city's estate for the last three years, which the Chamberlain and his friends contended was his just right. After much argument, it was carried in favour of the allowance to the Chamberlain, there be-

ing a majority of twenty-nine in his favour.

The gold coined during the present reign amounts to 45,638,269l. 8s. 6d. the silver coined in the same time, to 68,609l. 9s. 2d.

4th. Giles Freeman Covington, charged as an accomplice with Shury and Castle, in the murder of David Chartoris, near Nuneham Wood, in 1787 (for which offence the two latter were executed at the Oxford assizes before last), was convicted at Oxford, and afterwards executed.

7th. This evening, a few minutes before seven o'clock, a fire broke out at Mr. Turner's, grocer, in Newgate-street, at the back of Newgate-market, which burnt with great fury for near two hours; but the engines being extremely well supplied with water, and the firemen very ready in giving their assistance, the fire was extinguished without doing any further damage than consuming the grocer's house, and a butcher's shop at the corner of it.

A melancholy accident lately happened in the neighbourhood of Plymouth: Mr. W. Good and his daughter, crossing a ford in the parish of Buckland, on one horse, the water being deep, the horse lost his legs, by which means the young woman fell off the horse, and the father, endeavouring to save his daughter, fell into the ford, and both were unfortunately drowned.

9th. This morning Mr. Walter was liberated from his confinement in Newgate, in consequence of receiving his majesty's most gracious pardon at the instance of his royal highness the prince of Wales, after an imprisonment of near sixteen months: of which period one year

year was the sentence of the Court on the prosecution of the duke of York. The full term of his sentence was two years, with fines and securities.

12th. A trial came on before lord Kenyon, on the prosecution of Mr. Crowder, attorney, of Frederick's-place, against Mr. Godfrey, another attorney, who had formerly lived with him as a clerk, for a libel against Mr. Crowder, in the pamphlet called, "The Great Question Considered, respecting Fictitious Bills." The publication and innuendoes being proved, Mr. Godfrey, as his own counsel, entered on his defence, which he began to read from a very large pile of papers; but, as some part of it appeared not relevant to the subject, the Court interposed, and he proceeded to state the evidence by which he intended to prove the assertion he had made in the pamphlet true; but the Court informing him, that as this was an indictment, and not an action, the truth of the libel was no justification, he acknowledged that he had no other defence. The jury considered of their verdict from three o'clock in the afternoon till half past eleven o'clock at night, and then found the defendant Guilty of publishing only. Eleven of the jurymen were of opinion that it was a libel; but one gentleman said, that he could not in his conscience find a man guilty of a libel, when it had not been stated in the indictment to be false. The verdict was mentioned, the next morning, to lord Kenyon, when he came to Guildhall. His lordship said, he was very sorry he was not present when the verdict was given. It was incomplete,

and did not decide the business. It had been held by very great judges, that the word *false*, in an information or an indictment for a libel, was unnecessary.

22nd. A genteel man went into the shop of Messrs. Willerton and Green, the corner of Conduit-street, New Bond-street; he looked at several articles of jewellery, and saying that he was recommended by his friend the marquis of Salisbury, who actually deals at that shop, he ordered a pair of diamond ear-rings, a diamond necklace, and a gold watch set round with brilliants, to be sent to lord Massey, at half past four, in St. James's Place. Mr. Green carried the articles, which in value amounted to upwards of 700*l*. The pretended lord Massey agreed to take them, and presented for payment a draught of 1,400*l*. purporting to be drawn by lord Tankerville on Messrs. Coutts and Co. bankers. The balance, Mr. Green said, he had not about him, and lord Massey observed, that it was of no consequence, as he must have proper cases for the jewels before he could present them to the lady; he therefore begged Mr. Green to bring such cases, and the difference of the bill, as soon as convenient, saying he might leave the jewels. When Mr. Green went from St. James's Place, it was too late to go to Coutts's but as he had no doubts of the bill, he went home and prepared the cases immediately. On Wednesday morning he called again, but no lord Massey was to be found. Mr. Green then began to entertain some fears, and went to the house of Messrs. Coutts, where he was informed that lord Tankerville kept no money, and that

that the bill might be presumed to be a forgery, He then went to lord Tankerville, who assured him that it was a forgery.

DIED.—The Rev. John Wesley, M. A. A further account of this extraordinary man shall be given in a subsequent part of this volume.

The Rev. Mr. William Woty, at Lutterworth, in Leicestershire; author of several well known poems. He was bred to the Law, which profession he exercised when he published his first pieces, called "Shrubs of Parnassus," under the name of "J. Copywell."

Aged 113, Anne Green, a pauper of the town of Sprotborough.

At Inch Keith, a small island on the north-west coast of the highlands of Scotland, Archibald Cameron, aged 122. He had served seven lords of the isle in the employment of domestic piper, during the course of 94 years; but his fingers at last failing, he lived on a pension allowed him by the family.

APRIL.

16th. The following letters appeared in the newspapers:

*Lower Seymour Street,
April, 15, 1791.*

We request you to insert in your paper the subjoined copies of letters, which we reciprocally present to each other on the parts of his Grace the duke of NORFOLK and sir JOHN HONEYWOOD, and which brought to an amicable termination the difference that had subsisted.

SUFFOLK,
J. STUART.

(Copy)

To Sir John Honeywood, Bart.

April, 13, 1791.

I do not recollect that I ever made you a promise that I would inform you previously to my presenting a petition, against the determination of the Steyning Committee; but if I did, I am ready to acknowledge that I ought to make you an apology for not having acquainted you of my intentions, and beg your pardon for this supposed injury.

(Signed) NORFOLK.

(Copy.)

To his Grace the duke of Norfolk.

MY LORD, *April 13, 1791.*

In consequence of your Grace's apology, and the explanation that has been given me, I am ready to make an apology for the expressions made use of by me, in the House of Commons or elsewhere; and do therefore say, that nothing but an idea of having been deceived could have induced me to use such language to a person whom I now consider as a man of strict honour and veracity, and beg your grace's pardon for those expressions, and believe you had no intentions to deceive me.

(Signed) JOHN HONEYWOOD.

18th. Edward Pritchard and Charles Taylor, for the wilful murder of their wives, Martha Pritchard, and Winifred Taylor, were executed according to their sentence, opposite to the Debtor's door of Newgate, and afterwards carried to Surgeon's-Hall for dissection. Pritchard declared the surgeon and women who appeared against him had sworn false. He owned the justice of his sentence.

A person who desired his name to remain unknown, gave, through the

the medium of Mr. Hawkins Brown, M. P., ten thousand pounds five per cents to the society for Propagating the gospel in the highlands.

In the House of Lords of Ireland it has been unanimously resolved, "That John Butler, Esquire has clearly proved his claim to the title of earl of Ormond and Ossory and viscount Thurles :—" Whereupon it was ordered, that the lord-chancellor, attended by the House, do present the resolution of the House to his excellency the lord-lieutenant, in order that the same be transmitted to his majesty; who in consequence has been graciously pleased to direct his writ to be issued, summoning the earl of Ormond to parliament.

19th. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when judgment of death was passed upon the following capital convicts, viz. James Kelsey, George Allet, Jane Sharp, John Smith, Thomas Chaseland, Joseph Druce, Thomas Cawsey, alias Causor, John Ryan, alias George King, William Jones, and Robert Jones. One was sentenced to be transported for the term of 14 years, and 41 for seven years.

Among numerous other eccentricities in the will of the Rev. Mr. Wood, late of Ruspur, in Sussex, are the following :—On the day of his funeral he requested that the parish ringers might begin ringing a peal early in the morning, and continue so to do till his corpse was removed into the street, when they should chime to the church-door, and then toll till the attendant clergyman thought proper to read the burial service; and that the singers should chaunt before the corpse, from his house to the church-yard. He bequeathed

3,000l. to be distributed to 30 poor men, at the discretion of his executors. To persons who had borrowed money of him to the amount of 100l. or upwards, he gave a stock hundred in the three per cents; to persons having borrowed less than 100l., six months interest; and to his housekeeper, for the support of a favourite dog, 3l. per annum during the dog's life.

A singular point of law was a few days since determined in the case of Mrs. Wildley, of Portland-road, whereby it appears, that a mother has no right whatever over her child, not born in wedlock, after seven years of age. The question came before the Court, we understand, on her having removed her daughter by *Habeas Corpus*; but on the point being fully argued, the Court were of opinion, the father was the sole and proper guardian of the child, and remanded her back accordingly from whence she had been removed, subject to the father's control only.

28th. On Thursday last the noted Catherine Lloyd was executed at Cardigan, pursuant to her sentence at the last assizes for that county, for horse stealing. Her behaviour, while under condemnation, and at the place of execution, was becoming her unhappy situation; but she denied the fact for which she suffered to the last moment of her existence.—This woman has made a practice of stealing horses in the counties of Caermarthen and Cardigan for several years, which she used to drive to Yorkshire, and other neighbouring counties.

The monument erected at Hanover to the memory of Leibnitz is completed,

leted, and has cost upwards 105 dollars. As the subscription mounted but to 4,799 dollars, King of England contributed 5000 dollars. The cost of the bust of Voltaire, executed at Rome, of white marble, together with pedestal, and the expence of transport from Italy, by the way of Amsterdam, amounted to 892 dollars.

h. A cause was brought forward at Lancaster assizes, against a clergyman, for seducing the daughter of a respectable farmer under pretence of marriage. Several circumstances were proved to the satisfaction of the jury that considerably aggravated the offence. The jury therefore gave a verdict with 5000 damages.

During divine service, a fire broke out at Burbage, Wilts, which consumed a farm-house, the appurtenances, and nine persons, inhabited by poor people who lost their all, had no where to go to, and were reduced to the utmost distress. It was occasioned by the carelessness of a man in throwing hot ashes upon loose straw.

About two o'clock, a most dreadful fire broke out in a house in Blakeney-street, Manchester, and in a short time reduced the house to a shell, and did considerable damage to several houses adjoining. This unfortunate accident is supposed to have been occasioned by some clothes being left before the fire, as the family were ironing the evening previous. The fire had got to such a height, that the outside window-panes were burning when it was discovered; and, being in the middle of the night, it was some time before

the family were apprised of their danger. Of nine persons who inhabited the house, only four were saved, viz. John Stockton, the occupier, who escaped out of the window, with two of his children; and his wife's sister, who broke her leg in making her escape in the same manner. It was some time before the bodies of the sufferers were found; and, when discovered, the youngest child was at the breast of the mother, and two others clinging round her neck; but the fire had burnt them so dreadfully, that it was scarcely possible to discover whether they were human, the heads and legs having been burnt off. Not a single article of property was saved.

At Petersburg the people have been entertained with a magnificent display of the trophies of war captured from the Turks: the regiment of horse-guards defiled along the imperial palace, bearing to the fortress the trophies of Ismael, composed of near 500 horse-tails, commander's staffs, maces, standards, and colours. It is said that the better to perpetuate the remembrance of this important conquest, and the other advantages gained by the prince Potemkin over the enemies of Christ, and in opposition to the koran, and to the sword of Mahomet, her imperial majesty intends to present prince Potemkin with a bible richly bound, and set with brilliants, together with a sabre of immense value.

Cagliostro's trial terminated on the seventh ult. when he received sentence of death; but his Holiness has mitigated it into perpetual imprisonment: his secretary is to be confined for ten years, and his clothes and books are to be burnt by

by the public executioner. His crimes are not particularly enumerated. By his own confession, they say, he has been declared an heretic, heresiarch, a judiciary astrologer, a magician, and free-mason.

The king of Great Britain, sovereign of the noble order of the Garter, having been pleased to appoint Morton Eden, esq. his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Dresden, and Sir Isaac Heard, knight, Garter principal king at arms, plenipotentiaries for investing his serene highness the duke of Saxe Gotha, with the habit and ensigns of that most noble order; the ceremony took place at Saxe Gotha on the 16th of April, and the full and solemn investiture on the 18th; on which day a splendid banquet was prepared, at which were present the whole Court.

William Henry Clark, alias Lowins, for robbing the mail, was found guilty at Chester assizes, and on Thursday he was executed. It was reported that he was possessed of property to the amount of 2,000*l.* and upwards. This daring fellow has since been gibbeted on the lofty hill of Helby, about seven miles from Chester. The expence of prosecuting and bringing him to conviction, is said to cost government more than 1,500*l.*

The duke of Leeds attended the council at St. James's, and delivered up the seals of his office to the king.

DIED.—At Paris, after an illness violent and short, in the first part of which he was frequently delirious, and throughout in great pain, the celebrated Count de Mirabeau.

Some anecdotes of his death and burial shall be given under the head of characters.

3rd. At Besselsteigh, near Oxford, where he had gone for change of air, in his 61st year, Dr. John Berkenhout, long distinguished in the literary world for his productions in various sciences. He had experienced many different situations of life; having, in his youth, been a captain both in the Prussian and English service; and in the year 1765 he took his degree of M. D. at the university of Leyden. He went with the commissioners to America, where he was imprisoned by the Congress, on which account he afterwards enjoyed a pension from government.

19th. At his house on Newington-green, at about one o'clock in the morning, in his 62nd year, the Rev. Richard Price, D. D. LL. D. fellow of the Royal Society of London, and of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in New England; and universally known and celebrated for his great abilities in arithmetical calculation. Philanthropy was the leading feature in the character of Dr. P.; in his conversation, in his conduct through life, in his writings, whether theological, moral, or scientific. He was the foe of usurped power, not because he envied those who enjoyed it, but because his susceptible heart felt pain for the sufferings of the oppressed. He opposed lawless ambition, not from any pleasure he took in humbling greatness, but because he compassionated the misery of those who were to be its victims. He was the friend of man, and the most intrepid assertor of his rights, and no one's enemy any farther than this character

character required it of him. His excellent understanding, his boldness and freedom of thinking, the purity of his views, and the simplicity of his manners, had endeared him to a large circle of acquaintance, by whom his loss will be most sincerely lamented. In his manners he displayed that politeness and good breeding which ever accompany native goodness and unassumed diffidence. He was looked up to, and revered by, the friends of liberty throughout the world. While his genius, and his no less abstruse than valuable labours in calculation rank him with the first philosophers of every age, his political counsels and writings place him among the most distinguished patriots and benefactors of nations. Whenever history shall rise above the prejudices which may for a time darken her page, and celebrate the æras when men began to open their eyes, to behold their own rights, and when this gave rise to the splendid revolutions of America and France, the name of Price will be mentioned among those of Franklin, and Washington. He lived to see changes that gave him the most heartfelt satisfaction. Had he lived a little longer, it is to be hoped he would have seen others equally pleasing. But he has terminated a glorious and splendid course, and lived to see much more done in favour of liberty, civil and religious, than he had ever expected.—In early life the Doctor married a lady of the established religion, who lived at Newington; and though it is well known his own principles differed very much upon this point, they made no difference in his attachment to her. He was, in

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every sense of the character, a good and affectionate husband. He had been a widower several years, and has left his fortune to a sister and two nephews. A man's character is generally best understood in his own house and neighbourhood; and both these speak most favourably for the late Doctor Price. From the commencement of his illness to his death, his door was surrounded with anxious inquirers after his health; in which were included the learned, the good, and the great, of all persuasions: and at his death there appeared that unaffected sorrow which evidently proves the loss of a truly worthy man. He published "Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, 1776." "General Introduction and Supplement to the Two Tracts on Civil Liberty, 1778." "A Free Discussion of the Doctrine of Materialism and Necessity, in a Correspondence between Doctor Price, and Doctor Priestley, 1779." "Essay on the population of England, from the Revolution to the present Time, 1780." "Observations on Reversionary Payments," &c. &c. 2 vols. 1783. "Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution, 1784," not published, and several other tracts and single sermons.

If we should say, the Doctor deeply felt the censure of Mr. Burke, we should not, perhaps, be very wide of the truth; notwithstanding the apparent cause of his dissolution appeared, on opening his body, to be a suppression of urine, occasioned by a stone in the neck of the bladder, and a decay in one of the kidneys. He was interred in Bunhill-fields burying-ground, about one o'clock on Tuesday the 26th inst.

C

inst. amidst a concourse of spectators; the procession from Hackney being preceded by two horsemen, in their proper habiliments, and immediately followed by 19 mourning coaches, some of which had four horses, besides a great number of gentlemen's carriages; among which were those of the duke of Portland, earl Stanhope, and several other persons of distinction. The pall was supported by the rev. Hugh Worthington, rev. Samuel Palmer, rev. Thomas Taylor, rev. R. Harris, D. D., rev. A. Rees, D. D., and rev. Joseph Priestley, LL.D. The funeral oration was spoken by Dr. Kippis.

29th. James Drage, esq. at Soham, in Cambridgeshire, justice of peace. At his decease 14,000*l.* in specie was found in his house, 1,000*l.* of which was in Portugal pieces, principally moidores; and as that coin has not been current in this kingdom this nineteen years past, it is to be presumed that it has lain dormant for at least that period; besides which, there were 2,000 light guineas, great part of which have probably been hoarded ever since the regulation took place respecting the gold coin.

MAY.

19th. The adjourned sessions were held at the sessions-house in the Old Bailey, when the following prisoners who were capitally convicted and received sentence of death, but have been respited during the royal pleasure, were put to the bar, viz. Edward Church, John Brickworth, James Templeman, George Platt, Philip Roberts, Robert Breeze, John Hart,

Thomas Harbut, James Johnson, and John Harpey, when his majesty's letter was read to them by the clerk of the arraigns, setting forth that his majesty had extended to them his most gracious pardon, on condition of their being transported to New South Wales during their natural lives, which they all thankfully accepted, and received their sentence accordingly. Elizabeth Cummings, convicted in July sessions, 1789, was next put to the bar, and the royal clemency offered her on the above conditions, which she rejected, declaring she would rather die than accept of mercy on those terms. The recorder, on this, ordered her to be conducted to a cell, and that no person might be admitted to see or speak to her, except the ordinary of Newgate: however, after having been in the cell about half an hour with the ordinary, she begged to accept of the king's mercy, notice of which was directly sent to the recorder, who ordered her to be released from the cell, and remain to receive her sentence next sessions.

According to the report of the commissioners under the bill for the reduction of the national debt, it appears, that they had then redeemed, 7,152,600*l.* on the first of the present month. The increase upon the customs, excise, stamps, &c. for the week ending the 7th of May, 1790, and the 6th of May, 1791, is 880,664*l.* 9*s.* The public income for the year ending the 5th of January, 1791, has amounted to very nearly the sum of 17,000,000*l.*

The average income of the last three years has been, in permanent taxes, 13,472,286*l.* — Land and malt,

malt, 2,558,000*l.* total 16,030,286*l.* The expenditure (including the appropriated million), 15,969,178*l.* leaving a balance of 61,108*l.* in our favour.

25th. Letters have been received in town from Botany Bay, which contain the most favourable account of the infant colony. The arrival of the Scarborough, Surprise, Justinian, Lady Juliana, and Neptune transports, in the months of July and August, entirely relieved the colony from that distress it laboured under, when lieutenant King left it; and enabled governor Philips to carry into execution those plans he had before concerted, for preventing in future any inconvenience arising from a scarcity of provisions. The number of additional hands he at the same time received enabled him to cut several small canals, for the purpose of watering the grounds, which he had cleared to a great extent; and had rendered, by proper cultivation, so fertile, that the little corn, &c. which he could afford to sow, had succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations.

29th. An alarming insurrection broke out in the King's Bench prison, an attempt being made by the greater part of the prisoners to escape; much mischief was done to the inner part of the prison, and the outer gate would have been forced, had not a body of horse and foot arrived to restore order; which they happily effected, without any bloodshed, before 11 o'clock. The following are some of the particulars of the riot: The prisoners having dined together at a weekly club, and being a little elevated by liquor, deputed major Pitcairn to wait on the marshal,

and request that colonel Harrington, who has been eight months closely confined for having attempted to escape, might be as much at liberty as themselves; but, instead of their desire being complied with, major Pitcairn was detained in custody. This circumstance added to their discontent, they became more clamorous and desperate; when the marshal, with some assistance, went among them, and seized two or three of the ringleaders, but was so roughly handled, that he was obliged to retreat. The riot was fortunately quelled before 11 o'clock. Several of the ringleaders in the above riot have been since removed to Newgate and other prisons.

30th. Ended the sale of the valuable library of the late Dr. Lort, which had continued 25 days, with the interruption of Easter holidays, the produce of which amounted to 1269*l.* Among a variety of curious articles which the proprietor had amassed from his first entering on a collegiate life, and which his extensive acquaintance with men of letters enabled him to pursue to the last, those books on our national history and antiquities, enriched with the MS. notes of his friend, that well-known antiquary, the rev. Geo. North, rector of Coddicote, in Hertfordshire, were not the least interesting. The doctor's notes in his books were chiefly references to authors who had treated the same subjects, or keys to particular publications. His prints were sold May 26th, and the six following days, and produced 401*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

The following case was argued and determined in the court of King's Bench:—The plaintiff, an
C 2 officer

officer on half-pay, in want of money, applied to a money-lender, who, on the usual assignment of his half-pay registered at the pay-office of the army, advanced the money required. When two half-years became due, the plaintiff, notwithstanding the assignment as above, made a demand of his half-pay from the paymasters general, who refused to pay it; and upon this refusal he brought his action upon the case to recover it. The action was tried at the sittings after Hilary Term, before lord Kenyon, and a verdict found for the plaintiff, with liberty for the defendant's counsel to move for a new trial. After many learned arguments, and cases cited as precedents, the Court were clearly of opinion, that an officer's half-pay, being allowed by the public for the purpose of maintaining gentlemen in the navy and army until the necessities of the state required their services, neither equity, good conscience, policy, nor law, would permit them to sell or assign their daily bread.

At midnight, a dreadful fire broke out at Mrs. Sutton's, the Chequer public-house in Marsh-street, Walthamstow, occasioned by the maid going into a closet of linen with a lighted candle, which in a short time entirely destroyed that house and two others adjoining, occupied by a baker, and a school. Happily no lives were lost.

DIED. At Madrid aged 61 years, M. Theodore Chevalier de Croix, grand cross of the order of Charles 3rd &c. After 42 years service in the army, and having been viceroy of Peru, this respectable officer has left nothing for his relations but

the remembrance of his rare and inimitable virtues. It is pleasing to observe, that a character so excellent as the above, is thus immortalized by Dr. Robertson in the concluding page of his History of America. "The kings of Spain, sensible of the opportunity which their viceroys possess of amassing, by illicit means, enormous riches, grant them a commission only for a few years. This circumstance, however, renders them often more rapacious, and adds to the ingenuity and ardour wherewith they labour to improve every moment of power which they know is hastening to a period; and short as its duration is, it usually affords sufficient time for repairing a shattered fortune, or for creating a new one. But even in situations so trying to human frailty, there are instances of virtue unseduced by temptation. In the year 1772, the marquis de Croix finished the term of his viceroyalty in New Spain with unsuspected integrity; and instead of bringing home exorbitant wealth, returned with the admiration and applause of a grateful people, whom his government had rendered happy."

12th. At Dublin, in his 52nd year, in an apoplectic fit, Francis Grose, esq. F. S. A. of London and Perth, and captain in the Surrey militia; who, after having illustrated the Antiquities of England and Wales, in a series of 352 views of monastic and other ruins, in four volumes; and those of Scotland in the course of two years, in 190 views, and two volumes, with a map, was on the point of completing his design by those of Ireland, where he had been employed about a month before his death.

He

He published the first number of the "Antiquities of England and Wales" in 1773, and completed the whole in 1776, with the addition of a collection of 40 plans. The historical account of each place, annexed to each plate, and several of the drawings themselves, were communicated by his learned friends, whose assistance he gratefully acknowledged in the preface to the third and fourth volumes. In 1777 he resumed his pencil, and added two more volumes to his English views, in which he included the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, in 237 views; and to these were added a general and county maps, completed in 1787. The whole number of views in England, Wales, and the islands, amounts to 589, besides 40 plans, the head-pieces, and other plates, illustrative of his prefatory dissertations on monastic institutions, castles, and military matters, gothic architecture, druidical and sepulchral monuments. The views were re-published, on pages distinct from the letter-press, in large octavo size. This first work completed, and having exceeded the most sanguine expectations of himself and his friend and publisher, Master Samuel Hooper, Mr. Grose applied himself to one more professional, "Military Antiquities respecting a History of the English Army, from the Conquest to the present Time, in two volumes," 4to, 1786—1788, illustrated with great variety of plates, and published, like the preceding work in numbers. But previous to this, having, in the course of his researches for it, in vain sought for some treatise exhibiting a series of authentic delineations and descriptions of the different kinds of armour and wea-

pons used by our ancestors, he published "A Treatise on ancient Armour and Weapons, illustrated by plates taken from the original armour in the Tower of London, and other arsenals, museums, and cabinets, 1785," 4to.; to which he gave a supplement in 1789, 4to.: the plates of both, in a free painter-like manner, etched by Mr. John Hamilton, vice-president of the society of artists of Great Britain. In 1785, he published "A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue;" which it would have been for his credit to have suppressed; and "A Guide to Health, Beauty, Honour, and Riches; being a collection of humorous advertisements, pointing out the means to obtain those blessings, with a suitable introductory preface." In 1786, "The History of Dover Castle, by the rev. William Darrell, chaplain to queen Elizabeth. The Latin manuscript, from which this work is printed, was transcribed from the original, in the library of the college of arms, under the inspection of the late W. Oldys, esq. Elegantly printed in 4to. and 8vo. the same size as the large and small editions of the Antiquities of England and Wales, with ten beautiful views, finely engraved from drawings taken on the spot, by F. Grose, esq." In 1788, "A provincial Glossary, with a collection of local proverbs and proper superstitions," 8vo. In the same year appeared, without his name, but was generally ascribed to him, "Rules for drawing Caricatures:" the subject illustrated with four copper-plates; with an Essay on Comic Painting. In the summer of 1789, he set out on a tour in Scotland, the result of which he began to communicate to the

the public in 1790, in numbers, of four folio plates in each, price 3s. 6d. followed with letter-press descriptions at separate periods, as the matter was collected. Before he had concluded this work he set out for Ireland, in the spring of the present year; and we do not despair of seeing many specimens of his success in that kingdom, which are announced for publication, in about 40 numbers, making two volumes, and which, like those of England and Scotland, are also to be printed both in a 4to. and an 8vo. size. He was accompanied, for the last three years of his travels, by a young man whom he called his "Guinea pig," and who has caught his manner of etching. In *Archæologia*, vol. V., is a dissertation, by Mr. Grose, "On an ancient Fortification at Christchurch, Hants;" in vol. VIII. another, "On ancient spurs." Mr. Grose was son of Francis G. esq. jeweller, of Richmond, who fitted up the coronation-crown of George II. and died in October, 1769, and his prints and shells were sold in 1770. He was also brother to Mr. John Grose, F.A.S. author of "Ethics" and to John Henry Grose author of a voyage to the East Indies, 1772, 2 vols; and father of Daniel Grose, esq. captain of the royal regiment of artillery, F.A.S. who, after several campaigns in America, was appointed, 1790, deputy-governor of the new settlement at Botany-bay; of the wife of Anketil Singleton esq. lieutenant-governor of Landguard-fort, and of several other sons and daughters. Mr. Grose's talent for drawing, joined to his pleasant and communicative disposition, secured him the regard of an extensive cir-

cle of friends. The new plates in Mr. Martin's "History of Thetford, 1779," were drawn by Mr. Grose.

About the beginning of May died Mrs. Buchan, the leader of a few deluded people, and who resided in the neighbourhood of Thornton-Hill, near Dumfries, Scotland. Her followers were greatly reduced in number; but Mr. White, once a relief minister, continued with her to the last. Finding she was going the way of all the earth, she called her disciples together, and exhorted them to continue steadfast and unanimous in their adherence to the doctrines which they had received from her. She then told them she had still one secret to communicate, which was, that she was the Virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord; that she was the same woman mentioned in the Revelations, as being clothed with the sun, &c. who was driven into the wilderness; that she had been wandering in the world ever since our Saviour's days; and that for some time past she had sojourned in Scotland; that though she here appeared to die, they need not be discouraged, for she would only sleep a little, and in a short time would again visit them, and conduct them to the New Jerusalem. After she died, it was a long time before her enthusiastic votaries would straighten or dress the corpse; nor did they coffin her until they were obliged thereto by the smell; and after that, they would not bury her, but built up the coffin in a corner of the barn, always expecting that she would rise again from the dead, according to her promise, and conduct them to Jerusalem.

At

At last, the people in the country around, shocked with these proceedings, interfered, went to a justice of the peace, and got an order that she should be buried.

JUNE.

1st. *Turin*.—A dispute has lately taken place in this capital between the students of the university and the police, which from the prudent conduct of the government, has fortunately subsided without any bad consequence. It was occasioned by the arrest of one of the students on a mistaken charge; in consequence of which, the other members of the university insisted on the officer asking pardon publicly. This not being complied with, the students assembled in considerable numbers, and proceeded to some acts of violence. The troops having been drawn out, and the officer who had executed the arrest having asked pardon, the tumult subsided without any further consequences.

2nd. Mrs. Dundas, wife of captain Dundas, in the East India company's service, Mrs. Bristow, Mr. Adair, and another lady, returning in their coach from London, were stopped about nine o'clock in the evening, near the eighth-mile stone, at the corner of South-street, Enfield-highway, by three footpads, who with great violence and rudeness robbed them of a considerable sum of money and their gold watches. Information being immediately given to Mr. Law, constable of the division, Mr. Adair suggested the hiring a post-chaise, and, taking one of Mrs. D.'s servants with him, they

proceeded towards London, sitting on the rail of the chaise. Overtaking the three men described by the servant, the post-boy was ordered to hail them for London, as a returning chaise: they accepted the offer, and agreed to give a shilling a-piece, instead of eighteen pence, which was asked, while the others, quitting the chaise, walked before, up Stamford-hill, to the turnpike-house, where, by the assistance of the toll-men properly armed, they easily apprehended the robbers, and found the watches and money dropped by them at the bottom of the chaise. They were committed to New Prison on Friday, and sworn-to before Justice Spiller, and on the Monday following fully committed for trial at the Old Bailey, where they were capitally convicted on Thursday the 9th.—They are notorious offenders, who have infested this road for near six weeks, and robbed several drivers of carts, wounding one of them desperately. One of them proves to be a working sadler, another a working silversmith, and the third a tin-plate worker, each of whom could make a guinea a week by their respective callings; and have acknowledged that they have five or six accomplices.—On Wednesday evening the 22nd, Mr. Mazzinghi of Cheshunt was robbed of his watch and money near the above spot by three footpads, who, notwithstanding an immediate pursuit, escaped by hiding themselves in the corn-fields.

4th. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, a dreadful fire broke out at Mr. Sanders's patent axle-tree manufactory, in Chambers-street, near Rosemary-lane, Goodman's-fields, which entirely destroyed

stroyed that, the timber-yard of Mr. Maxtoke, who was out of town, and thirteen houses, and was with difficulty restrained from breaking out afresh a day or two after. The damage was estimated at thirty thousand pounds. The want of water, at first, was supplied by beer from a large adjoining storehouse.

6th. Humphrey Bellamy, esq. of Ewell, Surrey, and a lady, going to that place in a post-chaise, were stopped, near the twelve mile stone on the Epsom road, at ten at night, by three footpads, who robbed them of two gold watches and other valuable effects, and a considerable sum of money; and dragging them both out, cut and wounded Mr. B. in a most cruel, wanton, and dangerous manner, besides firing a pistol, which burst in pieces. The same evening, on the same spot, these villains robbed Mr. Hutchinson, clerk of Brewer's hall, and Mr. Ellis of Whetstone, surveyor, and beat and bruised the latter with the but-end of their pistols as he sat in the chaise, besides cutting at him with a hanger. Information was immediately lodged at Bow-street, and a patrol sent out, so that it is hoped such a desperate gang will soon be broken up.

29. Soon after eight, the three following criminals were brought out of Newgate, at the debtors'-door, to the temporary gallows, viz. George Anlett and James Kelsey, both for forgery, and John Smith for returning from transportation before the expiration of his time, and executed.

DIED. At Binfield, Berks, after a long and very painful illness, Mrs. Catherine Macaulay Graham.

She was the youngest daughter of John Sawbridge, esq. of Ollantigh, Kent, and sister of John Sawbridge, esq., alderman of London. June 13, 1760, she married George Macaulay, M. D., who died, leaving by her one daughter, married Dec. 7, 1787, to C. Gregory, esq. an East India captain. Mrs. Macaulay re-married, Dec. 17, 1778, the younger brother of the celebrated Dr. Graham, with whom she retired to a cottage in Leicestershire. She began her literary career with the "History of England from James 1st to the Brunswick line;" the first volume of which was published in 1763; the second, 1765; the third 1767; the fourth, 1769; the fifth, 1771; the sixth and seventh, 1781; and the eighth, 1783. "Thoughts on the Causes of the present Discontents, 1770." "A modest Plea for the Property of Copy-right." "History of England from the Revolution to the present Time; in a series of letters to a friend, the Rev. Dr. Wilson, prebendary of Westminster, 1778," 4to. on which C. Lofft, esq. published panegyrical "Observations" the same year. "A Treatise on the Immutability of Moral Truth, 1783," 8vo. "An Address to the People of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on the present important crisis of Affairs, 1775," 8vo. Her last publication was "Letters on Education, 1790," 8vo. The enthusiastic devotion paid to her, as a favourer of liberty, by the late Dr. Wilson, prebendary of Westminster, by setting up a statue of her, in the character of the goddess of liberty, in her life time, in the chancel of his church in Walbrook, which on his death

removed, is well known. "I
ed to no purpose," says Mr.
ant, in his 'History of Lon-
' "for the statue erected
MACAVLÆ, by her doating
rer, a former rector, which a
essor of his has most profanely
d down."

Oldenburgh George Christian
Oeder, author of the Flora
ca. He was born at Anspach,
3, 1728, and studied physic,
more particularly botany, at
ingen, under the celebrated
er.

his villa on the banks of
Kotback in Alsace, aged 72,
'ouletier, author of a whimsi-
oetical satire, intituled "the
um" in allusion to the Pall,
red by the Popes to be an en-
of the plenitude of apostolic
r.

Gœtingen, of a pulmonary
mption, in his 51st year,

Andrew Murray, M. D.
ht of the order of Vasa, aulic
seller to his Britannic Majes-
rdinary professor of physic and
y, and superintendant of the
ical garden of Gœtingen, &c.

JULY.

Brussels.—Yesterday the
mony of the inauguration of
mperor, as duke of Brabant,
erformed here, when his royal
ness the duke of Saxe Teschen
and received, in his Imperial
ty's name, the oaths which
rescribed to be taken on this
ion.

Hague.—Yesterday morn-
about two o'clock, a fire broke
the Admiralty of Amster-
and, though every endea-
was used to extinguish it,

consumed, in a few hours, the
whole of that fine building, and a
large magazine of sails, arms, and
other stores, sufficient, it is said,
for the equipment of 13 ships of
war. The cause of this misfor-
tune is not yet ascertained.

6th. Mary Doran was brought
up to receive the judgment of the
Court for setting her house on fire.
She was sentenced to be imprison-
ed two years in Newgate, and after-
wards to find security for her good
behaviour for five years; herself
in 100%. and two sureties in 50%.
each.

Same day the following male-
factors were brought out of New-
gate, and executed according to
their sentences, viz. William Brown
and John Dawson, for robbing Mr.
Maddocks, the bottom of Highgate-
hill, of 17 guineas and a half, &c.
—William Bates, Edward Gillet-
key, and Stephen Mackaway, for
assaulting Robert Adair, esq. Ame-
lia Bristow, and Elizabeth Dundas,
on the highway, at Edmonton,
and robbing them of a gold watch,
a ten pound bank-note, and 20 gui-
neas. Joseph Wood, aged 14, and
Thomas Underwood, aged 15, for
assaulting William Beedle, a lad
12 years of age, and robbing him
of a bag containing a jacket, a
shirt and waistcoat, and five-pence
in halfpence, near Saltpetre-bank;
—and Isabella Stewart, for steal-
ing in the dwelling-house of Mr.
Goodman, in the Strand, a 50%,
bank-note, and 21 guineas, the
property of Elizabeth Morgan:
they all died very penitent, and
owned the justness of their sen-
tences.

14th. *Birmingham.*—In con-
sequence of an advertisement, on
Thursday the 14th instant, up-
wards

wards of 90 gentlemen met at the hotel, to commemorate the French revolution. It is previously to be observed, that six copies of a seditious hand-bill* had been left early in the week by some person unknown in a public house; for discovering the author, printer, or publisher of which, a reward of 100 guineas was offered by the magistrates; and which, having been very generally copied, caused no small fermentation in the minds of the people. In consequence, on Thursday afternoon a considerable number of persons gathered round the hotel, hissing at the gentlemen as they assembled; and, subsequent to their departure (which happened two hours after), every window in the front was completely demolished, notwithstanding the personal appearance and interference of the magistrates. The mob next attacked the new meeting-house (Dr. Priestley's), and after

trying in vain to tear up the seats, &c. they set it on fire, and nothing remains that could be consumed. The old meeting-house was completely emptied of the pulpit, pews, &c. which were burnt in the adjoining burying-ground, and afterwards the building was levelled nearly with the ground; it being considered dangerous from its situation to set it on fire. Dr. Priestley's house, at Fair-hill (a mile and a half from hence), next met a similar fate, with the whole of his valuable library, and more valuable collection of apparatus for philosophical experiments. Here one of the rioters was killed by the falling of a cornice-stone. On Friday morning the infatuated mob continued their depredations, for there was no armed force in the town, and the civil power was not sufficient to repress them. Armed with bludgeons, &c. and vociferating
 “ Church

* Of which the following is a Copy.

“ My Countrymen,

“ The second year of Gallic liberty is nearly expired. At the commencement of the third, on the 14th of this month, it is devoutly to be wished that every enemy to civil and religious despotism would give his sanction to the majestic common cause by a public celebration of the Anniversary.

Remember—that on the 14th of July the Bastille, that high altar and castle of despotism, fell!—Remember the enthusiasm, peculiar to the cause of liberty, with which it was attacked!—Remember that generous humanity that taught the oppressed, groaning under the weight of insulted rights, to spare the lives of oppressors!—Extinguish the mean prejudices of nations, and let your numbers be collected, and sent as a free-will offering to the National Assembly!—But is it possible to forget your own Parliament is venal, your Minister hypocritical; your Clergy legal oppressors; the reigning Family extravagant; the crown of a certain Great Personage becoming every day too weighty for the head that wears it—too weighty for the people that gave it; your taxes partial and oppressive; your Representation a cruel insult upon the sacred rights of Property, Religion, and Freedom?—But on the 14th of this month prove to the sycophants of the day, that you reverence the Olive-branch; that you will sacrifice to public tranquillity till the majority shall exclaim, “ *The PEACE of Slavery is worse than the WAR of Freedom.*”—Of that day let tyrants beware!

rch and King!" they spread
 or wherever they appeared.
 noon they attacked and de-
 ed the elegant mansion of
 hn Ryland (late Mr. Basker-
), at Easy-hill, where many
 e rioters, who were drunk,
 ed in the cellars, either by
 ames, or suffocation by the
 in of the roof. Six poor
 es, terribly bruised, were
 ut alive, and are now in our
 al, and ten dead bodies have
 been dug out of the ruins;
 man, who had remained im-
 l in one of the vaults from the
 ding Friday, worked his way
 Monday, with little injury.
 afternoon the magistrates,
 us to preserve the town from
 r outrage, until military aid
 be procured, attended and
 in some hundreds as addi-
 constables, who, with mop-
 in their hands, marched up
 . Ryland's to disperse the
 who at first gave way; but
 g, after a stout conflict, in
 many were severely wound-
 e *posse comitatus* was obliged
 ire without effecting any use-
 rpose.

a country residence of John
 r, esq. Bordesley-hall, after
 reatest part of its splendid
 ure had been demolished or
 d away, was set on fire, to-
 r with the out-offices, stables,
 of hay, &c. and altogether ex-
 d a most tremendous scene of
 tation. Every exertion to pre-
 this elegant seat was made by
 Carver, but in vain; on offer-
 em his purse with 100 guineas
 e the house, he was hustled
 t the crowd, with a cry of
 Bribery!" and narrowly es-
 their fury. In the night of

Friday, the house of Mr. Hutton,
 in High-street, was completely
 stripped; his large stock of paper,
 his very valuable library of books,
 and all his furniture, destroyed or
 carried away. Fire was several
 times brought by a woman (women
 and boys were particularly active
 in all the depredations), but the
 majority of the populace, in ten-
 derness to the town, would not suf-
 fer it to be applied. From Mr.
 Hutton's they proceeded to his
 country-house at Washwood-heath,
 about three miles from town,
 which, with its offices, they reduced
 to ashes. Saturday morning the
 rioters made an attack on Mr. G.
 Humphrey's elegant house at
 Spark-Brook, but were repulsed,
 and one man killed; the mob how-
 ever, on a second attack carried
 their point, and went off after ran-
 sacking the house of all its valua-
 ble furniture, but did not burn it.
 Mr. William Russell's house, at
 Showell-green, experienced all the
 violence of fire and devastation.
 The house of Mr. T. Hawkes,
 Moseley-wake-green, was stripped
 of its furniture which was either
 broken to pieces or carried away.
 Moseley-hall, the residence of the
 dowager countess Carhampton (but
 the property of John Taylor, esq.),
 Mr. Harwood's, and Mr. Hobson's,
 a dissenting minister, were all on
 fire at once. Lady Carhampton
 had notice on the preceding day to
 remove her effects, as their ven-
 geance was not directed against
 her; the good old lady gave di-
 rections accordingly, and sir Ro-
 bert and captain Lawley im-
 mediately attended on their no-
 ble relation, whom they accom-
 panied in safety to Canwell,
 sir Robert's seat. The whole of

Saturday business was at a stand and the shops mostly close shut up, notwithstanding the appearance of the magistrates and several popular noblemen and gentlemen; for the reports were so vague and various of the number and the strength of the insurgents, and having no military save a few undisciplined recruits, no force could be sent out against them. In the afternoon and evening, small parties of three or five, levied contributions of meat, liquor, and money, with the same indifference that they would levy parish taxes; but the night passed without interruption in the town. On Sunday the rioters bent their course towards Kingswood, seven miles off, extorting money and liquors by the way. There the dissenting meeting-house, and the dwelling-house of the minister, were reduced to ashes; as were the premises of Mr. Cox, farmer, at Worstock, the same day. The reports of every hour of this day appeared calculated to excite alarm in the town, whilst depredation and extortion were committing in the surrounding villages and country seats. Sunday night, soon after ten, three troops of the 15th light dragoons arrived amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, whose hopes and fears had been visibly depicted through the day in every countenance, as reports of the near approach of the soldiery were spread or contradicted. The town was immediately illuminated, and before morning every thing was tolerably quiet, but the rioters were still continuing their depredations in the country. Their visits to Mr. Hunt's at Lady-wood, Mr. Coates's at the Five Ways, and Dr. Withering's Edgbaston-hall, were

attended with great alarm, but not the injury reported. They exhausted the cellars at each place, and received various sums of money to prevent their proceeding to further violence, but were at the last-mentioned place in great force at the time the troops arrived; which they had no sooner intimation of than they began to slink off in small parties, and the peasantry taking courage, put the rest to flight in various directions. So rapid were the light horse in their route for the relief of this place, that they came here in one day from Nottingham, a distance of 59 miles, but to the great injury of their horses, one of which, a famous old horse that had been in the regiment 18 years, died the following day.—Monday. The town in perfect security, but as much crowded as during the three preceding days, in viewing the military; the mob keeping at such a distance as to render all accounts of them dubious; at one time said to be at Alcester, the next hour at Bromsgrove, &c. which reports, however, were refuted by the earl of Plymouth, who kindly attended as a magistrate of the county of Worcester, as did the rev. Mr. Cartwright, of Dudley.—Tuesday. Flying rumours of depredations near Hagley, Hales Owen, &c. and in the evening certain information was received, that a party of rioters were then attacking Mr. Male's of Belle Vue. A few of the light dragoons immediately went to his assistance; but they had been previously overpowered by a body of people in that neighbourhood, and ten of them are now confined at Hales Owen.—Wednesday. This morning the country

und, for ten miles was scoured
the light horse, but not one
to be met with, and all the
factories are at work, as if
interruption had taken place.
The troops of the 11th light
regiment marched in this morning,
more troops are still expect-

th. This day two proclama-
tions were issued from the secre-
tary of state's office, the one offer-
ing a reward of 100*l.* for discover-
ing and apprehending every per-
son concerned in the late riots at
Birmingham: and the other offer-
ing the same reward for discover-
ing the author, printer, or pub-
lisher, of the inflammatory hand-

Edinburgh.—At the court of
Commons, Lord Eskgrove, as ordinary
of the great chamber, this day de-
cided a cause of a curious nature.
A young lady had betrothed herself
to a merchant in Aberdeen; the
wedding-day was set, a house
was hired and furnished, servants hir-
ed, and the lady furnished with
a marriage-ring. In the course
of long epistolary correspondence,
she manifested the strongest attach-
ment and most inviolable fidelity
to him; but all of a sudden she
changed her mind, and married
another. Feeling the disappoint-
ment, her former lover brought an
action of damages against her and
her husband. Before it came into
court, the lady died. The action
was, however, insisted on against
the surviving husband; but the
ordinary, after a full hearing,
in the course of which there was
a great display of humour and ability, dis-
missed the action. His lord-
ship was clearly of opinion, that,
at the moment of the marriage

ceremony, it was in the power of
the lady to recede. Though her
letters contained the strongest effu-
sions of love towards the pursuer,
and even a direct promise of mar-
riage, yet they at the same time
shewed that her friends were
against the connexion, and that
all their intimacy had been carried
on in the most secret manner. His
lordship therefore considered, that
any man who endeavours to in-
veigle a young woman into a clan-
destine marriage, and a marriage
against the consent of her friends,
was guilty of an immoral act; con-
sequently, not entitled to maintain
an action of damage, when his in-
tentions were frustrated by a re-
turning sense of duty upon the
part of the lady.

16th. Lord Loughborough, as
the senior justice of oyer and ter-
miner and general gaol delivery,
imposed a fine of five hundred
pounds upon the county of Essex,
for the negligence of the gaoler in
some matters relating to the county
gaol, which fine was afterwards
regularly estreated into the court
of exchequer. The county, with
a view to try the legality of im-
posing this fine, obtained a writ of
certiorari to remove the record of
the fine, as made at Chelmsford by
the clerk of the arraigns during the
assizes at which it was imposed.
The attorney general, however,
conceived that the parties were not
entitled to this writ; and, instead
of returning the record, he moved
the court of exchequer that the
writ might be quashed, as having
been improvidently issued: and
the point was this day debated by
Mr. Bearcroft and Mr. Wood, on
behalf of the county of Essex. But
the Court took time to consider of
the

the question. Lord Chief Baron Eyre now delivered the opinions of the Barons, that the writ must be quashed *quia improvide mandavit*. He said, there was no doubt but that the court of exchequer had authority to grant a *certiorari* to remove the record of a fine : but that it was not a writ to which a defendant was entitled *ex debito justitiæ*, especially in the present case because he might plead, and go to issue upon the estreat as well as upon the record. His lordship illustrated this law in that high and dignified style of eloquence by which he is so eminently distinguished, and shewed, in a great variety of instances, the reason on which the Court had formed their judgments; particularly the case of Sir John Read, in the reign of Charles II. who, as sheriff of the county of Hertford, was fined five hundred pounds by Mr. Justice Wyndham, for not doing his duty at the assizes; in which case, though the record of the fine was removed by *certiorari*, yet it appeared to be at the instance of the king, and before the fine was estreated; and the case of the inhabitants of Cornwall, who, in the reign of James II. were fined for not keeping the county gaol in repair. The writ of *certiorari* was accordingly quashed, and the county left to plead to the estreat as they should be advised.

Between the hours of four and five in the afternoon, as a poor woman was gathering chickweed in a field adjoining the long lane, known by the name of Cut-throat-lane, which leads from Kennington common to Camberwell, she suddenly perceived the body of a man upon the ground near the ditch, with his throat cut, and the

blood streaming near him. On his right-hand lay the razor with which he had destroyed himself, and also his cravat, so deliberately had he done it. The poor woman's shrieks, at the sight of a spectacle so horrid, soon brought all the labourers in the neighbouring brick-fields, and the passengers within hearing. On examination, he appeared to be about thirty years old, well-dressed, in a genteel drab-coloured coat, tailinette waistcoat, fustian breeches, the late new-fashioned blue thread stockings with white clocks, silver shoe and knee buckles, and in his pocket two half-guineas, four shillings and six-pence in silver, and some half-pence. Having no papers about him which could lead to a discovery of who he was, he was taken to Lambeth bone-house to be owned.

17th. A case of great consequence came on to be tried in the court of King's Bench. The plaintiff, Petit, had been committed to prison by Justice Addington, for indecent behaviour, and interrupting him while engaged in his duty. The jury, upon the trial, found a verdict for the plaintiff, with 5*l.* damages, subject to the opinion of the court upon the question of law, "Whether the defendant, as a magistrate sitting at the office in Bow-street, had a right to commit the plaintiff, without binding her over for her good behaviour?" The plaintiff, by warrant was committed for an indefinite term, the warrant concluding with these words: "Until she be discharged by due course of law."—She continued in prison upwards of two months. Mr. Erskine contended, that the defendant while sitting at his office, acted in a ministerial, and

not in a judicial capacity : and fore, for the insult offered to self, had no right to commit plaintiff generally, but ought to have committed her only until sound sureties for her good behaviour. He contended also, that the warrant of commitment was defective : and cited many cases to show that Mr. Addington had acted illegally. Lord Kenyon wished the counsel to frame a case in order to put the question, which seems of infinite consequence to the public, to every magistrate whose verdict in future must be guided by his decision, might receive the solemn sanction of the Court.

19th. In the court of King's Bench, an action was tried, Hopkins v. Sawyer, which took up a considerable part of the time and session of the Court. The plaintiff last spring, purchased a horse, for thirty guineas, from the defendant, which was warranted to be sound; but the horse dying some time after the purchase, in consequence of unsoundness, the present action was brought to recover his value from the defendant. The circumstance that created peculiar difficulty in searching the true facts of the case, was the death of the farrier who had the care of the horse after his coming into the plaintiff's possession. It appeared, however, that the horse was ill at the time of his delivery, and, becoming worse, shortly died. Two witnesses belonging to the defendant gave a testimony directly contrary to that of the witnesses on behalf of the plaintiff; but Lord Kenyon partly reconciled the inconsistencies in favour of the plain-

The jury retired, and, after some time, brought in their verdict for the plaintiff, 31*l.* 10*s.*

19th. An unfortunate *rencontre* took place this morning upon Blackheath, between Mr. Graham, an eminent special pleader, of the Temple, and Mr. Julius, a pupil in the office of Messrs. Grahams, attornies, of Lincoln's Inn, who are brothers of the former. The parties had dined together at the house of Mr. Black, the surveyor, upon Epping-forest, on Sunday; and after dinner, having drank freely, the latter expressing some free opinions concerning religion, much abrupt language passed between them. They were reconciled, however, on that day, and returned to town in the same carriage. On Monday they met again, after dinner, at the chambers of Mr. Graham, Lincoln's-Inn, the brother of the deceased, where the dispute was unfortunately renewed, though apparently without malignity. No challenge was given that night; but, in the ensuing morning, the deceased called upon Mr. Julius for an apology for some expressions; which being refused, they went out together, Mr. Graham attended by Mr. Ellis, and Mr. Julius by Mr. Maxwell. A pupil of an eminent surgeon accompanied them to Blackheath; where Mr. Graham fell by a shot which passed almost through the lower part of the belly. He was brought to town in a post-chaise, and the exertions of the most eminent of the faculty were in vain used for his relief. The ball having laid open the femoral artery, and it being impossible to stop the discharge of blood, he expired in the afternoon.

afternoon of the next day. Mr. Graham was a gentleman of considerable eminence in his profession, and of an esteemed character in private life. Mr. Julius is the son of a very respectable attorney at St. Kitt's, and is said not to have been in the least to blame in this quarrel. These gentlemen had been for some time extremely intimate, and are not suspected to have had any serious cause of quarrel. Some harsh words they might, perhaps, have used; and the remembrance of these might have excited a dislike, but certainly not such as to make either desire the life of his adversary. The duel, therefore, like most others, was the consequence of an absurd unwarrantable *fear* of what might be said and thought, if they did not expose their lives to each other.

22nd. The coroner's inquest sat on the body of Mr. Graham. After a due investigation of this melancholy transaction, as well its origin as every subsequent part, the jury brought in a verdict of manslaughter against Mr. Julius the principal, and acquitted the seconds. On the next evening his corpse was interred in Lincoln's-inn burial-ground.

23rd. About ten o'clock in the morning a young gentleman put a period to his existence in a field behind the duke of Bedford's house—He was observed by a gentleman, who passed him on his way from Islington, to take a pistol from his pocket, and then with the utmost coolness seated himself on the turf. The gentleman, thinking he was going to amuse himself by shooting at the birds, took no

notice of him, until, alarmed by the report of the pistol, he turned his head, and saw him fall; he then turned back, and found that the ill-fated young man had placed the muzzle of the pistol to the pole of his neck, and had blown out his brains. On searching his pockets a card was found, which discovered his name, and another containing the address of a friend, who, being sent for, immediately attended and saw the body conveyed to a neighbouring house, for the coroner's jury to sit on it. A poor old woman, with a basket on her head, had a few moments before requested the assistance of the unhappy man to lift down her burthen, and he had attended to her desire with great humanity and care. Pecuniary embarrassments are said to have been the cause of his committing the rash act.

In the afternoon a poor countryman was going over Blackfriars Bridge behind a coach, and, in endeavouring to get from behind the same, before he could recover himself from the leap, was knocked down by the horses of another coach which was coming up at the same instant; by which accident the coach wheel went over the back part of the poor man's neck, and killed him on the spot.

24th. A young woman threw herself from one of the barges at the Adelphi-wharf into the Thames she was soon taken out by some fishermen, but would give no account of herself, or the reasons which induced her to make the rash attempt. She appeared to be about 24 years of age, and was far advanced in pregnancy.

DIED

IED—Suddenly, coming from
igate to Kentish-town, Mr.
Seymour. He was the au-
of a collection of poems, con-
ng Spring, &c. and dedicated
e duchess of Devonshire; and
lated the correspondence of
Lovers, inhabitants of Lyons.
had planned several works.—
ation, arising from disappoint-
, is said to have shortened
fe.

AUGUST.

1. On the 9th ult, the follow-
experiments were made on
l a ship in Portsmouth har-
by Mr. Hill, carpenter of
Active, and inventor of a ma-
for drawing bolts out of
sides, &c. 1st. He stopped
ot-hole on the outside of the
four feet under water, in the
of one minute, without as-
ce from any person out of
essel. 2nd. He stopped, in the
manner, a space in the ship's
four feet under water, of four
y four inches, in two minutes
a half. During the time of
ually curing both leaks, the
made only ten inches water
well. 3rd. An experiment
re chain-pump, with a new-
ructed wheel of Mr. Hill's
tion, which acts upon infi-
better principles than that
esent in use, is much safer,
able to be out of order, and
be a material saving to go-
nent in chains and saucers.

. Jefferson, the late American
ter at the court of France, has
unicated to an eminent house
e city a discovery, which, if
oned by experience, will be
L. XXXIII.

of the utmost importance. A per-
son near Boston, who was a ship-
builder, has solicited a patent from
the United States for a mode of
preserving ship-timber from being
worm-eaten. During the thirty
years he has been a bridge-builder,
he has always soaked such timbers
as were to be under water in oil,
and has found this method to pre-
serve them, ever since he was in
that employment.

7th. William Gray, about 25
years of age, being employed on
a scaffold erected for the pur-
pose of painting the spire of Great
Marlow church, by the breaking
of one of the pulleys, fell with
part of the scaffold upon the bat-
tlements upon the roof of the
church, from the roof of the church
to the ground, being in the whole
full fourscore feet perpendicular.
His right hand was somewhat la-
cerated, but he had no bone broken
or dislocated.

10th. The empress of Russia has
written with her own hand to her
ambassador, to request Mr. Fox
to sit to Nollekens for a bust in
white marble, which, she says, she
means to place between the statues
of Demosthenes and Cicero.

The duke of Hamilton, and some
other young men of fashion, have
set the example of wearing the
hair close cut round.

In the space of 12 months, from
July, 1790, to July, 1791, the
quantity of porter brewed in Lon-
don amounted to 49,112,660 gal-
lons.

11th. The report of the com-
missioners for liquidating the
national debt, lately made to the
chancellor of the Exchequer, for
the last quarter, being the 20th,
states, that there have been pur-
D chased

chased in the different funds, 7,568,875*l.* stock; and that the cash paid for the same, amounts to the sum of 5,760,896*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.*

12. This being the birth-day of his royal highness the prince of Wales, who entered into the 30th year of his age, there was a grand gala at Windsor on the occasion, where her majesty gave a ball and supper.

17th. This day, a little before one o'clock, as his majesty was passing in his carriage through the park to St. James's, a gentleman dressed in black, standing in the green park, close to the rails, within a few yards of Mr. Copley's pavilion, just as the carriage came opposite where he stood, was observed to pull a paper hastily from his pocket, which he stuck on the rails, addressed to the king, throw off his hat, discharge a pistol in his own bosom, and instantly fall. Though surrounded with people, collected to see the king pass, the rash act was so suddenly perpetrated, that no one suspected his fatal purpose till he had accomplished it. He expired immediately. In his left hand was a letter, addressed "To the coroner who shall take an inquest on James Sutherland."—This unfortunate gentleman was judge advocate at Minorca during the governorship of general Murray, with whom he had a law-suit which terminated in his favour. The general, however, got him suspended and recalled home. This, and the failure of some applications to government, had greatly deranged his mind. He was very genteelly dressed, but had only two-pence, and some letters in his pockets; the letters were carried to the Secretary of

State's Office. He left a singular paper behind him, expressive of being in sound mind, and that the act was deliberate, the body was conveyed to St. Martin's bone-house. Thursday the coroner's inquest sat upon the body of the above unfortunate gentleman, and brought in their verdict lunacy.

18th. The following melancholy accident happened at Woodford, in Essex, on the night between Monday and Tuesday last: Mr. Thompson, surgeon, of that place, being alarmed by a noise, occasioned, as was supposed, by some thieves who were attempting to rob his house, rose, and having awakened a servant who had been a long time in the family, and who was much respected for his honesty and sobriety, they both armed themselves with blunderbusses, and went out into the garden. Mr. Thompson stationed the servant at a particular corner, by which he supposed the thieves must pass, if they had not already made a retreat, desiring him to remain on the same spot till he should take a turn round the garden. The servant having imprudently left the place where he was desired to watch, was met by his master in another part of the garden, who, taking him for one of the house-breakers, discharged his blunderbuss at him, and lodged the whole contents in his body. The man died almost instantly, four balls having lodged in his lungs.

22nd. Five of the rioters, who had been apprehended for offences committed near Birmingham, were tried at the assizes for Worcestershire. Only one of them was convicted.

The

18th. The following Birmingham rioters received sentence of death at the Warwick assizes; viz. Francis Field, for feloniously setting fire to the house of John Taylor, esq.; John Green, and Bartholomew Fisher, for demolishing the house of Dr. Priestley; and William Hand, for destroying the house of John Ryland, esq.

19th. This being settling day at the Stock Exchange, the stock-ers have thought it necessary to adopt a new mode. In general it has been customary to settle on Monday, and to pay on the Tuesday; and when settling day happened upon a Friday, the Jews had the indulgence till Monday. But now notice was given to the Jews, that they are to pay in the evening, and that the house was to be kept open for that purpose. A great advance in the stocks has occasioned this new regulation. As capital failures had happened, and more were expected.

20th. In consequence of the edict of the Spanish government respecting foreigners, the principal merchants and other British subjects, residing in Alicant, on the 7th instant, required the government to declare whether they chose to be considered as foreigners, *Transejeros*, or *Domiciliados*. On their arriving the latter class, they were ordered to leave Alicant within three days, and were required to swear an oath of implicit obedience to the laws of Spain during that time. Messrs. Keith and Macdonald having declined complying with this order, they were confined in the castle of Alicant. On the receipt of this intelligence at Madrid, count Florida Blanca immediately

assured lord St. Helen's, that he entirely disapproved of every part of the governor's conduct; that orders should immediately be sent for the relief of Messrs. Keith and Macdonald, without a moment's delay; and that the governor should be called upon to prove any charge he might have made against them, and, on his failing to make it good, that those gentlemen should certainly receive due satisfaction. Count Florida Blanca added, that he had, the preceding evening, sent out circular orders on this subject, which would, he trusted, secure his majesty's subjects settled at Alicant from any further molestation. Within a few hours after this conversation, count Florida Blanca sent lord St. Helen's the above-mentioned order for the release of Messrs. Keith and Macdonald, which his Excellency immediately forwarded to Alicant.

DIED—21st. At Jacob's Well, Bristol, Mrs. Jane Green, formerly an actress in great estimation with the public at Covent-garden theatre. She was the daughter of Mr. Hippesley the comedian, and appeared the first time on the stage, at Drury-lane, on the 11th of January, 1740, in the character of Rose, in the Recruiting Officer. She afterwards performed at Goodman's-fields, and was the last survivor of those actors who played on the first night of Mr. Garrick's appearance there, her part being that of prince Edward. In the year 1780, she quitted the theatre, and has resided chiefly at Bristol since that period.

22nd. At Gottingen, the celebrated professor Michaelis.

Aged 105, Mrs. A. Thomas, of Bayvil, Pembrokeshire; she knitted

ted a pair of neat ribbed stockings a few days before her dissolution, and retained her faculties to the last moment of her existence.

SEPTEMBER.

8th. Edward Brown, for a highway robbery; William Millington, for stealing a mare; Francis Field, alias Rodney, and John Green, for being concerned in destroying the houses, &c. of John Taylor, esq. and Dr. Priestley, were executed near Warwick, agreeably to their sentences. The unhappy men appeared at the fatal tree with manly firmness and resignation, and their whole conduct after condemnation evinced the truest penitence. Green, however, to the last moment, declared he took no part in demolishing Dr. Priestley's house (for which he was convicted), but that he was merely a spectator there; though he acknowledged he ought to suffer, as he was very active in destroying Mr. Hutton's house.

His majesty's free pardon has been granted to Bartholomew Fisher, one of the condemned rioters; and a respite for 14 days was on Wednesday received at Warwick for the other rioter.

14th. About half-past 10 o'clock at night, a dreadful fire broke out near Cherry-garden-stairs, Rotherhithe, near London, which from the tide being low, and little water to be had, burnt with great fury a considerable time. It began at a chandler's, but how, is not known: several barrels of tar were on fire before it was discovered. A number of engines attended, both on the river and on

the shore; but, from the difficulty of finding water for the latter, and the impossibility of bringing the former near enough, the flames for a long time spread with the utmost fury. It was six or seven o'clock in the morning before the violence of the flames was any way got under, by which time above 50 houses were burnt down, many of them warehouses, containing property to a considerable amount, of which very little was saved. The flames having communicated to the shipping in the river, great fears were entertained that a number of vessels would fall a prey to the rage of the fire, as there was no possibility of drawing them off, owing to the water being ebb. The Ranger, captain Swain, from the South Seas, and a small brig, were burnt; but, by great exertions, the flames were prevented from communicating to any other vessels, at least from destroying any other. A great number of poor families have been burnt out, and their little all destroyed.

15th. About five o'clock in the morning, the post-boy carrying the mail (on horseback) from Warrington to Manchester was murdered about a mile from Warrington, the mail opened, and the letters in the following bags were taken out and carried away, viz. the Chester bags for Manchester and Rochdale, and the Liverpool bags for Rochdale. Two men (by accent Irishmen) were seen to leave the place where the robbery and murder had been committed in a precipitate manner, and to go towards Warrington. The rider was found about six o'clock on Friday morning, after the whole of the night had been spent in searching for

im, in Britch Brook, about a
from Warrington (murdered);
ody laid with the face down-
s, his hands tied upon his
, and his feet tied together.

th. George Dingler was exe-
l opposite the Debtor's door
ewgate, according to his sen-
, for the wilful murder of his

st. The Old Bailey sessions
l, when judgment of death was
d on John Portsmouth, Tho-
Playter, Thomas Collis, Wil-
Tristram, John Berry, Rober-
, Thomas Eastop, John Simp-
Thomas Jones, and John Her-

Fifteen capital convicts, who
een respited during his ma-
s pleasure, were pardoned on
tion of being transported to
South Wales for life. One
iem, Thomas Chapland, re-
his pardon, and was ordered
confined in a solitary cell,
is majesty's further pleasure
own. Ann Gale, another con-
who has two children, de-
l she would rather die than
her children behind her,
the recorder said he would
ery thing in his power that
ildren might be permitted to
th her.

h. A woman in Turnmill-
, Clerkenwell, quitted her
, leaving two children alone
n, who opened a cage in
three ferrets were confined,
the latter attacked one of
hildren, and tore out its

ters from the Havannah,
July 2, give accounts of a
deal of damage done by an
quake, attended by a deluge
, which collected into tor-
and swept every thing be-

On the 21st. of June, at day-
break, there fell a very violent
rain in the island of Cuba, which
continued till the next day, at
half past two in the afternoon, with
such force as caused the greatest
flood ever known in that coun-
try.

28th. *Weymouth*.—His majesty
in council was this day. pleased
to declare his consent to a con-
tract of matrimony between his
royal highness the duke of York,
and her royal highness the princess
Frederique Ulrique Catherine of
Prussia, eldest daughter of his
majesty, the king of Prussia, which
consent his majesty has also
caused to be signified under the
great seal.

30th. *Warwick*.—A free pardon
was this day granted by his ma-
jesty to William Hands, one of the
Birmingham rioters.

The coronation of the king of
Bohemia was performed on the
6th instant, with the usual grand
ceremony.

Died. At Madrid, aged 100,
Don Carlos Felix O'Neale. He
was an old lieutenant-general
of the Spanish army, a great fa-
vourite of his monarch, and had
been governor of the Havannah,
He was the son of sir Neale O'Neale.
of the province of Ulster, who
was killed at the battle of the
Boyne.

OCTOBER.

1st. *Berlin*.—The day before yes-
terday, in the evening, the wed-
ding of princess Frederica was
consummated with the duke of
York. About six o'clock, all per-
sons

sons who were of princely blood assembled in gala in the apartments of the dowager queen, where the diamond crown was put on the head of princess Frederica. The generals, ministers, ambassadors and the high nobility, assembled in the White Hall. Immediately after it struck seven o'clock, the duke of York led the princess, his spouse, whose train was carried by four *dames de la cour*, preceded by the gentlemen of the chamber, and the court officers of state, through all the parade apartments, into the White Hall. After them went the king, with the queen dowager, prince Lewis of Prussia with the reigning queen (the crown prince was absent by indisposition); the hereditary prince of Orange, with princess Wilhelmina; prince Henry, third son of the king, with the hereditary Stadtholderess, his aunt; prince William of Prussia, with princess Augusta; the duke of Weimar, with the spouse of prince Henry of Prussia; the reigning duke of Mecklenburgh Strelitz with the hereditary princess of Brunswick. In the White Hall, a canopy was erected of crimson velvet, and also a crimson velvet sofa for the marriage ceremony. When the young couple had placed themselves under the canopy, before the sofa, and the royal family stood round them, the upper counsellor of the consistory, Mr. Sack, made a speech in German. This being over, rings were exchanged; and the illustrious couple, kneeling on the sofa, were married according to the rites of the Reformed Church. The whole ended with a prayer; and twelve guns placed in the garden, firing three rounds, the benediction was given. After

which, the new married couple received the congratulations of the royal family, and they returned in the same manner to the apartments, where the royal family, and all persons present, sat down to card-tables; after which, the whole court, the high nobility, and the ambassadors, sat down to supper. The supper was served at six tables. The first was placed under a canopy of crimson velvet, and the victuals served in gold dishes and plates. Lieutenant-general Bornstedt and count Bruhl had the honour to carve, without being seated. The other five tables, at which sat the generals, ministers, ambassadors, all the officers of the court, and the high nobility, were served in other apartments. During supper, music continued playing in the galleries of the first hall, which immediately began when the company entered the hall. At the dessert, the royal table was served with a beautiful set of china, made in the Berlin manufactory. Supper being over, the whole assembly repaired to the White Hall, where the trumpet, timbrel, and other music, were playing; the Flambeau dance was begun, at which the ministers of state carried the torches. With this ended the festivity. The new couple were attended to their apartment by the reigning queen and the queen dowager. The duke of York wore on this day the english uniform; and the princess Frederica was dressed in a suit of *drap d'argent*, ornamented with diamonds.

6th. The house of sir James Saunderson, Roxby, and Co. hop-merchants, at the bottom of Fish-street-hill, was broke open and

and robbed of bills of exchange, cash, &c. to the amount of 1,800l.

A most unhappy affair has lately occurred on board the Fitzwilliam East-Indiaman, just arrived: Mr. R. Dawson and his niece were passengers in the ship from Bengal, having part of the captain's cabin, or round-house, assigned to themselves for accommodation, and lived at the captain's table; the gentleman was a widower, and appeared to be about 45 years of age, and his niece about 30; the former had been in the profession of the law, and was reputed to have some fortune, as had the lady, and both were from Yorkshire. On Wednesday morning, the 28th ult., it was currently reported in the ship, that Mr. D. (a cuddy passenger) had, by looking through the key-hole of the door of their apartment on Tuesday afternoon, discovered them in an improper situation; that he had called another person to be witness of the same; that they alarmed the parties by knocking at the door, and retired. The affair being universally made known, a reserve took place at table during dinner between the gentlemen and the parties, and an explanation was so far gone into as to convince the latter that their guilt was public. They accordingly soon retired from table, and remained that day and Thursday in their apartment. On Friday morning, the 30th, upon a servant's knocking at the door, and not being able to obtain admittance or attention, a suspicion arose, and the gunner was desired to go over the ship's quarter, and look into their apartment, on which he discovered that they had destroyed themselves. The gentle-

man was found sitting in the quarter gallery, with a fusee and a pistol, with the latter of which he had shot himself through the head; the lady was lying in the balcony, and a discharged pistol near her, with which she had shattered her head in a shocking manner. They had been dead for some time, and it was about seven in the morning when this part of the melancholy business was publicly known in the ship. Their bodies were committed to the deep at mid-day. Some letters were found written by the lady, addressed to several friends and relations; one to the captain, thanking him for his kindness; one to the person whose fatal curiosity had occasioned the discovery, upbraiding him for cruel officiousness; and one to a gentleman who was in the same ship, and who paid his addresses to the lady, assuring him that she esteemed him highly; but declaring, that it never was her intention to impose on him a woman whose conduct he could not approve, and whose affections were devoted to another.

At the Curragh meeting in Ireland, Mr. Wilde, a sporting gentleman, made a bet to ride against time, viz. 127 English miles in nine hours. He rode in a valley to avoid too great a current of air, where two English miles were measured in a circular direction. Bets to a considerable amount were laid, and Mr. Wilde himself had near two thousand guineas depending. The knowing ones, and the calculators, all declared it impossible to be done in the time, and laid the odds accordingly; but so much were they out, and so wonderfully fleet was Mr. Wilde, that he

he accomplished the 127 miles in six hours and twenty one minutes; of course he had two hours and thirty-nine minutes to spare. Mr. Wilde had ten different horses. After he had completed the 127 miles, lest there should arise any difference about the measurement, he trotted round the course twice.

15th. The Cambridge mail was robbed in June last, but no discovery was made till this week.

On Monday evening a man genteelly dressed, with a woman, called at Mr. Metham's the silversmith's, Cheapside, bought a half guinea ring, and required change for a ten guinea Stamford bank bill. Not desirous of accommodating a stranger in a way that might possibly subject him to inconvenience, Mr. Metham declined it, pleading want of cash. They then recollected that they wanted a cream jug; and fixing upon one of a guinea and a half, Mr. Metham looked carefully at the bill, and, seeing nothing suspicious about it, he gave the change, and they went away. It presently transpired, that the same man had bought a trifling article in the silk way next door, and changed a bill there also; and some grocery at Mr. Moseley's on the other side of the way, where he changed a third; all of which, upon inquiry at the banker's, proved to have been stolen out of the Cambridge mail, which was robbed in June last. Two days after, as a boy 18 or 19 years of age, who lives in the capacity of shop-boy with Mr. Metham, was carrying a load on Blackfriars-road, he was struck with the resemblance which a man passing on horseback bore to the person who put off the note to his

master; he threw down his load, unbuttoned his clothes, and ran as fast as he could after him over Blackfriars-bridge and along Fleet-market; at Snow-hill he would certainly have lost him, but for some obstructions which detained the person suspected so long, as to enable the boy to turn the corner in time to see that he took the way leading to Smithfield; with fresh vigour he sustained the chase till he saw him dismount and enter a public-house in Clerkenwell; opposite to which he planted himself for a long while before he could get any assistance; at last, however, an officer was procured, whom the boy led on; and upon a near view of the gentleman in the little room behind the bar, where he was seated at dinner with the landlord and landlady, the boy charged him with the fact, and he was led away. He took to his heels in an instant, with a view, it is supposed, to alarm others of the gang, or to get any suspicious articles moved out of the way at the prisoner's lodgings. When brought before sir Sampson Wright, he said his name was Oxley, and that he had the bills of a Mr. Shaw, who desired him to get them converted into cash; which being done, he gave the cash and the articles he had bought to Mr. Shaw, at his house near Blackfriars-road. The moment Shaw's residence was described. Townsend and Jealous slipt out in search of him; and had not arrived there three minutes before a rap was given at the door. One of the thieftakers, on opening it, was asked by an uncommonly stout, tall, athletic man, if Mr Shaw was at home; he said, yes, and desired him to

to walk in; but instead of that, he turned short round, took to his heels as fast as he could, and led them a pursuit all the way to the Obelisk, and nearly to the Dog and Duck, in St. George's fields, before they could have him stopt. They immediately searched his pockets, and found a handful of bank-notes. With their prisoner and prize they hastened back to Bow-street, where the examination of Oxley had made but little progress while they had been gone, and it had not transpired two minutes that one Broughton was concerned, and a principal in the business, when Townsend with the bank-notes in his hand, exultingly entered, and exclaimed, "We have him!"—"What, Shaw?" said the justice.—"No, indeed, a fellow worth a hundred Shaws;" and so it turned out; for, according to the appearance of things at the close of Wednesday's examination, Shaw was merely a town-agent, whose business it was to receive and put off the booty; whereas the others, and especially Broughton, took up the more active and important part of the depredating plan, which is suspected to have been conducted on a very large scale, and to have embraced more objects of a like kind than the mere robbery of the Cambridge mail.

The National Assembly of France have decreed thanks to the king of Great Britain, to the English nation, and to lord Effingham, governor of Jamaica, for his generous conduct in relieving the planters of St. Domingo from the horrors of famine, and furnishing them with arms and military stores against their rebel negroes.

27th. This evening about seven o'clock, count de Verteillac made his escape from the Fleet prison, in a manner so unsuspected by the keepers, that the first intelligence leading to a discovery was given by the master of the Bell-Savage Inn, through which he was found to have passed. He is the person who sometime since was imprisoned in the King's Bench, and endeavoured to make his escape from thence. The debt for which he was detained is said to amount to 5,000*l*.

31st. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when judgment of death was passed upon 18 capital convicts; one was sentenced to be transported for fourteen years, 28 for seven years, four to be imprisoned in Newgate, nine in Clerkenwell Bridewell; 11 were publicly, and two privately whipped; one judgement respited, on condition of his enlisting as an East India soldier; one (*viz.* Spence Broughton) for robbing the mail, ordered to be sent to Cambridge, 5 to be sent to Surrey, and 34 were discharged by proclamation.

This evening, about seven o'clock, it was discovered that — Oxley, one of the men imprisoned upon a charge of being concerned in some of the mail robberies, had made his escape from Clerkenwell prison. Some bricklayers had been employed during the day in repairing the outhouses in the yard, and their ladder, by a strange neglect, was left there after it was dark. This man was a prisoner in a place called the Lodge, where the confinement is less strict than in some other parts of the prison, and had been indulged with very light irons. He ascended the ladder without discovery or suspicion, and was presently

presently beyond the walls of the prison. In passing oversome leads belonging to an adjoining house, he threw down an earthen pan placed there for the reception of birds, which circumstance first discovered his escape by the noise of the falling pieces. Information was given to the prison-keepers that some person had been passing over those leads, and he was immediately pursued, but has not yet been taken.

DIED—4th. At his house at Blawith near Cartmell, occasioned by a fall he got in Eggerslack, when returning from Cartmell, Mr. William Gibson, the celebrated mathematician, of whom a further account will be given in this volume.

16th. At Yassy, aged 52, prince Potemkin, the Russian general.

NOVEMBER.

2nd. The following melancholy accident occurred in the house of Mrs. Clitherow, fire-work-maker, near Halfmoon-alley, Bishopsgate-street: Mrs. Clitherow, with two journeymen, her son, and eldest daughter, being at work in her shop, to complete some orders against Friday, about half past one o'clock in the morning some tea was proposed as a refreshment; while this was drinking, some of the materials upon which they had been at work, by unknown means, took fire, when Mrs. Clitherow's eldest daughter ran up stairs to alarm her three sisters, who were in bed. Her sisters pressing her as to the safety of her mother, she came down again, but not till the flames had got to such

an height, that, every attempt to get out of the front door proving abortive, she, with one of the men, got into the yard. She there first perceived that her clothes were on fire, which the man had scarcely extinguished, by assisting her to get into the water-tub, before a beam fell, with the explosion of the roof, and broke his arm. At the same time, both the roof and the gable end of the next house, Mr. Gibbs's, was forced into the street, by which a person, who lodged in the garret, was thrown out of his bed upon the ground at several yards distance; this man's thighs were broke, and he is otherwise much hurt. It was not till some time after the principal explosion, that the two unhappy people in Mrs. Clitherow's yard were found by the populace almost entombed in the smoking ruins: the young woman was conveyed to St. Bartholomew's hospital, and the two men to St. Thomas's—two of whom are since dead. It is supposed that her mother and the other journeyman fell a sacrifice to an attempt to extinguish the flames in the shop below, as the principal part of the powder, which was deposited in the garret, was a considerable time before it took fire. Happily, only six lives were lost, viz. Mrs. Clitherow, one journeyman, her son, and three daughters; nor were any other persons hurt than those above-mentioned. Mrs. Clitherow's house is entirely consumed, but the two adjacent are only considerably damaged, as were the windows and tiling of almost all the houses as far off the spot as Broad-street Buildings. It is remarkable, that the late husband of Mrs. Clitherow had a similar

lar accident on the same spot about thirty years since, when several lives were lost

3rd. *Birmingham*.—Yesterday a very genteel well-made man, about twenty-seven, was apprehended at Vauxhall, near this town, on suspicion of being the pretended duke of Ormond, who lately swindled Mr. Hammond the Newmarket banker, out of 200l. He arrived at the hotel in this place on Sunday last, accompanied by a young lady, whom he called his sister. On Monday he removed with the same female to Vauxhall, as capt. Monson, of the 4th dragoons. Yesterday evening, however, the father of the young woman, who is the master of the Bell Inn in Leicester, reached this place in pursuit of his daughter, and applied to Mr. Wallis, one of our constables, who accompanied by his eldest son, went to apprehend the captain. They had no sooner entered the room than he fired at young Wallis; the ball struck his front teeth, and, knocking out several of them, lodged in a part of his cheek. With a second pistol he attempted to shoot the elder Mr. Wallis :—it missed fire; and he was then knocked down and secured by one of the assistants, who has beaten him very much indeed—He says he resisted upon the lady's account, who wished not to go back with her father, and that he meant to marry her. The father however has carried her back to Leicester. He has been before the magistrates this morning, but refuses to answer the question whether or not he was the person who took Mr. Hammond in. He was committed to

prison under the name of Griffin. Mr. Hammond the Newmarket banker, has since recognised in the above man the person of his friend the pretended duke of Ormond; and it is said he is also the man who some time since, in London, assuming the character of lord Massey, defrauded Messrs. Green and Co. jewellers in Bond-street. He still remains in prison by the name of Henry Griffin, Mr. Wallis having been as yet incapable of undergoing an examination. Jealous, one of sir Sampson Wright's men, has been to see him. He says the prisoner's real name is James Hubbard; that he is native of, and has been an officer in America; and that in the year 1790 he was convicted of an offence in Ireland, for which he was ordered to be transported; but that he then found means of escaping from his gaolers. He also declares him to be the person who some time since was guilty of the imposition upon the duke of York, which his highness forgave; and that he once assumed the character of the duke of Manchester, with a view of taking in a watch-maker.

21st. On Friday the duke and duchess of York landed at Dover, and arrived the day following between five and six in the afternoon, at York house in perfect health.

23rd. At seven o'clock in the evening, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord-chancellor, and the bishop of London, came to the queen's house; the archbishop attended by two pages and his train-bearer; and the lord-chancellor in his full robes, with the Great

Great Seal of England carried before him, and his train borne.

At half past eight o'clock the prince of Wales, the duke and duchess of York, and the duke of Clarence, entered the queen's house, and were immediately conducted to her majesty's drawing-room. The bishops and the chancellor were in a separate room for near three quarters of an hour, preparing the form of the register. At nine o'clock, the bishops and the lord chancellor having intimated that they were ready, they were admitted into her majesty's drawing-room; upon which the procession, attended by the officers of the chapel royal, proceeded to the grand saloon.—Books of the marriage ceremony were delivered to all the royal family by the archbishop of Canterbury. At the request of the archbishop, a table was directed to be placed in the saloon which was formed as an altar, and was narrow enough for the archbishop to reach across, and join the hands of the royal pair. At half past nine the ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the bishop of London: his majesty standing at one end of the altar, and her majesty at the other extremity; the duke and duchess of York in the centre: the archbishop opposite to them, and the lord chancellor standing behind him; the prince of Wales next to the duchess of York, and the duke of Clarence next to the duke of York. The princesses were seated on chairs at a distance from the altar, in the saloon. As soon as the ceremony was finished, the duchess of York went to his majesty, and attempted

to kneel, which his majesty, with some difficulty, prevented; and, raising her in his arms, affectionately embraced her. The certificate of the marriage was then signed by their majesties, the prince of Wales, the duke of Clarence, and lastly, by the lord chancellor. After which the bishops and the lord chancellor retired, and immediately left the queen's house. The royal family returned to the queen's drawing room, and at a few minutes before eleven o'clock, the duke and duchess of York went to York-house, where they were accompanied by the prince of Wales and the duke of Clarence; an elegant supper having been provided, by the direction of his royal highness of York, for their entertainment. The prince of Wales gave the duchess away. The duchess was dressed in white satin, with tassels and fringe of gold, and a number of diamonds; in her head-dress she wore feathers, and three brilliant pins, presented to her by the king at the royal visit on Tuesday. The duke was in his regimentals—the prince was in a chocolate-coloured dressed suit—and the duke of Clarence in his full uniform. The royal family have presented her royal highness the duchess of York with a most elegant and valuable assortment of diamonds, consisting of ear-rings, necklace, ornaments for the head, &c. &c.

20th. — DIED — At Parson's-Green, the rev. Jeffery Ekins, D. D. dean of Carlisle, and rector of Sedgefield and Morpeth, in Durham. Dr. Ekins was educated at Eton, from whence he went to King's

King's College, Cambridge, of which he became fellow, and tutor to lord Carlisle. In 1771 he published "The Loves of Medea and Jason," a poem in three books, translated from the Greek of Apollonius Rhodius Argonauticus, 4to. He was then rector of Quainton, Bucks.

DECEMBER.

1st. William Jolliffe, esq. was brought up to receive the judgment of the Court of King's Bench (having been convicted at the last assizes for Kingston, of distributing papers, with a view of prejudicing the minds of the jury, on the trial of an information against him). The Court sentenced him to six months imprisonment in the King's Bench prison, and a fine of one hundred pounds, and to be imprisoned until he paid the fine. Mr. Jolliffe addressed himself to the Court, saying, that he apprised their lordships that he was a member of parliament, and that he should inform the house of his being imprisoned.—To this lord Kenyon made answer, "The defendant must be committed in execution of his sentence."

7th. Was held a general court of the proprietors of the Sierra Leone Company, when it was resolved, that a capital of not less than 50,000l. should be added to their former capital of 100,000l. before resolved upon, in consideration of the increasing magnitude of their affairs, and of the wish expressed by many proprietors to recommend

more new subscribers than a capital of 100,000l. would allow of: it was also resolved that the whole of the subscriptions should be paid at once, within one month after they should be called for by the directors; and that each proprietor should give in his share of recommendations of new subscribers on or before the 13th inst. who are to be ballotted for on the 20th inst. Such deficiency as may remain from any proprietor failing to fill up his share by the 13th inst. is to be supplied by the proprietors in general, on or before the 1st of February.

10th. In the court of chancery, application was made for further directions as to the re-delivery of Madame du Barré's jewels, and the payment of the expences incurred on their recovery. The lord chancellor made some pointed animadversions on the scramble for the reward and expences; and it was finally settled, that 3,000l. should be deposited by Madame du Barré to answer all demands, which are to be liquidated by arbitration, and the jewels immediately delivered up.

11th. John Frith, who has been for a considerable time confined in Newgate for high treason, for throwing a stone at his majesty, was, upon the motion of Mr. Garrow, his counsel, put to the bar. The affidavits of a physician and surgeon were produced, purporting, that they had attended and examined the state of mind of the prisoner since his confinement in Newgate, and that they had found that he was an insane person. The attorney-general said, he had seen and admitted the truth of the affidavits. He was authorised to inform

form the Court, that he was in possession of the King's sign manual, by which his majesty consented to the prisoner's being discharged from the gaol of Newgate, upon condition that security was given that he should be confined in some proper place as a lunatic, or in some other manner taken care of, so as to answer his majesty's most gracious intentions. Bail were then produced, and the prisoner was ordered to be liberated.

12th. In the afternoon as several young men were skating on the ice on the canal in St. James's Park, two of them fell in; two others endeavouring to rescue them, shared the same fate, by the ice giving way; they were in the water more than half an hour, when one, by the assistance of a ladder, was got out, but three were unfortunately drowned. A boat was brought from Westminster Bridge, but too late; the bodies were taken up, and carried to three public houses, where the usual means prescribed by the humane society were used, but without the desired effect.

13th. In the morning a most dreadful fire broke out at the sugar-house of Mr. Engell, Wellclose Square, which entirely consumed the same, together with three houses contiguous to it. There were about 500 tons of sugar, rough and refined. The conflagration was truly dreadful, and raged with the utmost fury for upwards of four hours.—The loss is estimated at upwards of 30,000l.

14th. Was tried at Guildhall, the cause of — Martin, esq. against — Petrie, esq. This was an action against the defend-

ant for criminal conversation with the plaintiff's wife.—The damages were laid in the declaration at 20,000l. Mr. Bearcroft, on the part of the plaintiff, stated, that he was the eldest son of a gentleman of large fortune in the county of Galway, in Ireland. In the year 1777 he married a lady of beauty and accomplishments, a Miss Vesey. With her he lived happily for the space of fourteen years, having had, during that time, nine children by her. At the end of that period he was under the necessity of leaving his wife at Paris, where he had resided for some time, and of returning to England. During his absence the defendant was introduced to the acquaintance of his lady, whom he after a short period seduced. The jury gave a verdict of 10,000l. damages.

21st. At half-past eight o'clock, a fire broke out in Miss Le Clerc's apartments on the second floor in Richmond-house, Privy-gardens, which was occasioned by a spark having shot from the fire to the bed furniture, where the young lady lay asleep. The duke was then writing a letter in the library, where the breakfast cloth was laid. In a few minutes afterwards, his grace, the duchess, and Miss Le Clerc, the duchess carrying a favourite dog under her arm, left the house, and the ladies were escorted to the duke of Buccleugh's by a gentleman, who appeared to be a friend of the family, and who met this party upon the steps. The duke returned to the yard of his house, and there being then no engines, and very little readiness either in the astonished servants, or the populace, to afford assistance, he seemed likely to be, in a very short

short time, a witness to the destruction of his entire property there. A gentleman at this time ran up the great stair-case, and presently afterwards, some of the populace encouraged by his example, and entreaty followed. Eight or nine persons seemed then to be employed by his direction in lowering furniture from the windows, and bearing it down stairs. Three looking-glasses, said to be worth twelve hundred pounds, were thus rescued; two large cabinets, containing his grace's papers, were lowered from the rails of the balcony by this unknown gentleman. Upon the whole it appears, that the endeavours then used for the preservation of the valuable furniture and effects were so far successful, that all the papers in the office fronting towards the garden, and appropriated by the duke to ordnance business, are saved; all the furniture of the first floor, even to the hangings of the duke's bed; all his private papers, with the letter which he had left unfinished, and the valuable paintings, are saved. One looking-glass of great value was broken and left behind, the others were carried down the great stair-case. The books in the library were saved by being thrown from the windows upon mattresses, which the stranger, who seemed to conduct the whole, had ordered to be placed under them. The model of the new house intended to be built by the duke at Goodwood, and all the valuable busts from the library, were also saved. About one o'clock, the whole roof fell in; three floating-engines on the river played the water on the east-side, and a number of engines in the yard played very rapidly; so that soon after four o'clock they

got it nearly under. His royal highness the duke of York, with about 300 of the Coldstream regiment, assisted the watermen, and kept off the mob. During the rage of the fire, a favourite spaniel dog of the duke's was observed at the window of an apartment, jumping and making endeavours to force his way through the glass. His grace offering a reward to any person that would save him, a waterman by means of ladders fastened together, mounted to the window, threw up the sash, and brought the dog down safe. The duke gave him ten guineas, and the duke of York one, for this act of humanity and courage. The pictures, and most of the numerous writings and curious books, which his grace possessed, we are extremely happy to hear, are saved. At such a fire, the loss of property is not the highest consideration; science often suffers irreparably. No lives were lost, nor have we heard of any material accident sustained by the persons who assisted.

24th. The Roman Catholic inhabitants of Kerry county, in Ireland, have presented an address to the lord lieutenant, professing their loyalty and attachment to the government, with a solemn declaration, that they hold in abhorrence all writings and actions tending to excite sedition, or favour faction. The address is signed by lord Kenmare and Gerard Teahan—the former as representative of the inhabitants, the latter as primate of the clergy.

The Fazeley and Birmingham canal, which has proved so advantageous to that seat of industry and arts, on which was expended upwards of 100,000*l.* a few years ago, is now so far improved in value,

MARRIAGES for the year 1791.

Jan. 5. Right hon. John Charles Villiers, to Miss Mary Forbes, daughter of the hon. admiral Forbes.

6. Earl Fauconberg to Miss Cheshyre, daughter of the late J. Cheshyre, esq. of Bennington, Herts.

18. Lord Ducie to Mrs. Child. Sir John Roger Palmer, bart. to Miss Altham.

24. Sir Henry Tempest, bart. to Miss S. Pritchard Lambert.

29. Viscount Stopford, to lady Mary Montagu Scott, daughter of the duke of Buccleugh.

Feb. 16. Henry Augustus Leicester, esq. brother to Sir John Fleming Leicester, bart. to Miss Letitia Sophia Smyth, daughter of Nicholas Owen Smyth Owen, esq. of Conover, Salop.

Rawson Hart Boddam, esq. late governor of Bombay, to Miss Tudor, of St. James's-street.

22. Benjamin Bond Hopkins, esq. M. P. to Miss Knight, sister of Robert Knight, esq. of Burrells, in Warwickshire.

24. Marcus Beresford, esq. son of the right hon. John Beresford, to lady Frances Arabella Leeson.

Rev. Miles Beever, son of sir Thomas Beever, bart. to Miss Beever, daughter of James Beever, esq. of Norwich.

Mar. 25. Francis John Browne, esq. M. P. for Dorset, to Miss Baring, daughter of John Baring, esq.

29. John Sutton, esq. captain in the navy, to Miss Hotham, daughter of baron Hotham.

30. William Richardson, esq. accomptant-general to the East India Company, to Elizabeth countess dowager of Winterton.

Apr. 4. Lord Strathaven, to Miss Cope, sister to the duchess of Dorset.

16. Lord Chief Baron Eyre, to Miss Southwell.

25. Thomas Tyrwhitt Jones, esq. M. P. to Miss Harriet Williams, daughter of Edward Williams, esq. of Eaton, Shropshire.

George James earl of Cholmondeley, to Lady Georgiana Charlotte Bertie, daughter of Peregrine, third duke of Ancaster.

26. Viscount Fielding, son to the Earl of Denbigh, to Miss Powys, daughter of Thomas Powys, esq. M. P. for Northamptonshire.

28. James earl of Cardigan, to lady Elizabeth Waldegrave, daughter of John third earl Waldegrave.

29. Lionel earl of Dysart, to Miss Lewis, sister of Henry Greswold Lewis, esq.

May 6. Sir Sydney Stafford Northcote, bart. to Miss Baring, daughter of Charles Baring, esq.

16. Henry

- May 19. Lady of Reginald Pole Carew, esq. M. P. a daughter.
21. Lady of Dr. Cleaver, bishop of Chester, a daughter.
30. Lady of George Finch Hatton, esq. a son and heir.
31. Lady of Gerard Noel Edwards, esq. M. P. a daughter.
- June 3. Duchess of Montrose, a daughter.
8. Lady of Richard Joseph Sullivan, esq. M. P. a son.
14. Lady Cathcart, a daughter.
26. Lady M. Stuart, a daughter.
- Lately, Countess of Lincoln, a daughter.
- July 4. Viscountess Bayham, a daughter.
25. Lady of Sir William Foulis, a daughter.
28. Viscountess Valletort, a daughter.
- Aug. 3. Lady Charlotte Lenox, a son and heir.
4. Lady of James Lowther, esq. M. P. a daughter.
5. Lady of Sir Thomas Rumbold, bart. a daughter.
- Lady of the hon. Mr. Petre, a daughter.
10. Lady of Sir Gregory Page Turner, bart. a son.
12. Lady Elizabeth Howard, lady of Bernard Howard, esq. presumptive heir to the duke of Norfolk, a son and heir.
13. Lady of Lord Brownlow, a son.
21. Duchess of Leinster, a son and heir.
- Sept. 13. Duchess of Northumberland, a daughter.
15. Lady of Scrope Bernard, esq. M. P. a son.
22. Lady of the hon. colonel Fox, a son.
- Countess of Granard, a son.
29. Lady Kinnaird, a daughter.
- Oct. 9. Countess of Lauderdale, a daughter.
12. Lady Saltoun, a son.
16. Hon. Mrs. Drummond, of Perth, a son.
27. Countess Spencer, a son.
- Nov. 4. Lady Susannah Thorpe, a daughter.
6. Lady of Sir John Sinclair, bart. a daughter.
13. Viscountess Stopford, a son and heir.
20. Countess of Harrington, a daughter.
21. Lady of sir William Wake, bart. a son and heir.
24. Viscountess Falmouth, a daughter.
27. Lady Balgonie, a son.
28. Lady of Sir John Frederick, bart. a son.
- Dec. 1. Lady of Sir Cecil Bishopp, bart. a daughter.
- Lately, Countess Poulett, a son.
13. Lady of the hon. colonel Rodney, a son.
14. Lady of Viscount Gage, a son and heir.
20. Lady Compton, a daughter.
28. Lady of the hon. Edw. Foley, a son and heir.

15. William Plumer, esq. member of parliament, to Miss Jane Hamilton, daughter to the late honourable and reverend Dr. George Hamilton.
18. Colonel Greville, to Miss Graham, sister to sir Beltingham Graham, bart.
19. Earl of Darnley, to Miss Elizabeth Brownlow, daughter of the right hon. William Brownlow.
24. Hugh Barlow, esq. member of parliament for Pembroke, to Miss Crespigny, daughter of Philip Champion Crespigny, esq.
25. Captain Paget Bayly, brother to the earl of Uxbridge, to Miss Colepeper.
29. Rev. sir Richard Kaye, bart. dean of Lincoln, to Mrs. Mainwaring.
- Sept. 6. Sir William Hamilton, K. B. to Miss Harte.
15. Marquis of Blandford, to lady Susan Stewart, daughter of the earl of Galloway.
29. The duke of York, to the princess royal of Prussia.
- Oct. 1. The hereditary prince of Orange, to princess Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina of Prussia.
- Lately, lord Grantley, to Miss Midgley, daughter of the late Jonathan Midgley, esq. of Beverley.
12. Timothy Shelly, esq. member of parliament to Miss Pilfold, of West Grinstead.
13. Rev. William Sneyd, to Mrs. Emma Cecil, daughter of the late Thomas Vernon, esq. of Hambury, Worcestershire, and late wife of Henry Cecil, esq.
- Nov. 30. Margrave of Anspach and Bareith, to Elizabeth lady Craven.
4. George William Ricketts, esq. of Bishop's - Sutton, Hants, to Miss Letitia Mildmay, of Twyford.
12. Earl of Mount - Cashell, to the honourable Miss King, daughter of lord Kingsborough.
- Dec. 6. Sir George Armytage, bart. to Miss Mary Bowles, daughter of Oldfield Bowles, esq. of North - Aston, Oxfordshire.
9. Captain J. Smith, of the royal navy, to viscountess dowager Dudley and Ward.
12. Colonel Charles Gould, to the honourable Miss Dormer.

PROMOTIONS for the Year 1791.

January. John Hughes, Horatio Spry, William Souter, Harry Innes, James Francis Perkins, and Maurice Wemyss, lieutenant-colonels of marines, to be colonels in the army.

John Watson, esq. to be his majesty's consul at Venice, vice Robert Richie, esq. deceased.

Sir Robert Chambers, knight, to be

be chief justice of the supreme court of judicature at Fort William, in Bengal, vice sir Elijah Impey, knight, resigned.

William Dunkin, esq. to be one of the judges of the supreme court of judicature, at Fort William, in Bengal, vice sir Robert Chambers, knight.

The dignity of baron of the kingdom of Ireland to the right honourable Alleyne Fitz-Herbert, by the name, style, and title of Baron St. Helen's.

Arthur viscount Gosford to be governor of the county of Armagh.

February. James earl of Cardigan to be governor of Windsor Castle.

The dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain to Charles Warre Malet, esq. resident at Poonah, in the East-Indies;

Also to John Kennaway, esq. captain of infantry in the service of the East-India Company, and resident at Hydrabad.

The dignity of a baronet of Ireland to Thomas Lighton, esq. of Merville, in the county of Dublin.

March. Mr. Steele and the honourable Mr. Ryder to the office of joint paymaster, vice duke of Montrose and lord Mulgrave, resigned; and Mr. Charles Long to be secretary of the treasury, vice Mr. Steele.

Thomas Steele, esq. to be one of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

The reverend Charles Manners Sutton to the deanery of Peterborough, vice the reverend Dr. Charles Tarrant, deceased.

The honourable Spencer Percival to the offices of clerk of the irons, and surveyor of melting houses, in the tower of London, vice George Selwyn, esq. deceased.

W. Dunkin, esq. lately appointed one of the judges of the supreme court at Bengal to the honour of knighthood.

Lord Charles Henry Somerset to be gentleman of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales.

April. Right honourable Thomas Harley to be lieutenant and custos rotulorum of Radnorshire, vice his late brother, the earl of Oxford, deceased.

The dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain to Stephen Lushington, of South-hill park, in Berks, esq. chairman of the East-India company, and the heirs male of his body, lawfully begotten.

Right honourable Thomas Ord to be governor of the Isle of Wight, vice the duke of Bolton, resigned.

Major General O'Hara to the command of the 74th regiment of foot, vice sir Archibald Campbell, deceased.

Barne Barne, esq. to be a commissioner of taxes, vice Daniel Bull esq. deceased.

Right honourable George viscount Parker to be comptroller of his majesty's household, and one of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

Major-general David Dundas to be colonel of the 22nd regiment of foot.

May. The right honourable lord Grenville, the right honourable William Pitt, the right honourable Henry Dundas, the right honourable lord Frederick Campbell, his grace James duke of Montrose, and the right honourable Thomas Steele, to be his majesty's commissioners for the affairs of India.

June

June. The right honourable Henry Dundas to be one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, vice the duke of Leeds resigned.

The right reverend father in God, Dr. Shute Barrington, bishop of Salisbury, to be bishop of Durham, vice Dr. Thomas Thurlow, deceased.

The right honourable sir William Hamilton. K. B. to be one of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

The dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain to the following gentlemen, and the respective heirs male of their bodies lawfully begotten, viz.

Walter James James, of Langley-hall, in Berks, esq.

Lieutenant-general Sir William Erskine, knight.

Henry Martin, esq. comptroller of his majesty's navy.

C. W. Boughton Rouse, of Rouse Lench, in Worcestershire, esq.

Christopher Hawkins, of Trewithen, in Cornwall, esq.

John Call, of Whiteford, in Cornwall, esq.

George Jackson, of Hartham-house, in Wilts, esq. a judge-advocate of his majesty's fleet.

Ralph Woodford, esq. late envoy extraordinary to Denmark.

Charles Pole of Wolverton, in Hants, esq.

Robert Howell Vaughan, of Nannau, in Merionethshire, esq.

Reverend Charles Rich (late Bostock), of Rose-hall, Suffolk, LL.D.

Charles Grave Hudson, of Wanlip, in Leicestershire, esq.

George Ivison Tapps, of Hinton Admiral, Hants, esq.

George Chad, of Thursford, in Norfolk, esq. and

Berney Brograve, of Worstead-house, in Norfolk, esq.

Sir James Peachy, bart. to be master of the robes to his majesty, vice the earl of Cardigan.

The honourable vice-admiral Robert Digby, to be groom of his majesty's bed-chamber.

John earl of Chatham, Charles George lord Arden, Samuel lord Hood, honourable John Thomas Townshend, Alan Gardner, John Smyth, and Charles Small Pybus, esqrs. to be lords of the admiralty.

The dignity of a marquis of the kingdom of Ireland to the right honourable Arthur earl of Donegal, by the name, style, and title of marquis of Donegal; also to the right honourable Charles earl of Drogheda by the name, style, and title of marquis of Drogheda.

James Allan Park, esq. of Lincoln's-inn, barrister at law, appointed (by the chancellor of his majesty's duchy of Lancaster) vice-chancellor of the county palatine of Lancaster, vice Swinnerton, deceased.

Thomas Lord Welles, created viscount Northland, of Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone.

Arthur lord Harbington, created viscount Harbington, of Carbury, in the county of Kildare.

Robert Boyd, esq. appointed a justice of the court of king's bench in Ireland, vice Bradstreet, deceased.

July. Lord Hervey, envoy extraordinary at Florence, to be minister plenipotentiary at that court.

Dr. John Douglas, bishop of Carlisle, translated to the see of Salisbury.

Major-general Alured Clarke to be colonel of the 60th regiment of foot.

Joseph Hewitt, esq. to be a justice of the court of king's-bench in Ireland.

George

George earl of Morton created baron Douglas, of Lochleven, in the county of Kinross.

August. William Woodley, esq. to be governor of the Leeward Charibbee islands.

The reverend Edward Venables Vernon, LL.D. to the bishopric of Carlisle.

Dr. James Cornwallis, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, to the deanery of Windsor and Wolverhampton, and registry of the knights of the most noble order of the garter thereunto annexed, vice Dr. John Douglas.

October. The right honourable the viscountess Sydney to be one of the ladies of the bed-chamber to her majesty, vice the dowager countess of Effingham, deceased.

Lieutenant-general Smith to be lieutenant-general of marines, vice lieutenant-general Mackenzie.

November. Morton Eden, esq. to be his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin.

Honourable William Eliot to be his majesty's secretary of legation to the court of Berlin.

Charles Mace, esq. to be his majesty's agent and consul-general at Algiers.

Hugh Elliot, esq. to be his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Dresden.

David Gray, esq. to be his majesty's secretary of legation to the court of Dresden.

Francis James Jackson, esq. to be his majesty's secretary of embassy at the court of Madrid.

Reverend Robert Darley Waddilove to the deanery of Rippon, Yorkshire; vice the reverend Francis Wanley, D.D. deceased.

Thomas Stepney, esq. to be groom of the bed-chamber; and the honourable lieutenant-colonel Charles Monson to be equerry to the duke of York.

Right honourable lady Ann Fitzroy, and the right honourable lady Elizabeth Spencer, to be ladies of the bed-chamber to her royal highness the duchess of York.

William Lindsay, esq. to be resident at Venice, vice sir Francis Vincent, bart. deceased.

December. George Martin Leake esq. to be Chester herald of arms, vice John Martin Leake, esq. resigned.

Jacob earl of Radnor to be lord lieutenant of the county of Berks.

Honourable Arthur Paget to be his majesty's secretary of legation at the court of Petersburg.

Daniel Hailes, esq. to be envoy extraordinary to the court of Copenhagen.

William Gardiner, esq. to be minister plenipotentiary to the court of Warsaw.

Colonel Samuel Hulse appointed treasurer; J. Kemyss Tynte, esq. master and comptroller of the household; colonel Charles Leigh, groom of the bed-chamber; the honourable major George Hanger, equerry; and major J. Doyle, secretary to his royal highness the prince of Wales.

Captain J. W. Payne, of the royal navy, to be auditor and secretary of the duchy of Cornwall.

Reverend Isaac Milner, D.D. F.R.S. and master of Queen's College, Cambridge, to the deanery of Carlisle.

The right honourable lord Grenville to the offices of ranger and keeper of St. James's-park, and of Hyde-park, vice the earl of Orford, deceased.

John

John King, esq. to be under-secretary of state.

Captain Thomas Seabright to be gentleman usher of the privy-chamber in ordinary to his majesty.

G. A. Pechell, esq. to be receiver-general of the customs, vice Bamber Gascoigne, esq. deceased.

DEATHS for the Year 1791.

January. In Great George-street, Westminster, after a fortnight's illness, lady Young, wife of Sir William Young, bart. M.P.

At Badside-house, in the county of Dumbarton, lady Helen Colquhoun, late wife of sir James Colquhoun, and aunt to the late countess of Sutherland.

At Althorpe, in the county of Northampton, honourable Mr. Spencer, second son of earl Spencer.

Reverend George Carleton, of Bartholomew-lane, cousin to lord Dorchester.

Suddenly, at his lordship's house in Curzon-street, May-fair, Mary countess Verney, the lady of Ralph earl Verney, one of the daughters and coheirs of Henry Herring, esq. of London and Egham, merchant and bank-director, and aunt to sir Robert Clayton, bart. She was born February 4, 1716, and married to his lordship September 11, 1740.

George Augustus Selwyn, esq. M.P.

At Grittleton, in Wiltshire, rear-admiral John Houlton.

In Grosvenor-square, after a few days illness, Lucy Knightly, esq. of Fawesly, in the county of Northampton, which county he repre-

sented in parliament many years. He married the daughter of sir James Dashwood, bart. and sister to sir Henry Dashwood, bart. the duchess of Manchester, and the countess of Galloway. Dying without issue, his estate, which is very considerable, and has been in the family for many centuries, devolves to his next brother, Valentine Knightley, esq.

At Dover, the right honourable James Cunningham, earl of Glencairn, baron Kilmaurs in Scotland.

February. In Park-lane, after a long and painful illness, in the 24th year of her age, the lady of sir Charles Ross, bart. M.P. to whom she was married about three years since. She was countess of the Roman empire, and eldest daughter of the late general James Count Lockhart, of Lee, who died at Pisa, in Tuscany, in February, 1790.

Lady Mary St. John, lady of the honourable major Frederick St. John.

At Brompton, Erskine Douglas, M.D. brother to the late sir John Douglas, bart. of Kilhead, and great nephew of William first duke of Queensberry.

The honourable Miss Leslie, daughter of lord Balgonie.

At Twickenham, lady Mary Savile, wife of Dr. Morton, principal librarian of the British Museum, mother of the late sir George Savile, bart. and the present countess of Scarborough, and daughter of John Pratt, esq. married 1722, to sir George Savile, bart. who died in 1743, by whom she had also two daughters.

The countess dowager of Tankerville, mother of the present earl. She was daughter of sir John Ashley,

ley, bart. of Pateshall, Staffordshire.

At Whalsey, lady Mitchell, daughter of John Bruce Stewart, esq. of Simbester, and widow of sir John Bruce Mitchell, bart. of Westshore.

Suddenly, at her return from paying morning-visits, to receive a select party of friends at dinner, in her 33rd year, the widow of the late sir Robert Fletcher, It is supposed a blood vessel burst in her head, as she complained of an uncommon sensation there two days before. She was daughter of the late Mr. Pybus, banker, and neice to Mrs. Blackburne, of Bush-hill.

March. In Bruton-street, lady Mary Palk, wife of Laurence Palk, esq. member of parliament for Ashburton, in the county of Devon.

At Hampton, Middlesex, in his 85th year, sir Robert Carr, baronet.

At his seat at Wentworth-castle, in the county of York, the right honourable William Wentworth, earl of Strafford, viscount Wentworth, of Wentworth Woodhouse, baron of Stainborough, baron Raby, Newmarch, and Oversley, and a baronet. He was born in November, 1712; was lineally descended from the younger brother (sir William) of Thomas the celebrated earl of Strafford, beheaded in 1641; in whose son all the titles failed, except the barony of Raby, but were revived in Thomas eldest son of sir William, 1711 (10 Anne), who died 1739, leaving issue the late earl, who married, April 28, 1741, Anne, second daughter and coheir of John Campbell, late duke of Argyle, who died February 7th, 1785, but had no issue. His lordship dying without issue, the titles of earl of Strafford

and viscount Wentworth, as well as the barony of Raby, devolve to his nephew, Frederick Thomas Wentworth.

At Paris, in his 49th year, right honourable lord Spencer Hamilton, uncle to the present duke of Hamilton, and one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales.

Lady Barclay, relict of the late sir William, and mother of the present sir James Barclay, bart. captain in the royal navy.

At her house at Finchley, in a very advanced age, lady Mary Harris, relict of sir Thomas Harris, knight. She was the youngest of the two daughters and coheir-esses of sir Thomas Hare, of Stow Bardolph, Norfolk, knight, who died in 1759.

At Exeter, aged seven, the son of lord St. John.

At Bath, Edward Buller, esq. of Port Looe, Cornwall, brother to judge Buller.

On the South Parade, Bath, the lady of sir William Wheler, bart. of Leamington-Hastang, in the county of Warwick, and daughter, and heiress of the late Giles Knightley, esq. of Woodford, in the county of Northampton.

At Hampton-court, Anne countess dowager Ferrers (relict of Washington earl of Ferrers, vice admiral of the blue) and aunt to Robert the present earl of Ferrers, to whom a considerable jointure devolves by her death. Her ladyship has been a widow since October 1st, 1778, when her lord died at Chartley-castle, and was buried at Staunton-Harold. Dying without issue, he was succeeded by his brother Robert; and he, in 1787, by the present earl, his son and namesake.

At

At his house in Curzon-street, May-fair, aged 78, Ralph earl Verney in the kingdom of Ireland, one of the representatives for the county of Buckingham. His countess died January 20. Sir John Verney, baronet, of a very ancient family in the county of Bucks, in 1703 was created, by queen Anne, baron Belturbet and viscount Fermanagh in Ireland. He had one son, Ralph (who succeeded him in 1717), and three daughters, one of which married sir Thomas Cave, of Stanfard-hall, baronet; another married col. John Lovett. This Ralph was created earl Verney in the kingdom of Ireland in 1743, and died in 1752. He had two sons: 1. John, who on July 2, 1736, married Miss Nichols. He died in June following, his wife being then with child of a daughter, who is now living. 2. Ralph, who on September 11, 1740, married the daughter of Henry Herring, esq. of Mincing-lane, December 9, 1741, Richard Calvert, esq. brother to alderman Calvert, married Mrs. Verney, the widow of John Verney. She died about two years ago.—The last earl had no issue, so that the titles are extinct.

At his house in Upper Grosvenor-street, sir Archibald Campbell, K.B. late governor and commander in chief on the coast of Coromandel, colonel of the 74th regiment of foot, a major-general of his majesty's forces, and representative in parliament for Stirling, &c. in Scotland.

April: In child-bed, Henrietta, viscountess St. Asaph, daughter of the marquis of Bath.

In Queen-Anne-street, in her 78th year, lady Charlotte Rich, only daughter of the late earl and countess of Warwick and Holland.

At his seat at Wallhampton, near Lymington, Hants, in his 85th year, sir Harry Burrard, baronet.

At his seat in Scotland, where he had been indisposed some time, John viscount Arbuthnot. He is succeeded by his son Robert, an infant, only four years of age.

At Florence, in a decline, the honourable Mrs. Beckford, relict of Peter Beckford, esq. and daughter of lord Rivers.

At Aspley, in Bedfordshire, Arthur Owen, esq. uncle to sir William Owen, baronet.

May. Sir William Parsons, baronet, M.P. for King's-county, Ireland.

At his seat at Booterstown, near Dublin, sir Samuel Bradstreet, baronet, one of the justices of the court of king's-bench in Ireland.

In Cavendish-square, sir William Jones, baronet, of Ramsbury-manor, Wilts.

Lady Dryden, relict of sir John Dryden, baronet.

At Aberdoor-house, in Scotland, lieutenant-general Robert Watson.

At her house, the corner of Park-lane, after a long and painful illness, Henrietta, dowager-countess Grosvenor.

At his house at Brompton-grove, Middlesex, in his 90th year, sir John Mylne, baronet, of Barnton, in North Britain, captain of Cowes castle, in the isle of Wight (in which he is succeeded by colonel Drouly, of the first regiment of guards), captain of invalids in the island of Guernsey, and one of the oldest officers in his majesty's service.

At his seat at Calder-castle, in Scotland, the honourable John Sandilands, uncle to lord Torphichen.

At his house in Portland-place, in his 59th year, the right reverend Thomas

Thomas Thurlow, D. D. bishop of Durham.

At Fortrose, the lady of sir Alexander Mackenzie, baronet, of Coull, to whom he had been married 60 years.

In her 81st year, lady Carpenter, widow of George lord Carpenter, grandmother of the present earl of Tyrconnel, and mother of the countess of Egremont.

At Roehampton, sir Gerard Vaneck, baronet, of Hevingham-hall, Suffolk.

At Dublin, in her 14th year, lady Emma Elizabeth Proby, eldest daughter of the earl of Carysfort.

At Heaton, lady Egerton, relict of sir Thomas Egerton, baronet, and mother of lord Grey de Wilton.

At Logicalmond-house, in Scotland, lady Catherine Drummond.

At his seat at Shavington, in the county of Salop, John Needham, tenth viscount Kilmory.

June. At Tenby, in the county of Pembroke, after a long illness, John Knox, esq. of Warringsford, in the county of Down, in Ireland, only brother of lord Welles.

Selina countess dowager of Huntingdon.

Lately, at Yeverdaim, in Switzerland, lieutenant general sir Frederick Haldimand, K. B. colonel of a battalion of the 60th, or royal American regiment, and late governor of the province of Canada.

At his lodgings in Hampstead, sir David Murray, baronet.

At Hallow-park, in the county of Worcester, in an advanced age, lady Mary Douglas, baroness Mornington, wife of William Weaver, esq. and daughter of George, fourth lord Mornington.

At Stubbs, in Scotland, sir Francis Elliot, baronet.

After a very short illness, sir Lionel Lyde, baronet, of Bedford-square, and of Ayot St. Lawrence, Herts.

Lady Anne Hamilton, relict of lord Anne Hamilton, son of James, fourth duke of Hamilton.

Anne countess dowager of Herberdeen.

At Pangbourn, sir Edward Manly Pryce, baronet.

July. At Rameceau, near Calais, after a tedious illness, the lady of sir Thomas Champneys, baronet, of Orchardleg-house, in the county of Somerset.

At his father's seat, in Scotland, lord Downe, eldest son and heir of the earl of Moray.

At Antrim-house, in Merrion-square, Dublin, the most noble Randall William M'Donnell, marquis, earl, and baron Antrim, viscount Dunluce, one of his majesty's most honourable privy council, governor of the county of Antrim, knight of the bath, a baronet, and grand master of ancient masons in England. He was born November 4, 1749; succeeded his father, October 13, 1775; married, July 3, 1774, Letitia Trevor, daughter of Harvey lord viscount Mountmorres, relict of the honourable Arthur Trevor, son of Arthur lord viscount Dungannon: by whom he has left issue Anne Catherine, and Letitia Mary, both born August 11, 1778, on whom the earldom and viscounty are entailed by patent, May 2, 1785. His lordship was created a marquis in August 1789.

In Derbyshire, in his 43rd year, sir William Fitzherbert, of Tissington-hall, in that county, baronet, one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the said county, and recorder of the borough of Derby; in

in which office he is succeeded by John Balguy, esq. of Duffield. He was the eldest brother of lord St. Helen's, ambassador at Madrid, and married a daughter of baron Perryn.

At Hamburgh, after a few days illness, in her 69th year, her serene highness the duchess-dowager of Mecklenbourg Schwerin.

August. At Valenciennes, John Byron, esq. eldest son of the late honourable admiral Byron, born February 7, 1756. He married lady Conyers, after her divorce from the present duke of Leeds, 1779.

At his house in Sloane-street, Benjamin Jennings, esq. husband to the viscountess dowager Dudley and Ward.

At his seat at Dean's-court, Wimbourne, aged 28, sir William Thomas Hanham, baronet. The title and estate devolve to his uncle, the reverend James Hanham, of the close, Salisbury, rector of Winterborn Zelston, Dorset.

At Great Marlow, in Ireland, the right honourable dowager baroness Massey.

At Wanstead, Essex, Mrs. Thurlow, widow of the late bishop of Durham.

In Kennington-lane, Vauxhall, the honourable Isabella Scott, widow of the honourable John Scott, only brother to the earl of Deloraine.

Sir Francis Vincent, baronet, resident for the court of London at Venice.

September. Sir Brook Bridges, baronet.

Sir George Cayley, baronet.

Humphry Stevens, esq. major-general in the army, and lieutenant-colonel of the 3rd regiment of foot guards.

Catherine marchioness of Abercorn, at Bentley Priory, Staunmore. She was daughter of sir Joseph Copley.

At Woodbury-hill, near Gamlingay, in Cambridgeshire, the honourable George Lane Parker, brother to the earl of Macclesfield, lieutenant-general in the army, and colonel of the 12th regiment of dragoons.

At Dunsany-castle, in Ireland, the lady of lord Dunsany.

Sir Francis Gerrard, baronet.

The right honourable lady Elizabeth Hay, sister to the late and aunt to the present earl of Kinnoul.

At his seat of Gnoll-castle, in Glamorganshire, sir Herbert Mackworth, baronet, F. R. S. one of the vice-presidents of the marine society, colonel of the Glamorganshire militia, and member in the last parliament for Cardiff, as was his father (who died August 30, 1765) in 1739. He was created a baronet, August 24, 1776.

October. At Tormantine-house, in Scotland, lord Haddo. The unfortunate accident which occasioned his death is very singular. After handing lady Haddo and her sister into her post-chaise, to go to attend the Aberdeen races, which commenced next day, his lordship had just mounted his horse, and in leaning forward, the animal struck him a violent blow with his head on the chest, which stunned him so much that he fell. His groom immediately ran to his assistance, and in a few minutes, he was so far recovered as to be able again to mount his horse with apparent ease; but before he had proceeded a few yards, the servant perceived him to be seized with a sudden giddiness, and he fell to the ground motionless. The

The bursting of a blood-vessel is supposed to have been the immediate cause of his death.

At Niagara, in Canada, sir William Erskine, baronet, of Cambo.

At Dunlop, in Scotland, the dowager lady Wallace, relict of Sir Thomas Wallace, baronet.

At his house in Great Queen-street, Westminster, in his 80th year, lieutenant-general John M'Kenzie, colonel-commandant and adjutant-general of the marine forces. He commanded the marines at the capture of Belleisle, in 1761, where that corps gained immortal honour by their gallantry and good conduct. The general (then a lieutenant-colonel) was severely wounded there.

At her house in town, by an apoplectic fit, the dowager-countess of Glasgow. Her ladyship was the daughter of George lord Ross, and was married to the late earl in 1775.

At Chelsea college, Elizabeth countess dowager of Effingham, daughter of Peter Beckford, esq. of Jamaica. She married, 1. Thomas second earl of Effingham; and after his death, 1763. 2. Sir George Howard, K. B. She was one of the ladies of the bed-chamber to her majesty.

At his seat at Firle, near Lewes, in Sussex, after a long and painful illness, the right honourable William Hall Gage, viscount Gage of Castle-Island in Ireland, and baron Gage of Firle in England; paymaster, 1780, of his majesty's pensions, and F. R. S. K. B. and member of parliament for the cinque-ports of Seaford, 1744 and 1754. His lordship married, February 3, 1757, Miss Gideon, daughter of the late Sampson Gideon, esq. and sister of the present lord Eardley,

who died in 1783, and by whom he had no issue.

At Sunnyside, in Scotland, rear-admiral Inglis.

At Edinburgh, sir Robert Daltzell, baronet, of Bruns.

On board his majesty's ship Diana, in her passage from Jamaica to New York, whither her ladyship was going for the recovery of her health, Catherine countess of Effingham, wife of the earl of Effingham, governor of Jamaica, to whom she was married in October, 1765. She was daughter of Metcalfe Procter, esq. of Thorpe, near Wakefield, in the county of York, by his first wife, Martha, sister of the late John Disney, esq. of Lincoln, and was born September 17, 1746. Previous to her ladyship's death, she expressed a wish, that when dead her body might be opened, which was accordingly done, and the liver found closely adhering to the right side; in which situation it appeared to have been some time.

At his house at Snaresbrook, Epping-forest, rear admiral John Harrison, who was first captain under sir George Pococke, in all the engagements with the French admiral Monsieur d'Aché, and at the taking of the Havannah.

At the Hoo, near Welwyn, Herts, lady Georgiana Beauclerk, daughter of the duke of St. Alban's.

The honourable Thomas Henry Coventry, youngest son of lord Deerhurst.

At Chester-le-street, sir Blackston Conyers, baronet, late collector of the customs at the port of Newcastle, and captain in the marines, 1757. He was of a very antient family, seated at Houghton Comeis, and Sockburn, in the county of Durham, soon after the Conquest,

quest. John was first created a baron by Charles I.; and from him was lineally descended the late baronet, whose father, sir Ralph, married Jane, only daughter of Ralph Blackston, esq.

In Switzerland, the right hon. William lord Craven, lord-lieutenant of the county of Berks.

At Donnybrook, near Dublin, the right honourable William lord Chetwynd.

At his house of Barras, in Scotland, sir William Ogilvie, baronet.

November. Bamber Gascoigne, esq. receiver-general of the customs.

On her journey to Southampton, from which place she was to embark for the south of France, for the recovery of her health, Miss Percy, daughter of the late duke of Northumberland, and half-sister to the present duke, and to the earl of Beverley.

At his house in Lower Grosvenor-street, lieutenant-general Francis Smith, colonel of the 11th regiment of foot.

At her house in Epping-forest, Mrs. Harrison, relict of the late rear-admiral Harrison.

At his house in Queen-Anne-street, Westminster, sir Thomas Rumbold, baronet.

Miss Jenkinson, sister to lord Hawkesbury.

At Albyns, Essex, the lady of lieutenant-general sir Robert Boyd, K. B. governor of Gibraltar.

Sir William Fagg, baronet.

At Jamaica, Thomas Howard, earl of Effingham, lord Howard, governor general of that island, and a colonel in the army. He had been for some time in a dangerous state of health; and it was partly in the hope of amendment from

the climate, that he solicited the appointment to the government of Jamaica.

At his seat at Aldenham, near Bridgnorth, in the county of Salop, in his 80th year, sir Richard Acton, baronet, fourth baronet of the family. He was sheriff of Salop, in 1751, and married, 1744, lady Anne Grey, daughter of the earl of Stamford.

The right honourable lord Chetwynd.

In Clarges-street, the lady of sir William Wake, baronet, after being safely delivered of a son and heir the preceding day. Her death was occasioned by an incurable disorder in her stomach, supposed of long duration.

The reverend John Shirley Formor, brother-in-law to lord viscount Conyngham.

At his seat at Hoddesdon, Herts, sir John Baptist Hicks, baronet, of Beverston, in the county of Gloucester. He is succeeded in title by Howe Hicks, esq. of Whitcombapark, in the county of Gloucester.

At Bath, sir Henry George Ravensworth Liddell, of Durham, baronet.

William Dutton Napper, esq. brother to the right honourable lord Shireborn.

December. At Grantham, in Lincolnshire, in his 70th year Francis Cockayne Cust, esq. member of parliament.

Aged 86, Evan Lloyd Vaughan, esq. of Corsygedhl, member of parliament in the two last and present sessions for Merionethshire North Wales.

Of a long illness, George third earl of Orford, viscount and baron Walpole, baron of Houghton, and (from the death of his mother in 1781)

) baron Clinton and Say. He grandson of the first earl of Or-prime-minister of George II. was born April 1, 1730; and e late reign enjoyed the places rd of the bed chamber, and of lieutenant and custos-rotulo- of the county of Norfolk, and e county and city of Norwich; l which he was continued by resent majesty, who appointed also, 1763, ranger and keeper . James's and Hyde parks. He also steward of the corporation armouth.

: Buckland, Berks, in his 90th sir Rob. Throckmorton, bart. : his seat at Winterdyne, in cestershire, sir Edward Win- on, baronet.

: George Richardson, baronet, bingdon-street, Westminster.

her 88th year, honourable Martin, sister to the right urable lord Fairfax.

Summer-hill, in the county eath, in Ireland (the seat of usband), the right honourable beth Ormsby Rowley, vis- tess Langford, of Langford- , and baroness of Summer- n the county of Meath. Her hip married on the 31st of ist, 1732, Hercules Langford ey, esq. by whom she had three sons and four daugh-

viz. Hercules, member of ment for the county of An-

Clotworthy and Arthur, both sed; Jane, married to Tho- arl of Bective; Catherina, to rd Michael lord Longford; beth, and Maria. She was l to the peerage of Ireland in

by the titles of viscountess ford, and baroness of Sum- ill, with limitations of the rs of viscount and baron to

her heirs-male by the right honour- able Hercules Langford Rowley; and she is succeeded in these ho- nours by her eldest and only sur- viving son, Hercules, born in October, 1737, and who is yet un- married. She was the daughter of Clotworthy Upton, esq. member of parliament for Newtown, 1695; and for the county of Antrim, from 1703 to his death, 1725, by Jane, daughter of John Ormsby, esq.

At Fern-hill, Windsor-forest, in her 63rd year, lady Mary Knollys, relict of sir Francis Knollys, baro- net, and daughter of sir Robert Keadall, Cater of Kempston, in the county of Bedford. She was married in 1756.

At Edinburgh, the right honour- able lady Mary Campbell, relict of Dougal Campbell, esq. of Glen- saddie.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Ma- jesty in Council, for the Year 1791.*

Berkshire. Timothy Hare Earl, of Swallowfield-place, esq.

Bedfordshire. F. Pym, of Hasell hall, esq.

Bucks. Sir Robert Bateson Har- vey, of Langly-park, baronet.

Cumberland. Edmund Lamplugh Irton, of Irton, esq.

Cheshire. Charles Watkin John Shakerley of Somerford, esq.

Cambridge and Huntingdon. Geo. Thornnill, of Diddington, esq.

Devonshire. Walter Palk, of Marleigh, esq.

Dorsetshire. John Calcraft, of Rempston, esq.

Derbyshire. John Broadhurst of Foston, esq.

Essex. Donald Cameron, of Great- Ilford, esq.

Gloucestershire

Gloucestershire. Michael Hicks Beach, of Williamstrip, esq.

Hertfordshire. Matthew Raper, of Ashlyns-hall, esq.

Herefordshire. Thomas Stallard Pennoyre of the Moor, esq.

Kent. James Drake Brockman, of Beechborough, esq.

Leicestershire. John Frewen, of Cold Overton, esq.

Lincolnshire. Robert Mitchell Robinson, of Hanthorpe, esq.

Monmouthshire. William Harrison, of Ragland, esq.

Northumberland. J. Wood, of Beadnell, esq.

Northamptonshire. Sir William Wake, of Courteenhall, baronet.

Norfolk. Sir John Fenn, of East Dereham, Kent.

Nottinghamshire. George de Ligne Gregory, of Lenton, esq.

Oxfordshire. J. P. Auriol, of Woodcot, esq.

Rutlandshire. Thomas Woods the younger, of Brooke, esq.

Shropshire. Thomas Pardoe, of Fairtree, esq.

Somersetshire. Abraham Elton of Whitestanton, esq.

Staffordshire. Moreton Walhouse, of Hatherton, esq.

Suffolk. Sir William Rowley, of Stoke, baronet.

County of Southampton. Charles Poole, of Woolverton, esq.

Surry. Henry Bine, of Carshalton, esq.

Sussex. John Drew, of Chichester, esq.

Warwickshire. Charles Palmer of Ladbrooke, esq.

Worcestershire. Henry Wakeman, of Clalmes, esq.

Wiltshire. John Audrey, of Norton, esq.

Yorkshire. Sir George Armytage, of Kirklees, baronet.

SOUTH WALES.

Carmarthen. George Griffith William, of Llywynywermodd, esq.

Pembroke. W. Wheeler Bowen, of Lampston, esq.

Cardigan. David Hughes of Veynog, esq.

Glamorgan. John Richards of Cardiff, esq.

Brecon. Walter Jeffreys, of Brecon, esq.

Radnor. Thomas Jones, of Penkerigg, esq.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesea. Herbert Jones, of Llynnon, esq.

Carnarvonshire. Thomas Lloyd, of Hendre Fenws, esq.

Merioneth. Griffith Roberts, of Bodynllyn, esq.

Montgomery. John Moxon of Vaynor, esq.

Denbighshire. John Jones, of Cesncoch, esq.

Flint. G. L. Wardle, of Hart-heath, esq.

SHERIFF appointed by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in Council, for the Year 1791.

County of Cornwall. Sir William Molesworth, of Pencarrow, baronet.

APPEN.

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE.

Petition of certain considerable Stockholders to the House of Commons against a Bill for appropriating the unclaimed dividends 25th March, 1791.

To the honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the subscribers who are proprietors in the public funds of Great Britain,
Humbly sheweth,

THAT your petitioners are deeply interested in the public funds of Great Britain.

That your petitioners have invested their property in those funds, with the most perfect reliance on the faith and justice of parliament, and in full confidence and persuasion that the legislature of Great Britain would never, without the consent of the proprietors, make any essential alteration, either in respect to their securities, which consists principally in funds specifically appropriated to the payment of their annuities, or in respect to the mode of their payment, expressly stipulated and delineated in the several statutes that fix the conditions of the public loans.

That your petitioners have seen, with equal concern and astonishment, a bill brought into par-

liament by the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer; the avowed object of which is to take back five hundred thousand pounds, part of the sums that have been issued by the exchequer to the governor and company of the bank of England, in pursuance of many acts of parliament; and particularly of the consolidated act, passed in the 28th year of his present majesty, being part of the funds appropriated by law to the payment of the public creditors, and expressly declared not to be divertable to any other use or purpose whatsoever.

That the principle of the said bill appears to your petitioners to have a direct tendency to destroy that confidence which many natives and foreigners have hitherto reposed in the equity and justice of parliament; to violate the public faith solemnly plighted; and by seizing on private property, accurately described, and standing as such in the books of the bank of England, to excite alarms and apprehensions of the most serious and dangerous nature.

That your petitioners wish to be heard by counsel, if it shall appear to them to be necessary; although it is a case that does not depend on nice and intricate subtilty, or on a deep knowledge of the

the technical forms of law ; but on the rights of British subjects, which ought in no case whatever to be invaded. They humbly petition for no more than a sacred observance of national contracts, containing express stipulations, easily understood, and ratified by solemn acts of the supreme legislature.

Under anxious apprehensions, not more sensibly felt on their account, than for the good faith, the public credit, and the honour of the nation : and impressed with a sense of the duty they owe not only to themselves, but to the community at large, your petitioners humbly intreat this honourable house to take the premises into their most serious consideration ; and they pray, that no alteration in their security for the better or the worse, may take place without their consent ; and that the said bill may not pass into a law.

Extracts of Letters, &c. and Accounts relative to the Settlements in New South Wales.

Extract of a Letter from Governor Philip to the Right Hon. Lord Sydney, dated Sydney Cove, 12th February, 1790.

WHEN the supply left Norfolk island, the people were all very healthy, and they had vegetables in the greatest abundance ; they get fish when the weather permits the boat to go without the reef, and, at times, in such quantities, that fish is served to the people in lieu of salt provisions. They make their lines from the flax plant, but unfortunately we have not any person who understands how to dress it.

Half a pod of cotton being found on the islands, supposed to be brought there by a bird, and a cocoa nut, which was perfectly sound, and appeared to have been but a short time in the water, being thrown upon the beach, have given some reason to suppose that both these articles will be found in some island at no great distance.

Lord Howe Island has been examined, but no fresh water, or good anchorage, being found, it can be of no other advantage to this settlement, than occasionally supplying a few turtle.

I had the honour of informing your lordship, that a settlement was intended to be made at a place I named Rose Hill. At the head of this harbour there is a creek, which at half-flood has water for large boats to go three miles up ; and one mile higher the water is fresh, and the soil good. A very industrious man, whom I brought from England, is employed there at present, and has under his direction one hundred convicts, who are employed in clearing and cultivating the ground. A barn, granary, and other necessary buildings, are erected, and twenty-seven acres in corn promise a good crop. The soil is good, and the country, for twenty miles to the westward, which is as far as I have examined, lays well for cultivation ; but even there, the labour of clearing the ground is very great ; and I have seen none that can be cultivated without cutting down the timber, except some few particular spots, which, from their situation (laying at a distance from either of the harbours), can be of no advantage to us at present ; and I presume the meadows mentioned in Captain Cook's voyage, were

were seen from the high grounds about Botany Bay, and from whence they appear well to the eye, but when examined, are found to be marshes, the draining of which would be a work of time, and not to be attempted by the first settlers.

The captain's guard, which until lately did duty at Rose Hill, is now reduced to a lieutenant and twelve privates, and intended merely as a guard to the store which contains the provisions, and which is in the redoubt, for I am now sensible there is nothing to be apprehended from the natives; and the little attention which had been desired of the officers, more than what was immediately garrison duty, when at Rose Hill, is now no longer required.

At Sydney Cove, all the officers are in good huts, and the men in barracks; and although many unforeseen difficulties have been met with, I believe there is not an individual, from the governor to the private soldier, whose situation is not more eligible at this time than he had any reason to expect it could be in the course of the three years station. And it is the same with the convicts; and those who have been any ways industrious, have vegetables in plenty. The buildings now carrying on are of brick and stone. The house intended for myself was to consist of only three rooms, but having a good foundation, has been enlarged, contains six rooms, and is so well built, that I presume it will stand for a great number of years.

The stores have been lately over-run with rats, and they are equally numerous in the gardens, where they do considerable damage;

and as the loss in the stores could only be known by removing all the provisions, that was ordered to be done, and many casks of flour and rice were found to be damaged or totally destroyed. The loss in those two articles by the rats, since landing, has been more than twelve-thousand weight.

Vegetables and provisions having been frequently stolen in the night from convicts and others, twelve convicts were chosen as a night watch; and they have actually answered the end proposed, no robbery having been committed for several months, and the convicts in general have lately behaved better than I ever expected. Only two convicts have suffered death in the last year. Four were executed the first year.

As near two years have now passed since we first landed in this country, some judgment may be formed of the climate, and I believe a finer or more healthy climate is not to be found in any part of the world. Of one thousand and thirty people who were landed, many of whom were worn out by old age, the scurvy, and various disorders only seventy-two have died in one-and-twenty months; and by the surgeon's returns, it appears that twenty six of those died from disorders of long standing, and which it is more than probable would have carried them off much sooner in England. Fifty-nine children have been born in the above time.

In December the corn at Rose Hill was got in: the corn was exceeding good; about two hundred bushels of wheat, and sixty of barley, with a small quantity of flax, Indian corn, and oats, all which is preserved

preserved for seed. Here I beg leave to observe to your lordship, that if settlers are sent out, and the convicts divided amongst them, this settlement will very shortly maintain itself; but without which, this country cannot be cultivated to any advantage. At present I have only one person (who has about an hundred convicts under his direction) who is employed in cultivating the ground for the public benefit, and he has returned the quantity of corn above mentioned into the public store; the officers have not raised sufficient to support the little stock they have. Some ground I have had in cultivation will return about 40 bushels of wheat into store; so that the produce of the labour of the convicts employed in cultivation has been very short of what might have been expected, and which I take the liberty of pointing out to your lordship in this place, to shew, as fully as possible, the state of this colony, and the necessity of the convicts being employed by those who have an interest in their labour. The giving convicts to the officers has been hitherto necessary, but it is attended with many inconveniences, for which the advantages, arising to the officers do not make amends. It will not, therefore, be continued after this detachment is relieved, unless particularly directed. The numbers employed in cultivation will of course be increased, as the necessary buidings are finished, but which will be a work of time; for the numbers in this settlement who do nothing towards their own support, exceed those employed for the public.

In November, the Supply sail-

ed for Norfolk Island with some convicts, and returned after being absent six weeks.—All the people in that island were well, and their crops, after all they had suffered from rats, birds, and a worm which had done them considerable damage, so good, that they had grain sufficient for six months bread for every one upon the island, reserving sufficient for their next year's crops.

Early in January, 1790, the Supply again sailed for Norfolk Island, with more convicts; and in her passage left a small party on Lord Howe Island, to turn turtle; but in fifteen days only three were taken; so that no great advantages will accrue at present from thence. The island has fresh water, but no good anchoring ground.

Since the deaths mentioned in a former part of this letter, one woman has suffered for a robbery, five children have died, and twenty-eight children have been born; making in all seventy-seven deaths, and eighty-seven births.

Extract of a Letter from Governor Phillip to the Right Hon. Lord Sydney, dated Sydney Cove, 13th. February, 1790.

IN order to get a knowledge of the country round this settlement, frequent excursions have been made since the ships sailed in November, 1788; soon after which I went to Botany Bay, and the five days spent in that harbour confirmed me in the opinion I had first formed of it—that it afforded no eligible situation for fixing the settlement, and was a bad harbour, not affording good security for ships against

at the easterly winds, which recently blow very hard in the river, and which has been farthered by captain Hunter, and first lieutenant of the Sirius, there to survey the bay.

After having been several times in the boats to Broken Bay, in order to examine the different creeks in that harbour, a river was found; but the want of provisions obliged us to return without being able to trace it to its source, which has since been done; and in sixteen days we were then all those branches which had a depth of water were traced as far as the boats could proceed.

The breadth of this river (named Hawkesbury) is from 300 to 400 feet; and it appears, from the soundings we had, to be navigable for the largest merchant ships to the foot of Richmond Hill; but the water near the head of the river sometimes rises, after very heavy rains, thirty feet above its common level, it would not be safe for ships to go so far up; but in ten or twenty miles below Richmond Hill, they would lay in shallow water, and perfectly safe. I look on Richmond Hill as being the head of the river, it there grows very shallow, and dividing into several branches.

The high rocky country which is Broken Bay is lost as you proceed up the Hawkesbury, and the banks of the river are there covered with timber, the soil a rich light soil; and judging from the little I saw of the country, I should suppose it good land to a very considerable extent; the other branches of fresh water are shoal, but probably run many miles farther into the country than we could

trace them with our boats. On these rivers we saw great numbers of wild ducks, and some black swans; and on the banks of the Hawkesbury, several decoys made by the natives to catch the quail.

Richmond Hill (near the foot of which a fall of water prevented our proceeding farther with the boats) is the southern extremity of a range of hills, which, running to the northward, most probably join the mountains which lay nearly parallel to the coast, from fifty to sixty miles inland. The soil of Richmond Hill is good, and it lies well for cultivation. Our prospect from the hill was very extensive to the southward and eastward; the country appearing, from the height at which we were, to be a level covered with timber: there is a flat of six or seven miles between Richmond Hill and a break in the mountains, which separates Lansdown and Carmarthen Hills; and in this flat, I suppose, the Hawkesbury continues its course, but which could not be seen for the timber, that, with very few exceptions, covers the country wherever the soil is good.

The great advantages of so noble a river, when a settlement can be made on its banks, will be obvious to your lordship.

The settlement made at Port Jackson, near the head of the harbour (Rose Hill) very fully answers my expectations; the soil is exceeding good, lies well for cultivation, and is well watered. Six miles to the southward, there is a small fresh water river, and 20 miles to the westward, there is a more considerable river, the source of which I suppose to be at the foot of the mountains. The banks of

of this river, which most probably empties itself into the Hawkesbury, are high; the soil a good light mould, and covered with trees; the wood of some of these trees is very light; they are about the size of large walnut trees, which they resemble; they shed their leaves, and bear a small fruit, which is said to be very wholesome. This river likewise frequently rises thirty feet above its common level; it is, as far as I have seen it, from 300 to 400 feet in breadth. I named it the Nepean, and its source will be traced in the course of the winter; and from its banks I hope to reach the mountains, which has been attempted by a party who crossed the river, but after the first day's journey, they met with such a constant succession of deep ravines, the sides of which were frequently inaccessible, that they returned, not having been able to proceed above fifteen miles in five days; when they turned back, they supposed themselves to be 12 miles from the foot of the mountains.

As the land for several miles to the southward, and twenty miles to the westward of Rose Hill, that is, to the banks of the Nepean, is as fine land for tillage as most in England (some few particular spots excepted, the soil of which is poor, but bears a very small proportion to the good land), I propose that tract of land for those settlers which may be sent out; and though they will be placed at some distance from each other, for the convenience of water, (from one to three or four miles) they will have nothing to apprehend from the natives, who avoid those parts we most frequent, and always retire at the sight of two or three people who are armed.

As the labour of clearing the ground of timber will be great, I think each settler should not have less than twenty men on his farm, which I suppose to be from five hundred to one thousand acres: it will be necessary to give that number of convicts to those settlers who come out, and to support them for two years from the public stores; in that time, if they are any ways industrious, they will be in a situation to support themselves, and I do not think they would be able to do it in less time. At the expiration of the two years, they may return half the convicts they have been allowed, and would want no farther assistance from government.

It may be necessary to grant lands to officers and soldiers, who becoming settlers, will of course be entitled to every indulgence; but few of the officers now here, have reaped any great advantage from being allowed convicts; and it is attended with unavoidable inconveniences, from those convicts being left so much to themselves, and from their mixing with the soldiers. It may be found more to the advantage of the crown and the officer likewise, if officers on duty in this settlement were allowed a certain quantity of grain to support their live stock, until they have a market to go to, and I make no doubt, but that in the third year from the time settlers arrive, there will be a market well supplied with grain, poultry, hogs, and goats, of all which there has been a great increase, but killed, from wanting corn to support them; and the natives so frequently setting fire to the country, which they do to catch the opossum, flying squirrel, and other animals, has prevented

wine from being turned out, as intended.

this plan, of distributing amongst the settlers those convicts are not immediately necessary carrying on the public works, is proved of, and which I propose, appearing to me the most likely under this settlement independent for the necessaries of life, in shortest time possible, there are many regulations which will of course take place.

act of a letter from Governor Phillip to Lord Sydney, dated Government-House, Sydney-Cove, April 11, 1790.

THE quantity of flour brought from the Cape of Good Hope on the *Sirius*, was less than I expected—four months flour only for the settlement, and a year's provisions for the ship's company; and it was necessary to give the ship a considerable repair before she could be sent to sea again, which was not completed before the middle of January, when I had reason to expect ships from England in the course of a few weeks. The going to the islands would have served as far as procuring live stock to breed from, but which was not immediately wanted; and the *Sirius* could have brought the consumption of such a number of people, would have been but a very small relief. Howe Island had been tried several times, and a very few turtle procured. The goodness of the soil on Norfolk Island, and the industry of those employed there, rendered that island a resource, and the only one that offered, when, from the ship which had passed since my

letters might be supposed to have been received in England, there was reason to suppose some accident had happened to the store ships sent out.

I therefore ordered two companies of marines to be ready to embark with a number of convicts, by the 5th of March, if no ship arrived before that time; and a proportion of what provisions and stores remained in this settlement being put on board the *Sirius* and *Supply*, sixty-five officers and men, with five women and children from the detachment and civil department, one hundred and sixteen male and sixty-seven female convicts, with twenty-seven children, embarked and sailed the 6th of March.

The advantage I expected by sending away such a number of people, was from the little garden ground they would leave, and which would assist those who remained, and the fish which might be caught in the winter would go the farther; at the same time, those sent to Norfolk Island would have resources in the great abundance of vegetables raised there, and in fish and birds, which this settlement could not afford them; and it was my intention to have sent more convicts to that island, if there had not been this necessity.

The provisions sent, with what was on the island, and the wheat and Indian corn raised there, more than would be necessary for seed, was calculated to last full as long as the provisions in this place; and at Norfolk Island, from the richness of the soil, a man may support himself, with little assistance from the store, after the timber is cleared away.

As

As I wished to send an officer to England who could give such information as cannot be conveyed by letters, and the detachment was now divided, I replaced the officer who was superintendant and commandant at Norfolk Island, by major Ross: the officer I have recalled having been two years on the island, is very capable of pointing out the advantages which may be expected from it, and I think it promises to answer very fully the end proposed by making the settlement; it will be a place of security for the convicts where they will soon support themselves, and where they may be advantageously employed in cultivating the flax plant.

Extract from instructions given by Governor Phillip to the Lieutenant Governor, during his command at Norfolk Island, dated 2nd March, 1790.

YOU will cause the convicts to be employed in the cultivation of the land, in such manner as shall appear to you the best calculated to render that settlement independent, as far as respects the necessaries of life, paying such attention to the cultivation of the flax plant as your situation will admit of, and which is to be the principal object, when the necessaries of life are secured to the settlers.

As from the great increase of corn and other vegetable food, which may be expected from a common industry, and in so fertile a soil, after a certain quantity of ground is cleared and in cultivation, as well as from the natural increase

of swine and other animals, it cannot be expedient that all the convicts should be employed in attending only to the object of provisions, you are to cause the greatest possible number of these people to be employed in cultivating and dressing the flax plant, as a means of acquiring cloathing for themselves and other persons, who may become settlers, as well as for a variety of maritime purposes, and for which its superior excellence renders it a desirable object in Europe.

You will, at every opportunity, transmit to me all such remarks or observations as you may make respecting the nature of the soil on the island, and point out such means as may appear to you the most likely to answer the views of government in the cultivation of the flax plant, and in rendering that island independent for the necessaries of life, and for the order and government of the settlers thereon, that such information may from me be transmitted to his majesty's ministers.

Description of Norfolk Island.

NORFOLK Island is situated in the latitude $29^{\circ} 00'$, and in the longitude of $168^{\circ} 00'$ east: its form is nearly an oblong, and contains from twelve to fourteen thousand acres.

The face of the country is hilly, and some of the valleys are tolerably large for the size of the island; many of the hills are very steep, and some few so very perpendicular, that they cannot be cultivated; but where such situations are, they will do very well for fuel; on the
tops

tops of the hills are some extensive flats.

Mount Pitt is the only remarkable high hill in the island, and is about 150 fathoms high. The cliffs which surround the island are about 40 fathoms high, and perpendicular; the basis of the island is a hard firm clay. The whole island is covered with a thick wood, choaked up with under-wood.

The island is well supplied with many streams of very fine water; many of which are sufficiently large to turn any number of mills. These springs are full of very large eels.

From the coast to the summit of mount Pitt is a continuation of the richest and deepest soil in the world, which varies from a rich black mould to a fat red earth; we have dug down forty feet, and found the same soil; the air is very wholesome, and the climate may be called a very healthy one; there has been no sickness since I first landed on the island.

There are five kinds of trees on the island, which are good timber, viz. the pine, live oak, a yellow wood, a hard black wood, and a wood not unlike the English beech. The pine trees are of a great size, many of which are from 180 to 220 feet in height, and from six to nine feet in diameter. Those trees, which are from 100 to 180 feet in height, are in general sound; from the root to the lower branches, there is from 80 to 90 feet of sound timber, the rest is too hard and knotty for use; it sometimes happens, that after cutting off 20 feet from the butt, it becomes rotten or shakey, for which reason no dependance can be put in it for large masts or yards. The timber of the

pine is very useful in building, and is very plentiful along the coast; its dispersed situation in the interior parts of the island, is well calculated for erecting such buildings as may be necessary. From what I have seen of this wood, I think it is very durable. Two boats have been built of it, and have answered the purpose fully.

The live oak, yellow wood, black wood, and beech, are all of a close grain, and are a durable wood.

The flax plant of New Zealand grows spontaneously in many parts of the island, but mostly abounds on the sea coast, where there is a very great quantity of it; the leaves of which the flax is made are, when full grown, six feet long and six inches wide; each plant contains seven of those leaves; a strong woody stalk rises from the centre, which bears the flowers; it seeds annually, and the old leaves are forced out by young ones every year. Every method has been tried to work it, but I much fear that until a native of New Zealand can be carried to Norfolk Island, that the method of dressing that valuable commodity will not be known; and, could that be obtained, I have no doubt but Norfolk Island would very soon clothe the inhabitants of New South Wales.

There are a great quantity of pigeons, parrots, hawks, and other smaller birds, which are now in a wild state.

The ground is much infested with different kinds of the grub-worm, which are very destructive to the growth of vegetables; they are mostly troublesome about the spring. It is to be hoped that when more ground is cleared away, that this evil will cease.

There

There is no quadruped on the island, except the rat, which is much smaller than the Norway rat: these vermin were very troublesome when first we landed, but at present there are but very few.

The coasts of the island abound with very fine fish. No opportunities were ever lost of sending the boat out, which enabled us to make a saving of two pounds of meat, each man, a week.

The coasts of the island are in general steep to, and, excepting at Sydney, Anson, Ball, and Cascade Bays, they are inaccessible, being surrounded by steep perpendicular cliffs rising from the sea. Some rocks are scattered about close to the shore.

Sydney Bay, on the south side of the island, is where the settlement is made. Landing at this place entirely depends on the wind and the weather; I have seen as good landing as in the Thames, for a fortnight or three weeks together, and I have often seen it impracticable to land for ten or twelve days successively; but it is much oftener good landing than bad.

Anson Bay is a small bay with a sandy beach, where landing is in general good, with an off-shore wind and moderate weather; but as the interior parts of the island are so difficult of access from thence, no ship's boats have ever landed there.

Ball Bay is on the south-east side of the island; the beach is a large loose stone; when landing is bad in Sydney Bay, it is very good here, as it also is in Cascade Bay, on the north side of the island.

During the winter months, viz.

from April to August, the general winds are the south and south-west, with heavy gales at times. In the summer, the south-east wind blows almost constant.

The spring is visible in August, but the native trees, and many plants in the island, are in a constant state of flowering: the summer is warm, and sometimes the droughts are very great; all the grain and European plants seeded in December: from February to August may be called the rainy season, not that I think there is any stated times for rains in these months, as it is sometimes very fine weather for a fortnight together, but when the rain does fall, it is in torrents. I do not remember above three claps of thunder during the time I was on the island. The winter is very pleasant, and it never freezes.

The proper time for sowing wheat and barley is from May to August, and is got in in December; that which has been sowed has produced twenty-five fold, and I think the increase may be greater. Two bushels of barley, sowed in 1789, produced 24 bushels of a sound full grain.

The Indian corn produces well, and is, in my opinion, the best grain to cultivate in any quantity, on account of the little trouble attending its growth, and manufacturing for eating.

The Rio Janeiro sugar-cane grows very well, and is thriving.

Vines and oranges are very thriving; of the former there will be a great quantity in a few years.

Potatoes thrive remarkably well and yield a very great increase; I think two crops a year of that article may be got with great ease.

Every

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE. [73]

Every kind of garden vegetable 1790, from 28 to 32 acres, and thrives well, and comes to great about 18 cleared by free people and convicts for their gardens.

The quantity of ground cleared, PHILIP GIDLEY KING.
and in cultivation, belonging to London,
the public, was, on the 13th March, January 10th, 1791.

An Account of the Number of Convicts which have been shipped from England for New South Wales, and of the Number intended to be sent in the Ships now under Orders for that Service: Made out pursuant to an Order of the Honourable House of Commons, dated 9th February, 1791.

	No.
Convicts shipped	2,029
Convicts intended to be sent in the ships now under orders	1,830
	<hr/> 3,859

Treasury Chambers,
18th March, 1791.

CHARLES LONG.

An Account of the Expense incurred in transporting Convicts to New South Wales, as far as the same can be made out.

<i>Nature of the Expenses.</i>	<i>Amount.</i>		
	£.	s.	d.
Freight of the transport ships, with the expense of fitting them for the service	42,271	0	4
Cloathing, slops, and bedding	4,939	16	8
Victualling and providing for the convicts and the marine guard, prior to sailing, as also on the passage, and for a store there, viz.			
	£.	s.	d.
Prior to sailing	4,324	1	11
On the passage	7,310	12	2
For a store at New South Wales	16,205	3	0
Wine, essence of malt, &c.	381	15	1
	<hr/>		
	28,221	12	2
Handcuffs and irons for securing the convicts	42	0	1
Stationery for the commissary of stores and provisions, and for the commanding officer of marines	63	19	4
Tools, implements of husbandry, &c.	3,056	8	7
Marquees and camp equipage for marine officers	389	4	1
	<hr/>		
Carried over	78,984	1	3
		Portable	

Nature of the Expenses.		Amount.		
		£.	s.	d.
	Brought over	78,984	1	3
Portable house for the governor	.....	130	0	0
Medicines, drugs, surgeons' instruments, and necessaries		1,429	15	5
Seed grain	.....	286	17	4
Old canvas supplied from Portsmouth dock-yard, for tents, &c. for the convicts, until huts could be erected	.....	69	0	9
Hearths, coppers, &c. for the use of the settlement		118	10	3
Pay and disbursements of the agent to the transports employed on this service	.....	881	6	6
		<hr/>		
		81,899	11	6
This expense has been incurred upon the first expedition, and is all paid.				
Charge of cloathing, victualling, and transporting Female Convicts in the Lady Juliana, hired in December 1788, viz.				
Paid already upon account	.....	4,269	18	0
Estimate of what more may be due, upon the supposition that the ship may have been discharged at port Jackson from the pay of this board, at the end of August last		3,454	3	2
		<hr/>		
		7,724	1	11
Charge of the Justinian, hired in Nov. 1789, for a store-ship to Port Jackson, and from thence to proceed to China to bring home teas for the East-India Company, viz.				
Freight for two years, the time calculated for the performance of those services out and home	.....	7,389	0	0
Deduct what may be expected to be received from the company for freight of the teas she may bring home		5,000	0	0
There remains the sum of	<hr/>	2,389	0	0
Note.—623 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> part of the sum of 2,389 <i>l.</i> being the amount of the expence incurred on account of this ship, according to the above estimate, has been already paid; which leaves a balance due of 1,765 <i>l.</i> 18 <i>s.</i>				
Pay and disbursements of the two agents who went out in the Lady Juliana and Justinian	.....	1,500	0	0
		<hr/>		
	Carried over	£. 93,511	14	5
		Charge		

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE. 77

Nature of the Expenses.

Amount.

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	93,511	14	5
Charge of victualling, cloathing, and transporting convicts, according to agreements with Mr. Whitlock, in August 1789, and with Messrs. Camden, Calvert, and King, in November 1790, viz.			
Paid upon account to Mr. Whitlock...	17,463	3	9
Ditto to Messrs. Camden, Calvert, and King	30,100	0	0
	<u>47,563</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>
The total expense cannot be known until the service is over, and the accounts are settled; but it is estimated that what will remain due upon the above two agreements will not probably be less than	20,000	0	0
	<u>67,563</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>
	<u>161,075</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>2</u>

The expense incurred on His Majesty's ships sent on service to New South Wales, is estimated to be as under, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
On the Sirius	45,183	0	0
Supply tender.....	17,283	0	0
Guardian.....	22,924	0	0
Gorgon	10,211	0	0
	<u>95,601</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,
18th March, 1791.

CHARLES LONG.

N.B. In the preceding account, the charges incurred for the transport of 200 convicts from Ireland are included.

An Account of the Quantity and Cost of the Provisions and Stores which have been sent to New South Wales for the maintenance and Support of the Settlements there, as far as the same can be made up.

	£.	s.	d.
600 tons of provisions shipped in June and July 1789	12,034	8	6

300 tons

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	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	12,034	8	6			
300 tons of provisions shipped in December 1789.....	6,178	4	0			
450 tons ditto ditto, February, 1791...	9,514	10	2			
	<hr/>			27,727	2	8
Cloathing, comprehending leather, shoes, stockings, hats, cloths, Osna- burgs, blankets, rugs, tape, thread, &c.....	16,865	2	8½			
Implements, &c. comprehending im- plements of husbandry, iron, steel, blacksmith, armourer, carpenter, bricklayer, and masons tools, nails, hoes, axes, glass, iron pots, tin plates, fishing tackle, hooks, twine, thread, rope, hawsers, pig and sheet lead, shot, ball, gunpowder, bowls, paints, oil, canvas, bibles, prayer and other books, weights, scales, measures, waggons, &c.	11,772	10	3½			
Medicines, hospital stores, compre- hending a moveable hospital, sheets, blankets, rugs, paliasses, chirurgical instruments and necessaries, pewter, tin, and copper ware, kettles, wine, vinegar, groceries, flannel, salt, hammocks, soup, oatmeal, barley, rice, sago, &c.	23,129	8	0			
	<hr/>			51,767	0	7½
Off discounts.....	2,011	2	1			
	<hr/>			49,755	18	6½
Amount of bills drawn by Governor Phillip and Commissary Miller on the Lords of the Treasury for sundry provisions, stores, and necessaries, for the use of the settlement	<hr/>			7,070	3	6
	<hr/>			84,553	4	8½
	<hr/>					

In the foregoing account is included the cost of 12 months provisions, clothing, stores, &c. for 200 convicts from Ireland, after their arrival.

Treasury Chambers,
18th March, 1791.

CHARLES LONG:
An

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE. [79]

An Account of the Charge and Expense of the Civil and Military Establishments in the Settlements of New South Wales.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Civil establishment to 10th Oct. 1790.	—			13,190	17	8

Military Establishment.

Pay of marines to 1st Jan. 1791, about	18,784	0	0			
Charge of the New South Wales corps, From 5th June to 24th December, 1789, including levy money, the allowance for clothing and accoutre- ments, and contingencies	4,751	8	11			
The charge of the said corps for the year 1790, according to the estab- lishment	6,134	7	3			
	<hr/>			29,669	16	9

Total expense of the civil and military establishment, from the commence- ment thereof in 1787, to the present period	—			42,860	13	10
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Future annual expense of the civil es- tablishment	3,856	0	0			
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Future annual charge of the military establishment	6,134	7	3			
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	<hr/>			9,990	7	3
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Treasury Chambers,
18th March, 1791.

CHARLES LONG.

*Petition of John Horne Tooke, esq.
to the honourable the Commons of
Great Britain in Parliament as-
sembled,*

To the honourable the Commons
of Great Britain in Parliament
assembled,

The petition of John Horne Tooke,
Esq.

Sheweth,

THAT your petitioner now is, and at the time of the last election for Westminster was, an elector for Westminster, and a candidate to represent the said city and liberty in the present parliament. That in the said city and liberty there are 17,291 householders rated in the parish books unrepresented in parliament, and without the means of being represented therein, although, by direct and indirect taxation, they contribute to the revenue of the state very considerably more than those who send 100 members to parliament. That at each of the three last elections for Westminster (viz. in 1784, in 1788, and in 1790), notoriously deliberate outrage, and purposely armed violence was used; and at each of those elections murder was committed; that for these past outrages, as if there were no attorney-general, no government, and no legislature in the land, not the least redress has been obtained, not the least punishment, nor even the least censure inflicted, nor has any remedy whatever been appointed or attempted, to prevent a repetition of similar outrages in future; that, at the election for Westminster, in 1784, a scrutiny was demanded on behalf of sir Cecil Wray, which was granted on the 17th of May, 1784, and with the approbation or direction of the then House of Commons was continued

till the third of March, 1785, when a very small comparative progress having been made (viz. through the small parish of St. Anne, and not entirely through St. Martin's, leaving totally untouched the parishes of St. George, St. James, St. Margaret, St. John, St. Paul Covent-garden, St. Mary le Strand, St. Clement, and St. Martin le Grand), the said scrutiny was, by the direction or approbation of the House of Commons, relinquished without effect, after having lasted ten months, and with an expense to sir Cecil Wray of many thousand pounds more than appears by some late proceedings in chancery to be the allowed average price of a perpetual seat in the House of Commons, where seats for legislation are as notoriously rented and bought as the standings for cattle at a fair.

That on the election for Westminster in 1788, there being an absolute and experienced impossibility of determining the choice of the electors by a scrutiny before the returning officer, a petition against the return was presented to the then House of Commons, by lord Hood, and another petition also against the return was presented by certain electors of Westminster, and a committee was in consequence appointed, which commenced its proceedings on Friday, April the 3rd, 1789, and continued till June the 18th, 1789, when the committee (as able and respectable as ever were sworn to try and determine the matter of any petition), on their oaths,

“ Resolved, that from the progress which the committee have hitherto been enabled to make since the commencement of their proceeding, as well as from an attentive

ve consideration of the different circumstances relating to the e, a final decision of the business before them cannot take place in the course of the present session, and that not improbably the business of the present parliament will be consumed in a tedious and expensive litigation."

Resolved, that from the necessity of the proceeding, and the approach of a general election, which must occur not later than Spring 1791, (nearly two years more) it promises to be less, as far as it respects the presentation of Westminster in the present parliament."

Resolved, that it be recommended to the petitioners to withdraw their petitions under the special circumstances of the case."

That (notwithstanding this extraordinary, and perhaps unparalleled, application from a court of justice to its suitors) lord Hood, the other petitioners, having refused to withdraw their respective petitions, the proceedings of the committee continued till the 1st of July, 1789, when a very small comparative progress having been made, the petitioners, from a conviction of the impossibility of a decision by the committee, were compelled to abandon their petitions without any effect, or tendency towards effect, after a tedious expensive litigation of three weeks and three days; and with expence to the petitioning candidate of more than 14,000*l*.

That under these circumstances, if a petitioner declined demanding a scrutiny before the returning officer, so is he compelled to discontinue all scrutiny before a committee of the house of commons. For VOL. XXXIII.

although that act (the 10th of George III.) by which the said committee is appointed, recites in its preamble, that "Whereas the present mode of decision upon petitions complaining of undue elections or returns of members to serve in parliament, frequently obstructs public business, occasions much expence, trouble, and delay to the parties, &c. for remedy thereof, &c." yet it would be less expensive and less ruinous to the petitioner to be impeached, even according to the present mode of conducting impeachments, and to be convicted too of real crimes, than to be guilty of attempting to obtain justice for himself, and the injured electors of Westminster, by the only mode of decision which the new remedial statute (the 10th of George III.) has appointed for that purpose, however well adapted that mode of decision may be to settle the disputed claims of the proprietors of small boroughs, for whose usurped and smuggled interest alone the framers of that bill, and of those bills which have been since built upon it, seem to have had any real concern.

That by the 9th of Anne, chap. 5, the right of electors (before unlimited by qualification in the objects of their choice) to be restricted in cities and boroughs, is citizens and burgesses respectively having an estate, freehold, or copyhold, for their own respective lives, of the annual value of three hundred pounds above reprises. That this very moderate restriction, (however vicious in its principle) leaving all citizens and burgesses eligible possessing life estates, freehold or copyhold of the annual value of three hundred pounds, will hence-

henceforth serve only as a snare to the candidate, and a mockery of the electors, if such candidate possessing a life estate of three hundred pounds a year, must expend fifty thousand pounds (and there is no probable appearance that a hundred thousand pounds would be sufficient) in attempting, by a tedious, expensive, and ineffectual litigation, to sustain the choice of his constituents, and to prove himself duly elected.

"That though the petitioner complains (as he hereby does) of the undue election and return of lord Hood and the right honourable Charles Fox, to this present parliament, for the city and liberty of Westminster, yet is the petitioner, by a persecution and proscription of more than twenty years, disabled from making that pecuniary sacrifice, which by the present new mode of investigation is (and ought not to be) necessary effectually to prove such undue return: and yet the petitioner fully trusts, that notwithstanding a very great majority of the house of commons (for so it still continues to be styled) are not as they ought to be, elected by the commons of this realm, (in any honest meaning of the word, "Commons") and must therefore naturally and necessarily have a bias and interest against a fair and real representation of the people; yet the petitioner fully trusts, that he shall be able to lay before a committee, "chosen and sworn to try and determine the matter of this petition," evidence of such a nature, as that the committee will, on their oaths, "think proper to report to the house some resolution or resolutions, other than the determination of the return, and that the house will make such order thereon as to them shall seem proper."

And the petitioner doubts not, that as an elector at least, he shall in consequence receive such redress as will be much more important to him, and the electors of Westminster, than any determination of the return."

Memorial presented by the English Roman Catholics.

To the Right Honourable William Pitt, First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer, &c. &c.

The Memorial of his Majesty's English subjects, professing the Catholic Religion,

Sheweth,

THAT by the laws now in force against persons professing the catholic religion, your memorialists are deprived of many of the rights of English subjects, and the common rights of mankind.

They are prohibited, under the most severe penalties, exercising any act of religion according to their own mode of worship.

They are subject to heavy punishments for educating their children in their own religious principles at home, and they are also subject to heavy punishments for sending their children for education abroad.

They are made incapable of serving in his Majesty's armies and navies.

They are restrained from practising the law as barristers, advocates, solicitors, attornies, or proctors.

They are obliged, on every occasion, to disclose the most secret transactions of their families, by reason of the expensive and perplexing obligation of inrolling their deeds.

They are subjected, by annual acts

acts of the legislature, to the ignominious fine of the double land tax.

They are deprived of that constitutional right of English freeholders, voting for county members. They are not allowed to vote at the election of any other members. They are therefore absolutely unrepresented in parliament.

They are excluded from all places, civil and military.

They are disqualified from a seat in the house of commons.

Their peers are deprived of their hereditary seat in parliament.

And their clergy, for exercising their functions, are exposed to the heaviest penalties and punishments, and in some cases to death.

That the laws which subject them to these disabilities, penalties, and punishments, were passed against them in times of intolerance, for crimes of which they are not guilty, and for principles which they do not profess.

That if any motives of policy ever existed, which, in any point of view, or by the opinions of any set of men, could justify the general necessity or expediency of those laws, they have long since entirely ceased to continue them; therefore must be unjust, as it withholds from so many subjects the first rights and comforts of society; unwise, as it produces disunion among the people; and impolitic, as it deprives the State of the labours and services of so many of its loyal subjects.

That by the gracious and salutary act passed in the 20th year of his present majesty, that one particular law which most prevented their safety, and quietly enjoying their landed property, was formally

ly repealed, and an oath prescribed to them by which, in the most solemn, most explicit, and most unequivocal terms, they disavow the belief, that there exists in any foreign prince, prelate, state or potentate, either directly or indirectly, any civil jurisdiction or power, superiority or pre-eminence whatsoever, within this realm; and by which, in terms equally explicit and unequivocal, they avow their absolute and unreserved allegiance and fidelity to his majesty's person and government, the succession of the crown in his family, and the British constitution.

That the English catholics have universally taken this oath.

That their general conduct has been blameless and inoffensive.

That they hold no principles which can be construed to extend to the subversion; disturbance, or disquiet of the civil or ecclesiastical government of this country.

That they live in the completest harmony with their fellow-subjects, only separated from them by a difference of opinion in matters of religion, and only prevented from falling into the general mass of the community, by the distinctions produced and kept alive by the laws still remaining in force against them.

That the British government and the nation at large, have long been sensible of this; and therefore (with an humanity for which the English catholics are truly grateful) have not permitted the laws against them to be extended in their utmost extent. Hence, for a considerable time, none of those laws which affect their lives, have been carried into execution; and there have not been many instances where

where those laws which affect their fortunes or their liberties, have been enforced. Prosecutions against them have received no aid from the Legislature, no countenance from the courts of justice, no encouragement from the magistracy, and no favour from the people. Informers against them have been universally despised. The most virtuous and enlightened men of the age have been their advocates. The nation is their friend, the letter of the law their only enemy. To that it is owing that they still languish under disabilities which cramp their industry, prevent their providing for their families, drive them from their own country for education, obtrude them on foreigners for their subsistence, and make them, as it were, aliens among their fellow subjects.

That the doctrine of general toleration universally prevails; and that no plea can be urged for tolerating, in foreign countries, the dissidents from the mode of worship established there, which may not with as great propriety be urged for tolerating in England those of the catholic persuasion.

Upon these grounds, your memorialists hope for your concurrence and support on their intended application for redress of their grievances.

*Letter to the Rev. Dr. Priestley
from the Committee of the Revolution Society.*

Rev. Sir, Aug. 16, 1791,

WE embrace the opportunity of the first meeting of the

committee of the revolution society, subsequent to the atrocious riots which have taken place at Birmingham, to express our concern and regret at those acts of lawless violence by which you have been so great a sufferer, and which have reflected such extreme dishonour on this age and on this nation.

It might have been presumed, that the most ignorant and lawless savages would not have been induced to commit such depredations on the house and property of a man of such distinguished merit as yourself, to whom the whole scientific world has been so eminently indebted, and in whose works those principles of equal liberty have been asserted, and maintained, which would protect even the lowest of the human species from violence and oppression. As a political writer, you have been employed in disseminating the most just and rational sentiments of government, and such as are in a very high degree calculated to promote general freedom and happiness.

The conduct of the Birmingham rioters implied in it a complication of ignorance and brutality, which it is astonishing to find, at the present period, in such a country as Great Britain. Nothing but the most execrable bigotry, united to ignorance the most contemptible, could lead any body of men to suppose, that such acts of violence as were lately exercised at Birmingham against yourself and other respectable dissenters in that town and its neighbourhood, could be justified by any difference of opinion. We hoped that the age had been more enlightened; that it had been universally admitted, that no country can be possessed of freedom

dom in which every man is not allowed to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and in which he is not permitted to defend his opinions. We hoped, also, that the principles of civil liberty had been so well understood, and so universally adopted, that few would have been found in this country who would not sincerely have rejoiced in the emancipation of a neighbouring kingdom from Tyranny, and in such events as are calculated to promote general liberty and happiness.

It is with exultation and triumph that we see the success of the late just, necessary, and glorious revolution in France; an event so pregnant with the most important benefits to the world, that not to rejoice in it would be unworthy of us as freemen, and as friends to the general rights of human nature; and to ascribe to the commemoration of the French revolution the late devastations committed at Birmingham, would be to insult the understandings of mankind.

We are sorry to find, that so many of our countrymen still need to be instructed in the first principles of civil and religious freedom. But we still hope that the period is not far distant, when the common rights of mankind will be universally acknowledged; when civil and ecclesiastical tyranny shall be banished from the face of the earth; and when it shall not be found practicable to procure any licentious mobs to support the cause of an ignorant and interested intolerance.

We again express our deep concern at the iniquitous riots which have lately happened at Birming-

ham; at the acts of violence and injustice which have been exercised against you and your friends; and at the loss science and literature have sustained in the destruction of your books, manuscripts, and philosophical apparatus.

We rejoiced in the security of your person, notwithstanding the malevolence of your adversaries; and at the magnanimity with which you have sustained the injuries that you have received.

Permit us to intreat you to convey our cordial and affectionate condolence to your fellow-sufferers in the cause of freedom and public virtue. As to yourself, we desire to testify in the most public manner the high sense we entertain of your merit; and we beg leave to subscribe ourselves, with great respect and regard, rev. sir, your most obedient, and most humble servants,

The committee of the revolution society of London.

(L.S.) BENJAMIN COOPER, Sec.
The Rev. Joseph Priestly, LL.D.

ANSWER.

Dear Sir, *Tottenham, Aug. 22, 1791.*

I beg you would make my acknowledgments, in the most respectful manner, to the committee of the revolution society, for their very grateful address to me.

Our principles are entirely the same; and, notwithstanding all opposition, must prevail in this, as well as in other countries. Violence is temporary, but truth is eternal. I am, dear sir, yours sincerely,
J. PRIESTLEY.

*To the Chairman of the
committee of the revolution society.
Address*

Address of the Students at the new college, Hackney, to Dr. Priestly, in consequence of the Birmingham riots,

Rev. Sir,

WHEN various societies are expressing their sense of your great merit, and sorrow for your late sufferings, we hope that, without any violation of modesty, we too may appear among the number; and young as we are, yet dearly loving truth and liberty, avow our warm attachment to their distinguished, their persecuted, advocate. The loss which the world of science and of letters must sustain in the destruction of your MSS., and interruption of your studies, we deeply feel, and deeply lament; for how can we be lovers of our brethren, or even of our ourselves, without deploring every hindrance of labours excited by no sordid views, but intended to enlighten and improve mankind? we presume not to appreciate these labours; whatever be their value, they are sanctified by their object; and our indignation must be roused when any daring hand violates the retirement of a person thus employed.

Yet we are sure that your studies, though for a while interrupted, will be soon resumed; we are confident that your future publications will display the same manly spirit, will contain the same open avowal of what you deem important truth, which has ever characterised your productions; for you sought not the applause of the multitude, you cannot then be disappointed at finding them ignorant of your value, and is not the hatred of all the hireling advocates of corruption a proof that your labours have

been successful? why should they wish to extinguish the light, if it did not exhibit their own deformity? your friends have long acknowledged the justice of your reasonings—but their judgments might be partial; this testimony of your enemies, however disagreeably expressed, is liable to no exception; they would not hate you if they did not fear you.

Another circumstance which must have alleviated your sufferings, is the steady attachment which so many of your friends have displayed; not a few have publicly expressed it, and doubtless there are many others who, formerly content with admiring your writings, will now extend their admiration to your character, and, powerful as those arguments may be by which certain of your philosophical opinions are supported, will acknowledge that their practical influence, displayed in your conduct, affords an argument still more forcible.

You have, sir, one further consolation. Though lawless violence may destroy your writings, may destroy yourself, it cannot extinguish that spirit of enquiry; it cannot eradicate those generous sentiments which you and the other enlighteners of Europe have excited; we trust that multitudes have, that multitudes will, imbibe them; we trust that our love of truth and liberty flows not from the wild and irregular enthusiasm of youth but is the effect of conviction and principle. Our bosoms glow with the idea of one day pursuing, with however unequal steps, the course which you have pointed out; of entering, even in the lowest capacity, that glorious phalanx which, in contending for the rights, contends for the happiness, of man:

we earnestly hope, that neither the blandishments of pleasure, nor the frowns of power, will be able to retard our progress; we earnestly pray that nothing this world can offer may draw us from the path of duty—for that path, we are convinced, leads to heaven.

Hackney College, Sept. 20, 1791.

*Dr. Priestley's Answer to the
Address of the Students.*

GENTLEMEN,

YOUR address, as that of young men of sufficient age to think with justness, as well as to feel with ardour, gives me a peculiar pleasure, as it holds out a certain prospect, that the cause of truth and liberty will not want supporters, when all those of my age shall have finished their course.

You see in the riots at Birmingham how naturally a failure in argument leads to violence, and also how certainly that violence defeats its own end.—A hierarchy, equally the bane of christianity and of rational liberty, now confesses its weakness; and be assured, that you will see either its complete reformation or its fall. Be it your ambition, my young friends, to join the small but noble band of those who by action, or what is more honourable as well as more effectual, by suffering, maintain the rights of all men, civil and religious. Whether you be destined for speculative or active life, you will not want opportunities of distinguishing yourselves in this glorious cause; and of youth we naturally expect a generous ardour in favour of whatever is true and right, independent of

private interest, or of that of any particular portion of the human race.

As good citizens, study the welfare of your country; but look beyond that, to those great principles, which will insure the happiness of all Europe and of all mankind. Such principles as these now excite general attention, and your tutors will give you every assistance that you can want in the discussion of them. Shew then by your superior intelligence and activity the superiority of your advantages over those of other institutions, which, instead of expanding the mind, by encouraging freedom of enquiry, effectually fetter its powers, by a sworn attachment to a particular system, formed in an age of universal and acknowledged barbarism. Where the sons of those institutions are diffusing their darkness, do you bring your light; assured that the same grand luminary which has arisen on America, France, and Poland, and which has taught them all universal toleration in matters of religion, will illuminate the whole world, and that, in consequence of it, all mankind will be free, peaceable, and happy.

Give me leave to close this address with reminding you, how much the credit of the college depends upon the diligence and good behaviour of you who are students in it, and of the connexion which the good of your country and of the world has with the credit of that institution.

With sincere affection, and every good wish, I am, gentlemen, your very humble servant,

J. PRIESTLEY.

London, Sept. 22, 1791.

New

New Constitution of the Government of Poland, as established May, 1791.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, ONE IN THE HOLY TRINITY.

Stanislaus Augustus, by the grace of God, and the will of the Nation, King of Poland, &c. &c. together with the Confederate States assembled in double number to represent the Polish nation.

CONVINCED by a long train of experience of many defects in our government: and willing to profit by the favourable moment which has restored us to ourselves; free from the disgraceful shackles of foreign influence; prizing more than life the external independence and internal liberty of the nation; in order to exert our natural rights with zeal and firmness, we do solemnly establish the present constitution, which we declare wholly inviolable in every part till such period as shall be prescribed by law; when the nation, if it should think fit, may alter by its express will such articles therein as shall be found inadequate.

Art. I. The dominant national religion.—The holy roman catholic faith, with all its privileges and immunities, shall be the dominant national religion: but as the same holy religion commands us to love our neighbours, we therefore owe to all people of whatever persuasion, peace in matters of faith, and the protection of government: consequently, we assure to all persuasions and religions, freedom and liberty, according to the laws of the country, and in all dominions of the republic.

Art. II. Nobility or the equestrian order.—Revering the memory of our ancestors with gratitude, as the first founders of our liberties, it is but just to acknowledge, in a most solemn manner, that all the pre-eminence and prerogatives of liberty, granted to this order by Casimir the Great, &c. &c. &c. are by the present act renewed confirmed and declared to be inviolable. We acknowledge the rank of the noble equestrian order in Poland to be equal to all degrees of nobility—all persons of that order to be equal among themselves, not only in the eligibility to all posts of honour, trust, or emolument, but in the enjoyment of all privileges and prerogatives; personal liberty, and security of territorial and moveable property; nor shall we even suffer the least encroachment on either by the supreme national power (on which the present form of government is established), under any pretext whatsoever; consequently, we regard the preservation of personal security and property, as by law ascertained, to be a tie of society, and the very essence of civil liberty which ought to be considered and respected for ever.

Art. III. Towns and citizens.—The law made by the present diet, intituled, “Our royal free towns within the dominions of the republic,” we mean to consider as a part of the present constitution, and promise to maintain it as a new, additional, true, and effectual support of our common liberties, and our mutual defence.

Art. IV. Peasants and villagers.—This agricultural class of people, the most numerous in the nation, consequently the most considerable part

part of its force, we receive under the protection of national law and government; enacting, that whatever liberties, grants, and conventions, between the proprietors and villagers, either individually or collectively, may be entered authentically into in future; such agreements shall import mutual and reciprocal obligations, binding not only the present contracting parties, but even their successors by inheritance or acquisition. Thus having insured to the proprietors every advantage they have a right to from their villagers, and willing to encourage most effectually the population of our country, we publish and proclaim a perfect and entire liberty to all people, either who may be newly coming to settle, or those who, having emigrated, would return to their native country: and we declare most solemnly, that any person coming into Poland, from whatever part of the world, or returning from abroad, as soon as he sets his foot on the territory of the republic, becomes free, and at liberty to exercise his industry, wherever and in whatever manner he pleases, to settle either in towns or villages, to farm and rent lands and houses, on tenures and contracts, for as long a term as may be agreed on; with liberty to remain, or to remove, after having fulfilled the obligations he may have voluntarily entered into.

Art. V. Form of government— All power in civil society should be derived from the will of the people, its end and object being the preservation and integrity of the state, the civil liberty, and the good order of society, on an equal scale, and on a lasting foundation. Three distinct powers shall compose the

government of the Polish nation, according to the present constitution:

1. Legislative power in the states assembled.

2. Executive power in the king and the council of inspection. And,

3. Judicial power in jurisdictions existing or to be established.

Art. VI. The diet, or the legislative power.—The diet, or the assembly of states, shall be divided into two houses, the house of nobles, or deputies; and the house of senate, where the king is to preside. The former being the representative and central point of supreme national authority, shall possess the pre-eminence in the legislature; therefore all bills are to be decided first in this house.

1. All general laws, constitutional, civil, criminal, and perpetual taxes; concerning which matters, the king is to issue his propositions by the circular letters sent before the dietines to every palatinate and to every district for deliberation, which coming before the house with the opinion expressed in the instructions given to their representatives, shall be taken the first for decision.

2. Particular: temporal taxes; regulations of the mint; contracting public debts; creating nobles, and other casual recompences; reparation of public expences, both ordinary and extraordinary; concerning war; peace; ratification of treaties, political and commercial; all diplomatic acts and conventions relative to the laws of nations; examining and acquitting different executive departments, and similar subjects arising from the accidental exigences and circumstances of the state, in which the propositions,

propositions, coming directly from the throne to the house of nuncios, are to have preference in discussion before the private bills.

In regard to the house of senate, it is to consist of bishops, palatines, castellans, and ministers, under the presidency of the king, who shall have but one vote, and the casting vote in case of parity, which he may give either personally, or by a message to the house. Its power and duty shall be,

1. Every general law that passes formally through the house of nuncios, is to be sent immediately to this, which is either accepted, or suspended till further national deliberation. If accepted, it becomes a law in all its force; if suspended, it shall be resumed at the next diet; and, if it is then agreed to again by the house of nuncios, the senate must submit to it.

2. Every particular law, as soon as it has been determined by the house of nuncios, and sent up to the senate; the votes of both houses shall be jointly computed, and the majority, as described by law, shall be considered as a decree and the will of the nation.

Those senators and ministers who, from their share in executive power, are accountable to the republic, cannot have an active voice in the diet, but may be present in order to give necessary explanations to the states.

These ordinary legislative diets shall have their uninterrupted existence, and be always ready to meet; renewable every two years. The length of sessions shall be determined by the law concerning diets. If convened out of ordinary session upon some urgent occasion, they shall only deliberate on the subject

which occasioned such a call; or on circumstances which may arise out of it.

The law concerning the Dietines, or primary elections, as established by the present diet, shall be regarded as a most essential foundation of civil liberty.

The majority of votes shall decide every thing, and every where; therefore we abolish, and utterly annihilate, all sorts of confederacies, and confederate diets, as ruinous to society.

Willing to prevent, on one hand, violent and frequent changes in the national constitution; yet, considering on the other, the necessity of perfecting it, after experiencing its effects on public prosperity, we determine the period of every twenty-five years for an extraordinary constitutional diet, to be held purposely for the revision and such alterations of the constitution as may be found requisite.

Art. VII. The king, or executive power. — The most perfect government cannot exist without an effectual executive power. Experience has taught us, that the neglecting this essential part of government has overwhelmed Poland with disasters.

Having, therefore secured to the free Polish nation the right of enacting laws for themselves, the supreme inspection over the executive power, and the choice of their magistrates, we intrust to the king, and his council, the highest power of executing the laws.

This council shall be called Straz, or the council of inspection.

The duty of such executive power shall be to watch over the laws, and to see them strictly executed according to their import, even by the

the means of public force, should it be necessary.

The executive power cannot assume the right of making laws, or of their interpretation. It is expressly forbidden to contract public debts; to alter the repartition of the national income, as fixed by the diet; to declare war; to conclude definitively any treaty, or any diplomatic act: it is only allowed to carry on negotiations with foreign courts, and facilitate temporary occurrences, always with reference to the diet.

The crown of Poland we declare to be elective in regard to families, and it is settled so for ever.

Having experienced the fatal effects of interregna, periodically subverting government, and being desirous of preventing for ever all foreign influence, as well as of insuring to every citizen a perfect tranquillity, we have, from prudent motives, resolved to adopt hereditary succession to our throne: therefore we enact and declare, that, after the expiration of our life, according to the gracious will of the Almighty, the present elector of Saxony shall reign over Poland.

The dynasty of future kings of Poland shall begin in the person of Frederic Augustus, elector of Saxony, with the right of inheritance to the crown to his male descendants. The eldest son of the reigning king is to succeed his father; and in case the present elector of Saxony has no male issue, a husband chosen by him (with the consent and approbation of the republic) for his daughter, shall begin the said dynasty. Hence we declare the princess Mary Augusta Nepomucena, only daughter of the elector of Saxony, to be Infanta of Poland.

We reserve to the nation, however, the right of electing to the throne any other house or family, after the extinction of the first.

Every king, on his accession to the throne, shall take a solemn oath to God and the nation, to support the present constitution, to fulfil the *pacta conventa*, which will be settled with the present elector of Saxony as appointed to the crown, and which shall bind him in the same manner as former ones.

The king's person is sacred and inviolable; as no act can proceed immediately from him, he cannot be in any manner responsible to the nation; he is not an absolute monarch, but the father and the head of the people; his revenues, as fixed by the *pacta conventa*, shall be sacredly preserved. All public acts, the acts of magistracies, and the coin of the kingdom, shall bear his name.

The king, who ought to possess every power of doing good, shall have the right of pardoning those that are condemned to death, except the crimes be against the state.

In time of war he shall have the supreme command of the national forces; he may appoint the commanders of the army, however, by the will of the states. It shall be his province to patentee officers in the army and other dignitaries, consonant to the regulations hereafter to be expressed, to appoint bishops, senators, and ministers, as members of the executive power.

The king's council of inspection is to consist,

1. Of the primate, as the head of the clergy, and the president of the commission of education, or the first bishop in order.

2. Of

2. Of five ministers: the minister of police, minister of justice, minister of war, minister of finances, and minister for foreign affairs.

3. Of two secretaries to keep the protocols.

The hereditary prince coming of age may assist at, but shall have no vote therein.

The marshal of the diet, being chosen for two years, has also a right to sit; for the end only of calling together the diet, always existing, if absolutely necessary, and the king refusing to do it.

The cases demanding such convocation of the diet are the following:

1. In a pressing necessity concerning the law of nations, and particularly in case of a neighbouring war.

2. In case of an internal commotion.

3. In an evident danger of general famine.

4. In the orphan state of the country, or in case of the king's dangerous illness.

All resolutions of the council of inspection are to be examined by the rules above-mentioned.

The king's opinion, after that of every member of the council has been heard, shall decisively prevail.

Every resolution of this council shall be issued under the king's signature, countersigned by one of the ministers sitting therein.

Should all the members refuse their countersign, the king is obliged to forego his opinion.

Ministers composing this council cannot be employed at the same time in any other department.

If it should happen that two-

thirds of secret votes in both houses demand the changing of any person, either in the council, or any executive department, the king is bound to nominate another.

Willing that the council of inspection should be responsible to the nation for their actions, we decree that, when accused of any transgression of positive law, they are answerable with their persons and fortunes.

Such impeachments shall be tried immediately by the comital tribunal, and receive final judgment.

In order to form a necessary organization of the executive power, we establish hereby separate commissions, connected with the above councils, and subjected to obey its ordinations.

These commissions are, 1st, of Education; 2nd, of Police; 3rd, of War; 4th, of Treasury.

Art. VIII. Judicial power.—As judicial power is incompatible with the legislative, nor can be administered by the king, therefore tribunals and magistracies ought to be established and elected. It ought to have local existence, that every citizen should know where to seek justice, and every transgressor can discern the hand of national government. We establish, therefore,

1. Primary courts for each palatinate and district, composed of judges chosen at the dietine, which are always to be ready to administer justice. From these courts appeals are allowed to the high tribunals, erected one for each of three provinces, in which the kingdom is divided. Those courts, both primary and final, shall be for the equestrian

equestrian order, and all proprietors of landed property.

2. We determine separate courts for the free royal towns.

3. Each province shall have a court of referendaries for the trial of causes relating to the peasantry, who are all hereby declared free.

4. Courts, curial and assessorial, tribunals for Courland, and relational, are hereby confirmed.

5. Executive commissions shall have judicial power in matters relative to their administration.

6. Besides all these, there shall be one supreme general tribunal for all the classes, called a comitial tribunal or court, composed of persons chosen at the opening of every diet. This tribunal is to try all the persons accused of crimes against the state.

Lastly, we shall appoint a committee for the forming a civil and criminal code of laws, by persons whom the diet shall elect for that purpose.

Art. IX. Regency.—The same council of inspection is to compose the regency, with the queen at their head, or, in her absence, with the primate of the kingdom. The regency may take place only,

1. During the king's minority.

2. In case of the king's settled alienation of reason.

3. In case of the king's being made a prisoner of war.

Minority is to be considered till 18 years are completed, and the malady must be declared in the existing diet by the plurality of three-fourths of votes of both combined houses.

When the king comes of age, or recovers his health, or returns from captivity, the regency shall cease, and shall be accountable to him, and responsible to the nation

in their persons and fortunes, for their actions during their office.

Art. X. Education of king's children.—The king's sons, being designed successors to the crown, are the first children of the country. Thence the care of their proper education, without encroaching, however, on the right of their parents, devolves naturally upon the nation.

During the king's life, the king himself, with the council, and a tutor, appointed by the states, shall superintend the education of the princes.

In time of a regency, it shall be intrusted with this direction jointly with the above-mentioned tutor.

In both cases, this tutor, named by the states, is to make his report before each ordinary diet of the education and progress of the princes.

Art. XI. national force, or the army.—The nation is bound to preserve its possessions against invasion; therefore, all inhabitants are natural defenders of their country and its liberties.

The army is only an extract of defensive regular force from the general mass of national strength.

The nation owes to the army reward and respect, because of its devoting itself wholly for the defence of the country.

The army owes to the nation to guard the frontiers against enemies, and to maintain public tranquillity within. This national force, therefore, shall be employed for garrisoning fortresses, and assisting the civil power in the execution of the law against those that are refractory.

Declaration of the States assembled.

All laws and statutes, old and new,

new, contrary to the present constitution, or to any part thereof, are hereby abolished; and every paragraph in the foregoing articles is acknowledged to be a competent part of the present constitution. We recommend to the executive power to see the council of inspection immediately begin its office under the eye of the diet, and continue its duties without the least interruption.

We swear before God and the country to maintain and defend with all possible human power the present constitution; and considering this oath as a proof of real love of our country, we command all magistrates and troops here present to take it immediately. The commission of war shall issue orders to the rest of the army quartered in the kingdom, and in the grand duchy of Lithuania, to do the same within one month at farthest from the date of the present law.

We recommend to our bishops to appoint one and the same day of public thanksgiving to God Almighty in all churches over the kingdom; also, we appoint a day N. N. for the solemn celebrating by us and our posterity of a commemoration anniversary for the mercies of the Supreme Being shewn to us after so many public calamities.

And that future ages may know and feel that it is by the assistance of the Supreme Disposer of nations we have surmounted the greatest difficulties and obstacles, and effected this happy revolution, we decree, that a church shall be erected and consecrated to Divine Providence, in memory of this event, and at the expence of the states.

Having thus satisfied our general feelings on this event, we turn our attention towards securing the same constitution, by declaring and enacting, that whoever should dare to oppose it, or to disturb the public tranquillity, either by exciting mistrust, or by perverse interpretation of this constitution, and much more by forming insurrections and confederacies either openly or secretly, such person or persons are declared to be enemies and traitors to their country, and shall be punished with the utmost rigour by the comital tribunal. For this purpose, we order this tribunal to sit uninterruptedly at Warsaw, proroguing their session from day to day, and to try all persons so accused by any citizen of property, with the assistance of the attorney general of Poland and Lithuania, seizing all indicted persons with the aid of the national troops, which shall be ready to act on the first order from the executive power as they shall be directed, and occasion may require.

The French Constitution, established August 4, 1791.

AFTER the preamble, and 17 articles of the declaration of the rights of man and a citizen, it proceeds:

The national assembly, meaning to establish the French constitution on the principles recognized and declared above, abolishes irrevocably the institutions that injure liberty and equality of rights.

There is no longer, for any part of the nation, or for any individual, any privilege or exception to the common rights of all Frenchmen.

The law no longer recognizes religious

ligious vows, or any other engagements contrary to natural rights or to the constitution.

HEAD I. *Fundamental Dispositions guaranteed by the constitution.*

The constitution guarantees, as natural and civil rights,

I. That all citizens are admissible to places and employments, without any distinction but that of ability and virtue.

II. That all contributions shall be divided equally among all the citizens, in proportion to their means.

III. That the same crimes shall be subject to the same punishments, without distinction of persons.

The constitution in like manner guarantees, as natural and civil rights,

Liberty of coming, going, or staying, according to the forms prescribed by law.

Liberty of speaking, writing, and printing their thoughts, and of exercising the religious worship to which they are attached.

Of assembling peaceably, and without arms, complying with the laws of police.

Of addressing to all constituted authorities by petition.

As liberty consists but in the power of doing right, the law may establish penalties against acts injurious to society.

The constitution guarantees the inviolability of property.

Effects destined to services of public utility belong to the nation; those which were appropriated to the expences of worship are at the disposal of the nation.

A general establishment of public succours shall be created, for the relief of the poor.

A public instruction shall be created, common to all citizens, in proportion combined with the division of the kingdom.

HEAD II. *Of the Division of the Kingdom, and the State of Citizens.*

I. France is divided into 83 departments, each department into districts, each district into cantons.

II. Those are French citizens who are born in France, of a French father; who, having been born in France of a foreign father, have fixed their residence in the kingdom; who, having been born in a foreign country of a French father, have returned to settle in France, and have taken the civic oath; in fine, who, having been born in a foreign country, being descended, in whatever degree, from a Frenchman or French woman who have left their country from religious motives, come to reside in France, and take the civic oath.

III. Those who, being born out of the kingdom, of foreign parents, reside in France, become French citizens after five years of continued residence in the kingdom; if besides, they have acquired real property, or married a French woman, or formed a commercial establishment, and if they have taken the civic oath.

IV. The legislative power may, from important considerations, naturalize a foreigner, upon no other condition than that of residing in France, and taking the civic oath.

V. The civic oath is, "I swear to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king, and to maintain, with all my power, the constitution"

stitution decreed by the constituent national assembly during the years 1789, 1790, and 1791."

VI. The right of French citizenship is lost,

1. By naturalization in a foreign country.

2. By being condemned to penalties which involve the civic degradation, provided the person condemned be not reinstated.

3. By sentence of contumacy.

4. By an initiation into any foreign order or body, which shall be supposed to require proofs of nobility.

VII. French citizens regarded in the light of those local relations which arise out of their associations in cities, and in certain divisions of territory in the country, form the communities.

The legislative power may fix the extent of boundary of each community.

VIII. The citizens of each community have the right to name municipal officers.

IX. Municipal officers shall be bound to exercise municipal functions as fixed by the laws.

HEAD III. *Of the public powers.*

I. The sovereignty is one, indivisible, and appertains to the nation.

II. The nation, from which flow all the powers, cannot exercise them but by delegation.

The French constitution is representative.

III. The government is monarchical; to be exercised by the king and his ministers.

IV. The judicial power is delegated to judges.

CHAPTER I. OF THE LEGISLATIVE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

I. The national assembly, form-

ing the legislative body, is permanent, and consists of one chamber only.

II. It shall be formed by new elections every two years.—Each period of two years shall form one legislature.

III. The renewal of the legislative body shall be matter of full right.

IV. The legislative body shall not be dissolved by the king.

SECTION I. *Number of Representatives; Basis of Representation.*

I. The number of representatives to the legislative body shall be 745; independent of those that may be granted to the colonies.

II. The representatives shall be distributed among the 83 departments according to the three proportions of land, of population, and the contribution direct.

III. Of the 745 representatives, 247 are attached to the land. Of these each department shall nominate three, except the department of Paris, which shall nominate only one.

IV. 249 representatives are attributed to the population. The total mass of the active population of the kingdom is divided into 249 parts, and each department nominates as many deputies as it contains parts of the population.

V. 249 representatives are attached to the contribution direct. The sum total of the direct contribution of the kingdom is likewise divided into 249 parts, and each department nominates as many deputies as it pays parts of the contribution.

SECTION II. *Primary Assemblies; Nomination of Electors.*

1. In order to form a legislative national assembly, the active citizens

zens shall convene in primary assemblies in the cities and cantons.

II. To be an active citizen, it is necessary,

To be a Frenchman, or have become a Frenchman ;

To have attained twenty - five years complete ;

To have resided in the city or canton at least for the space of one year ;

To pay in any part of the kingdom a direct contribution at least equal to the value of three days labour, and to produce the acquittance ;

Not to be in a menial capacity, namely, that of a servant receiving wages ;

To be inscribed in the municipality of the place of his residence in the list of the national guards ;

To have taken the civic oath.

III. Every six years the legislative body shall fix the *minimum* and the *maximum* of the value of a day's labour, and the administrators of the departments shall determine the rate for every district.

IV. None shall exercise the rights of an active citizen in more than one place, nor employ another as his substitute.

V. Those shall be excluded who are in a state of accusation or bankruptcy.

VI. The primary assemblies shall name electors in proportion to the number of active citizens residing in the canton.—One elector to a hundred active citizens ; two, when there shall be present from 151 to 250 ; and so on in this proportion.

VII. No man can be named elector, if, along with the conditions necessary in order to be an active citizen, he does not join that of paying a contribution direct of a day's labour.*

SECTION III. *Electoral Assemblies ; Nomination of Representatives.*

I. The electors named in each department shall chuse the number of representatives whose nomination shall belong to the department, and a number of substitutes equal to a third of the representatives.

II. The representatives and substitutes shall be chosen by an absolute majority of votes.

III. All active citizens, whatever be their state, profession, or contribution, may be chosen as representatives of the nation.

IV. Excepting those who, under whatever denomination, hold any employ in the royal household.

V. The exercise of the municipal, administrative, and judiciary functions, shall be incompatible with the function of a representative of the

* The committees of constitution and of revision are of opinion, that in order to preserve the purity of the national representation, which in our constitution is the first basis of liberty, it is of importance to secure as much as possible the independence and enlightened spirit of the electoral assemblies, and to set no limits to the confidence reposed in them, and the freedom of choice to which they are entitled ; consequently they propose to the assembly to suppress the condition of a mark of silver attached to the eligibility of the members of the legislative body, and to augment the contribution required for electors.

It follows, however, that the electoral bodies being formed previous to the present regulations, these alterations shall have no influence in the choice of the next legislature.

the nation during every period of the legislature.

VI. Members of the legislative body may be re-elected, but not till after an interval of two years.*

VII. The representatives named in the departments shall not be representatives of a peculiar department, but of the whole nation; and their freedom of opinion cannot be controlled by any instructions either of the primary assemblies, or of the electors.

SECTION IV. *Session and Regulation of the Primary and Electoral Assemblies.*

I. The functions of the primary and electoral assemblies shall be limited merely to the right of chusing. As soon as the election is over they shall separate, and shall not meet again till they shall have been summoned.

II. None can vote if armed, or dressed in uniform, unless he be in actual service; and then without arms.

III. No armed force can be introduced, except at the express desire of the assembly, unless in case of actual violence, when the order of the president shall be sufficient to call in the aid of the public force.

IV. Every two years there shall be drawn up, in each district, lists, by cantons, of the active citizens, and the list of each canton shall be published and posted up two months before the meeting of the primary assembly.

The protests which shall be made, either against the rights of citizens, named in the list, or on the part of those who shall affirm that they are

unjustly omitted, shall be carried to the tribunals, to be there decided.

V. The electoral assemblies have the right of verifying the quality and powers of those who shall present themselves there; and their decisions shall be provisionally executed, with a reserve for the sentence of the legislative body.

VI. Under no pretext whatever shall the king, or his agent, interfere in questions relative to the political rights of citizens.

SECTION V. *Meeting of the Representatives in the Legislative National Assembly.*

I. The representatives shall convene on the first Monday of May, in order to supply the place of the last legislature.

II. They shall form themselves provisionally under the presidency of the eldest of their number, in order to verify the powers of the representatives present.

III. As soon as these shall be verified, to the number of three hundred and seventy-three members, they shall constitute themselves under the title of legislative national assembly; they shall name a president, vice president, and secretaries, and enter upon the exercise of their functions.

IV. During the whole of the month of May, if the number of representatives present fall short of three hundred and seventy-three, the assembly shall not perform any legislative act.

They may issue an Arret, enjoining absent members to attend their functions within fifteen days at farthest,

* The committees of Constitution and Revision regard the limitation stipulated in this article as contrary to liberty, and pernicious to the national interest.

farthest, under a penalty of 3,000 livres, if they do not produce an excuse which shall be deemed lawful by the legislative body.

V. On the last day of May, whatever be the number of members present, they shall constitute themselves a legislative national assembly.

VI. The representatives shall pronounce in a body, in the name of the French people, the oath "To live free, or die!"

They shall then individually take the oath to be in every respect faithful to the nation, the law, and the king.

VII. The representatives of the nation are inviolable. They cannot be examined, accused, or judged, at any time, with respect to what they may have said, written, or performed, in the exercise of their functions of representatives.

VIII. They may, for a criminal act, be seized as guilty of a flagrant crime, or in virtue of an order of arrest; but notice shall be given of it, without delay, to the legislative body, and the prosecution shall not be continued till after the legislative body shall have decided that there is ground of accusation.

CHAP. II. OF THE ROYALTY, THE REGENCY, AND THE MINISTERS.

SECTION I. *Of the Royalty and the King.*

The royalty is indivisible, and delegated hereditarily to the race on the throne from male to male, by order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of women and their descendants.

II. The person of the king is sacred and inviolable; his title is *King of the French*.

III. There is no authority in France superior to that of the law, The king reigns only by it.

IV. The king, on his accession to the throne, or at the period of his majority, shall take to the nation, in the presence of the legislative body, the oath, "to employ all the power delegated to him, to maintain the constitution decreed by the constituent national assembly in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, and to cause the laws to be executed."

If the legislative body shall not be assembled, the king shall cause a proclamation to be issued, in which shall be expressed this oath, and a promise to repeat it as soon as the legislative body shall be met.

V. If the king refuses to take this oath, after an invitation by the legislative body, or if, after taking it, he shall retract, he shall be held to have abdicated the royalty.

VI. If the king put himself at the head of an army, and direct the forces of it against the nation, or if he do not oppose, by a formal act, any such enterprise undertaken in his name, he shall be held to have abdicated.

VII. If the king go out of the kingdom, and if, after being invited by a proclamation of the legislative body, he do not return he shall be held to have abdicated.

VIII. After abdication, express or legal, the king shall be in the class of citizens, and may be accused and tried like them, for acts posterior to his abdication.

IX. The particular effects which the king possesses at his accession to the throne, are irrevocably united

to the domain of the nation; he has the disposition of those which he acquires on his own private account; if he has not disposed of them, they are in like manner united at the end of his reign.

X. The nation makes provision for the splendor of the throne by a civil list, of which the legislative body shall fix the sum at the commencement of each reign for the whole duration of that reign.

XI. The king shall appoint an administrator of the civil list, who shall institute civil suits in the name of the king, and against whom personally shall all prosecutions for debt, due by the civil list, be brought, and judgments given and executed.

SECTION II. *Of the Regency.*

I. The king is a minor till the age of eighteen complete; and during his minority there shall be a regent of the kingdom.

II. The regency belongs to the relation of the king, the next in degree according to the order of succession to the throne, who has attained the age of 25; provided he be a Frenchman, resident in the kingdom and not presumptive heir to any other crown, and have previously taken the civic oath.

Women are excluded from the regency.

III. The regent exercises, till the king's majority, all the functions of royalty, and is not personally responsible for the acts of his administration.

IV. The regent cannot begin the exercise of his functions till after taking to the nation, in the presence of the legislative body, an oath, "to employ all the power delegated to the king, and of which the exercise is confided to him dur-

ing the minority of the king, to maintain the constitution decreed by the constituent national assembly in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, and to cause the laws to be executed."

If the legislative body is not assembled, the regent shall cause a proclamation to be issued, in which shall be expressed this oath, and a promise to repeat it as soon as the legislative body shall be met.

V. As long as the regent is not entered on the exercise of his functions, the sanction of laws remain suspended; the ministers continue to perform, under their responsibility, all the acts of the executive.

VI. As soon as the regent shall take the oath, the legislative body shall fix his allowance, which shall not be altered during his regency.

VII. The regency of the kingdom confers no right over the person of the minor king.

VIII. The care of the minor king shall be confided to his mother; and if he has no mother, or if she be married again at the time of her son's accession to the throne, or if she marry again during the minority, the care of him shall be delegated to the legislative body.

As guardian of the minor king, neither the regent, nor his descendants, nor a woman, can be chosen.

IX. In case of the king's mental incapacity, notoriously admitted, there shall be a regency as long as such incapacity continues.

SECTION III. *Of the Royal Family.*

I. The presumptive heir shall bear the name of prince royal;

He cannot go out of the kingdom without a decree, and the king's consent;

If he is gone out of it, and does not return on proclamation, he is held

held to have abdicated the right of succession to the throne.

II. If the presumptive heir is a minor, the relation, of full age, and next in order to the regency, is bound to reside within the kingdom.

In case of his going out of it, and not returning on the requisition of the legislative body, he shall be held to have abdicated his right to the regency.

III. The mother of the minor king, having the care of him, or the guardian elect, if they go out of the kingdom, forfeit their charge:

If the mother of the presumptive heir, a minor, go out of the kingdom, she cannot, even after her return, have the care of her minor son, become king, but by a decree of the legislative body.

IV. The other members of the family of the king are subject only to the laws common to all citizens.

V. A law shall be made to regulate the education of the minor king, and that of the minor heir presumptive.

VI. No real apanage (in land) shall be granted to the members of the royal family.

The younger sons of the king shall receive, at the age of twenty-five, or on their marriage, an annuity, the amount of which shall be fixed by the legislative body, and which shall terminate with the extinction of their male heirs.

SECTION IV. *Of Ministers.*

I. To the king alone belongs the choice and revocation of ministers.

II. No order of the king can be executed if it be not signed by him, and countersigned by the minister or comptroller of the department.

III. The ministers are responsible for all the offences committed by them against the national safety and the constitution—for every attack on individual property and liberty—for every abuse of the money allotted for the expences of their department.

IV. In no case can the written or verbal order of a king shelter a minister from responsibility.

V. The ministers are bound to present every year to the legislative body, at the opening of the session, the amount of the expences of their department, to give an account of the employment of the sums destined for that purpose, and to mention the abuses which may have crept into the different parts of the government.

VI. No minister, in or out of place, can be criminally prosecuted for any transaction of his administration without a decree of the legislative body.

CHAP. III. OF THE EXERCISE OF THE LEGISLATIVE POWER.

SECTION I. *Powers and Functions of the legislative National Assembly.*

I. The constitution delegates exclusively to the legislative body the powers and functions following:

1. To propose and decree laws, the king only can invite the legislative body to take an object into consideration.

2. To fix the public expences.

3. To establish the public contributions, to determine the nature of them, the amount of each sort, and the mode of collection.

4. To make the distribution of them among the several departments of the kingdom, to watch over the application, and to demand an account of it.

5. To

5. To decree the creation or suppression of public offices.

6. To determine the quality, the impression, and the denomination, of money.

7. To permit or prohibit the introduction of foreign troops into the French territories, and of foreign naval forces into the ports of this kingdom.

8. To vote annually, on the king's proposition, the number of men and ships of which the sea and land forces shall be composed; the pay and the number of each rank; the rules of admission and promotion; the forms of enrolment and discharge; the formation of naval equipments; the admission of foreign troops or naval forces in the French service; and the pensions to troops on being disbanded.

9. To regulate the administration and the alienation of the national domains.

10. To prosecute before the high national court the ministers and principal agents of the executive power on their responsibility;

To accuse and prosecute, before the same court, those who shall be charged with any offence or conspiracy against the general safety of the state or the constitution.

11. To establish the rules according to which marks of honour, or decorations merely personal, shall be granted to those who have done service to the state.

12. The legislative body has the sole right of decreeing posthumous honours to the memory of great men.

II. War cannot be resolved on but by a decree of the national assembly, passed on the formal and necessary proposition of the king, and sanctioned by him:

In case of hostilities, imminent or commenced, of an ally to be supported, or a right to be maintained by force of arms, the king shall give notification without delay to the legislative body, with an explanation of the reasons:

If the legislative body decide that war ought not to be made, the king shall instantly take measures to prevent or put a stop to hostilities, the ministers being responsible for all delay:

If the legislative body find that the hostilities commenced are a culpable aggression on the part of ministers, or any other agent of the executive power, the author of the aggression shall be prosecuted criminally:

During the whole course of war, the legislative body may require the king to negotiate peace; and the king is bound to yield to this requisition:

On the immediate conclusion of war, the legislative body shall fix the time within which the troops, levied above the peace establishment, shall be discharged, and the army reduced to its ordinary establishment.

III. It belongs to the legislative body to ratify treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce; and no treaty shall have effect but by this ratification.

IV. The legislative body has the right of determining the place of its sittings, of continuing them as long as it shall think necessary, and of adjourning; at the commencement of each reign, if it is not sitting, it shall be bound to meet without delay:

It has the right of police in the place of its sitting, and to such extent around as it shall be determined;

It

has the right of discipline over members; but it can pronounce heavier punishment than censure, arrest for eight days, or imprisonment for three :

has the right of disposing, for safety, and the respect that is due to it, of the forces which shall be established, by its consent, in the city where it shall hold its sittings.

The executive power cannot, at any place, or quarter, or station, any distance from the line, within 30,000 feet of the legislative body, execute the requisition, or by the authority, of that body.

SECTION II. *Holding of the Sitzings, and Form of deliberating.*

The deliberations of the legislative body shall be public, and the minutes of the sittings shall be printed.

The legislative body may, at any time, on any occasion, form itself into a general committee; every member shall have a right to demand it;

During the continuance of the general committee, the assistants shall retire, the chair of the president shall be vacant, order shall be maintained by the vice president:

A decree cannot be passed except in a public sitting.

No legislative act can be introduced and decreed except in the following form :

The plan of a decree shall be read thrice, at three intervals, the first of which cannot be less than eight days :

The discussion shall be open at every reading ; nevertheless,

after the first and second reading, the legislative body may declare that there is reason for adjournment, or that there is no room for deliberation ; in this last case the plan of the decree may be introduced again in the same session :

VI. After the third reading, the president shall be bound to propose to their deliberation ; and the legislative body shall decide, whether they are qualified to pass a definitive decree, or would rather choose to postpone their decision, in order to gather more ample information on the subject :

VII. The legislative body cannot deliberate if the sitting do not consist of at least 200 members ; and no decree shall be made, except by the absolute majority of votes :

VIII. No plan of a law which, after having been submitted to discussion, shall have been rejected after the third reading, can again be introduced the same session :

IX. The preamble of every definitive decree shall announce, 1st. the dates of those three sittings at which the plan of the decree was read ; 2nd. the decree by which it shall have been appointed after the third reading to decide definitively :

X. The king shall refuse his sanction to the decrees whose preamble shall not attest the observance of the above forms ; if any of those decrees be sanctioned, the ministers shall neither put to it the seal nor promulgate it ; and their responsibility in this respect shall continue six years ;

XI. Excepting from these regulations, decrees recognized, and declared urgent by a previous deliberation of the legislative body ; but

but they may be modified, or revoked, in the course of the same session.

SECTION III. *Of the Royal Sanction.*

I. The decrees of the legislative body are presented to the king, who may refuse them his assent.

II. In the case of a refusal of the royal assent, that refusal is only suspensive. When the two following legislatures shall successively present the same decree in the same terms in which it was originally conceived, the king shall be deemed to have given his sanction.

III. The assent of the king is expressed to each decree by the following formula, signed by the king: "The king consents, and will cause it to be executed."

The suspensive refusal is thus expressed: "The king will examine."

IV. The king is bound to express his assent or refusal to each decree within two months after it shall have been presented; after that period his silence is deemed a refusal.

V. No decree to which the king has refused his assent can be presented to him by the same legislature.

VI. The legislative body cannot insert in decrees relative to the establishment or continuation of imposts, any regulation foreign to that subject; nor present, at the same time, for sanction, other decrees as inseparable.

VII. The decrees sanctioned by the king, and those which have been presented to him by three successive legislatures, alone have the force, and bear the name and title of laws:

VIII. Exempting however from

sanction those acts of the legislative body which relate to its constitution as a deliberating assembly;

Its interior police;

The verification of the powers of the members present;

The injunctions to absent members;

The convocation of the primary assemblies in case of delay;

The exercise of constitutional superintendence over the administrators;

Questions of eligibility or the validity of elections;

Exempting likewise from sanction acts relative to the responsibility of ministers, and all decrees importing that there is ground of accusation.

SECTION IV. *Connexion of the Legislative Body with the King.*

I. When the legislative body is definitively constituted, it shall send a deputation to inform the king. The king may every year open the session, and propose the objects, which, during its continuance, he thinks ought to be taken into consideration; this form, however, is not to be considered as necessary to the activity of the legislative body.

II. When the legislative body wishes to adjourn longer than 15 days, it is bound to inform the king, by a deputation, at least eight days previous to the adjournment.

III. Eight days at least before the end of each session, the legislative body shall send a deputation to the king, to announce to him the day on which it proposes to terminate its sittings. The king may come in order to close the session.

IV. If the king find it of importance to the welfare of the state that the

the session be continued, or that the adjournment be put off, or take place only for a shorter time, he may send a message to this effect, on which the legislative body is bound to deliberate.

V. The king shall convoke the legislative body, during the interval of its session, as often as the interest of the state shall appear to him to require it, as well as in those cases which the legislative body shall have foreseen and determined previous to their adjournment.

VI. Whenever the king shall visit the place of meeting of the legislative body, he shall be received and conducted back by a deputation; he cannot be accompanied into the inner part of the hall by any except ministers.

VII. The president can in no case form part of a deputation.

VIII. The legislative body shall cease to be a deliberating body whilst the king shall be present.

IX. The acts of correspondence of the king with the legislative body shall be always countersigned by a minister.

X. The ministers of the king shall have admission into the legislative national assembly; they shall have a particular place; they shall be heard on all the subjects on which they demand a hearing, and as often as they shall be called upon to give explanations.

CHAP. IV. OF THE EXERCISE OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER.

I. The supreme executive power resides exclusively in the hands of the king.

The king is the supreme head of the general administration of the kingdom; the care of watching over the maintenance of public or-

der and tranquillity is intrusted to him.

The king is the supreme head of the land and sea forces.

To the king is delegated the care of watching over the exterior security of the kingdom, and of maintaining its rights and possessions.

II. The king names ambassadors, and the other agents of political negotiations.

He gives the command of armies and fleets, and the ranks of marshal of France and admiral.

He names two-thirds of the rear-admirals, one half of the lieutenant-generals, camp marshals, captains of ships, and colonels of the national gendarmerie.

He names a third of the colonels and lieutenant-colonels, and a sixth of the lieutenants of ships.

The whole in conformity to the laws with respect to promotion.

He appoints, in the civil administration of the marine, the directors, the comptrollers, the treasurers of the arsenals, the masters of the works, the under-masters of civil buildings, half the masters of administration, and of the under-masters of construction.

He appoints the commissaries of the tribunals.

He appoints the commissioners of the national treasury, and the superintendants in chief of the management of the contributions indirect.

He superintends the coinage of money, and appoints the officers intrusted with the superintendence of the general commission and the mints.

The effigy of the king is struck on all the coinage of the kingdom.

III. The king orders letters patent, brevets, and commissions, to be

be delivered to all the public officers that ought to receive them.

IV. The king orders a list of pensions and gratifications to be made out for the purpose of being presented to the legislative body each session.

SECTION I. *Of the Promulgation of Laws.*

I. The executive power is intrusted with ordering the seal of state to be put to laws, and causing them to be promulgated.

II. Two copies of each law shall be made, both signed by the king, countersigned by the minister of justice, and sealed with the seal of state.

The one shall be deposited in the archives of the seal, and the other shall be sent to the archives of the legislative body.

III. The promulgation of laws shall be in these terms :

“N. (the king's name) by the grace of God, and the constitutional law of the state, king of the French, to all present and to come, greeting: The National Assembly has decreed, and we will and ordain, as follows :

[Here a literal copy of the decree shall be inserted, without any variation.]

“We command and ordain to all administrative bodies and courts of justice, to cause these presents to be transcribed on their registers, read, published, and posted up, in their departments and respective places of resort, and executed as a law of the realm: in witness of which, we have signed these presents, to which we have caused the seal of the state to be put.”

IV. If the king be a minor, laws, proclamations, and other acts pro-

ceeding from the royal authority during the regency, shall be conceived in these terms :

“N. (the name of the regent) regent of the kingdom, in the name of N. (the king's name), by the grace of God, and the constitutional law of the state, king of the French, &c.

V. The executive power is bound to send the laws to the administrative bodies and courts of justice, to see that they are so sent, and to answer for it to the legislative body.

VI. The executive power cannot make any law, not even provisional, but merely proclamations, conformably to the laws, to ordain or enforce the execution.

SECTION II. *Of the Interior Administration.*

I. There is in each department a superior administration, and in each district a subordinate administration.

II. The administrators have no character of representation.

The agents are chosen for a time by the people to exercise, under their superintendence and the authority of the law, the administrative functions.

III. They can assume no authority over judicial proceedings, or over military dispositions and operations.

IV. It belongs to the legislative power to determine the extent and the rules of their functions.

V. The king has the right of annulling such acts of the administrators of department as are contrary to the law, or the orders transmitted to them.

He may, in case of obstinate disobedience, or of their endangering, by their acts, the safety or peace of the

lic suspend them from their
is.

The administrators of de-
it have also the right of an-
the acts of sub-administra-
district contrary to the laws
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The king, if the adminis-
of department shall not use
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administrators, or sub-ad-
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body may either remove or
the suspension, or even dis-
e culpable administration;
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ministrators, or some of them,
criminal tribunals, or en-
against them the decree of
tion.

III. *Of Exterior Connexions.*

he king alone can interfere
eign political connexions,
t negotiations, make prepa-

of war proportioned to
of the neighbouring states,
ute the land and sea forces
hall judge most suitable and
te their direction in case of

II. Every declaration of war
shall be made in these terms: "By
the king of the French, in the name
of the nation."

III. It belongs to the king to re-
solve and sign, with all foreign
powers, all treaties of peace, alli-
ance, and commerce, and other
conventions which he shall judge
necessary for the welfare of the
state, with a reserve for the ratifi-
cation of the legislative body.

CHAP. V. OF THE JUDICIAL POWER.

I. The judicial power can in no
case be exercised either by the le-
gislative body or the king.

II. Justice shall be gratuitously
rendered by judges chosen for a
time by the people, instituted by
letters patent of the king, and who
cannot be deposed, except from a
forfeiture duly judged, or sus-
pended, except from an accusation
admitted.

III. The tribunals cannot either
interfere in the exercise of the le-
gislative power, or suspend the
execution of the laws, or undertake
the administrative functions, or
cite before them the administrators
on account of their functions.

IV. No citizens can be with-
drawn from the judges whom the
law assigns to them by any com-
mission, or by any other attributi-
ons or evocations than those which
are determined by the law.

V. The orders issued for exe-
cuting the judgments of the tribu-
nals shall be conceived in these
terms:

"N. (the name of the king), by
the grace of God, and by the consti-
tutional law of the state, king of the
French, to all present and to come,
greeting: The tribunal of — has
passed the following judgment:"

[Here

[Here shall follow a copy of the judgment.]

“ We charge and enjoin all officers, upon the present demand, to put the said judgment into execution, to our commissioners of the tribunals to enforce the same, and to all the commanders and officers of the public force, to be assisting with their force, when it shall be legally required: In witness of which, the present judgment has been sealed and signed by the president of the tribunal, and by the register.”

VI. There shall be one or more justices of peace in the cantons and in the cities. The number shall be determined by the legislative power.

VII. It belongs to the legislative power to regulate the districts of tribunals, and the number of judges of which each tribunal shall be composed.

VIII. In criminal matters no citizen can be judged except on an accusation received by jurors, or decreed by the legislative body in the cases in which it belongs to it to prosecute the accusation.

After the accusation shall be admitted, the fact shall be examined, and declared by the jurors:

The accuser shall have the privilege of rejecting twenty:

The jurors who declare the fact shall not be fewer than twelve:

The application of the law shall be made by all the judges:

The process shall be public:

No man, acquitted by a legal jury can be apprehended or accused on account of the same fact.

IX. For the whole kingdom there shall be one tribunal of appeal, established near the legislative body. Its functions shall be to pronounce,

On appeals from the judgment of the tribunals;

On appeals from the judgment of one tribunal to another, on lawful cause of suspicion:

On the regulations of judges, and exceptions to a whole tribunal.

X. The tribunal of appeal can never enter into an original examination of a case; but, after annulling a judgment in a process in which the forms have been violated, or which shall contain an express contravention of law, it shall refer the merits of the case to the tribunal that ought to take cognizance of them.

XI. When, after two appeals, the judgment of the third tribunal shall be questioned in the same way as that of the former two, the case shall not be carried again to the tribunal of appeal, without being first submitted to the legislative body, which shall pass a decree declaratory of the law, to which the tribunal of appeal shall be bound to conform.

XII. The tribunal of appeal shall be bound to send every year to the bar of the legislative body a deputation of eight of its members, to present a statement of the judgments given with an abstract of the case annexed to each, and the text of the law which was the ground of the decision.

XIII. A high national court, composed of members of the tribunal of appeal and high jurors, shall take cognizance of the crimes of ministers, and the principal agents of the executive power, and of crimes which attack the general safety of the state, when the legislative body shall pass a decree of accusation.

It shall not assemble but on the proclamation of the legislative body.

XIV. The functions of the king's commissioners in the tribunals shall be, to require the observance of the laws

the judgments to be given, cause them to be executed they are passed.

They shall not be public accusers, but they shall be heard on all accusations, and shall require, during process, regularity of forms, before judgment the application of the law.

The king's commissioners and tribunals shall represent to the king the state of the jury, either officially or according to orders given by the king.

They shall be subject to the king's orders against the individual rights of citizens, against the free use of provisions, and the collection of contributions;

and they shall be subject to the king's orders by which the execution of the laws given by the king, in the exercise of the functions delegated to them, shall be disturbed or impeded; and opposition to the execution of judgments, and all executive acts proceeding from established powers.

I. The minister of justice shall represent to the king the state of the kingdom, by means of the king's commissioner, the acts by which judges have exceeded their jurisdiction.

The king's tribunal shall annul these acts, and if they give ground for appeal, the fact shall be referred to the legislative body, which shall pass the decree of appeal, and refer the parties involved against to the high national court.

IV. *Of the Public Force.*

The public force is instituted to defend the state against external enemies, and to maintain internal order and the execution of the laws.

It is composed, first, of the land and sea force; secondly, of the troops specially destined for domestic service;

And, subsidiarily, of the active citizens and their children of age to bear arms, registered in the roll of national guards.

III. The national guards do not form a military body, or an institution in the state; they are the citizens themselves, called to assist the public force.

IV. The citizens can never embody themselves, or act as national guards, but by virtue of a requisition, or a legal authority.

They are subject in this quality to an organization, to be determined by the law.

They shall be distinguished in the whole kingdom by only one form of discipline, and one uniform.

Distinction of rank and subordination subsist only relatively to the service, and during its continuance.

VI. Officers are chosen for a time, and cannot again be chosen till after a certain interval of service.

None shall command the national guard of more than one district.

VII. All the parts of the public force, employed for the safety of the state from foreign enemies, are under the command of the king.

VIII. No body or detachment of troops of the line can act in the internal part of the kingdom without a legal order.

IX. No agent of the public force can be in the house of a citizen, if it is not in order to execute the instructions of police and of justice, or in cases formally provided for by law.

X. The requisition of the public force in the internal part of the kingdom belongs to the civil officers, according to the regulations provided by the legislative power.

XI. When any department is in a state of commotion, the king shall issue

issue, subject to the responsibility of ministers, the necessary order for the execution of laws, and the re-establishment of order; but with the reserve of informing the legislative body, if it is assembled, and of convoking it if it be not sitting.

XII. The public force is essentially obedient; no person in arms can deliberate.

HEAD V. *Of Public Contributions.*

I. Public contributions shall be debated and fixed every year by the legislative body, and cannot continue in force longer than the last day of the following session, if they are not expressly renewed.

II. The funds necessary to the discharge of the national debt, and the payment of the civil list, can under no pretext be refused or suspended.

III. The administrators of department, and sub-administrators, can neither establish any public contribution, nor make any distribution, beyond the time and the sums fixed by the legislative body; nor deliberate, or permit, without being authorised by it, any local loan to be charged to the citizens of the department.

IV. The executive power directs and superintends the collection and paying in of contributions, and gives the necessary orders to this effect.

HEAD VI. *Of the Connexion of the French Nation with Foreign Nations.*

The French nation renounces the undertaking of any war with a view of making conquests, and will never employ its forces against the liberty of any people.

The constitution no longer admits the Droit d'Aubaine.

Foreigners, whether settled in France or not, inherit the property of their parents, whether foreigners or Frenchmen. They can contract, acquire, and receive property situated in France, and dispose of it, as well as any French citizen, in every mode authorised by the laws.

Foreigners in France are subject to the same criminal laws and regulations of police as French citizens: their persons, effects, industry, and religion, are equally protected by the law.

French colonies and possessions in Asia, Africa, and America, are not included in the present constitution.

None of the powers instituted by the constitution have a right to change it in its form, or in its parts.

The constituting National Assembly commits the deposit to the fidelity of the legislative body, of the king, and of the judges, to the vigilance of fathers of families, to wives, and to mothers, to the attachment of young citizens, to the courage of all Frenchmen.

With respect to the laws made by the National Assembly which are not included in the act of constitution, and those anterior laws which it has not altered, they shall be observed so long as they shall not be revoked or modified by the legislative power.

Signed, the Members of the committees of constitution and revision.

Target	Talleyrand Perigord
Briois Baumez	
Thouret	Demeunier
Adrian du Port	Rabaut
Barnave	Emanuel Sieyes
Le Chapelier	Petion
Alex. Lameth	Buzot

Note, M. Stanislaus Clermont Tonnerre, *absent by permission.*

Accord

Account of the Capture of Cannanore, and Turuckabad, with several forts on the Malabar Coast, by the British.

*Camp near Cannanore,
January 9, 1791.*

To Stephen Lushington, Esq. Chairman of the Honourable the Court of Directors for transacting all affairs of the United English East India Company.

Sir,

THE Princess Royal, which arrived at Tellicherry the 7th instant, in her way to England, having left Bombay previous to the arrival of the Drake snow, which carried the account of the capture of Cannanore, I now do myself the pleasure to send you, for the information of the honourable the select committee, a detail of every material circumstance which has taken place, from my first determination of coming to Tellicherry to the present time, which I flatter myself will meet the approbation of the honourable company.

The essential assistance given the Travancore Raja, by a detachment under lieutenant-colonel Hartley, has long since been known in England. It was my intention, as soon as the season would admit, to assemble the force of this presidency, to emancipate the Malabar princes, with whom alliances had been concluded, and afterwards to co-operate with General Medows. His successful advance through the Coimbatore, and the sanguine expectations universally held of a speedy termination of the war, induced his lordship to consider any assistance as unnecessary; to place the troops with lieutenant-colonel Hartley, and on

the Malabar coast, under general Medows's orders; and to confine my attention to granting the Marattas whatever force they might require. A detachment of artillery and two battalions of native troops, were sent them before the rains. This corps has since been augmented with a battalion of European infantry, and another of sepoy, under colonel Frederick's command. By the latest accounts from Bombay, the reinforcement was expected to join the Maratta army employed at the siege of Darwar.

Agreeably to the system adopted by his lordship and general Medows, lieutenant-colonel Hartley, as soon as the season admitted, marched to Palicautcherry, and opened the communication from this coast with the Madras army, at that time stationed in the Coimbatore. Supplies of military stores were sent them from Bombay; but the inconvenience of transporting them by land pointed out the necessity of opening the Paniani river. In the mean time, the enemy's advance into Coimbatore, and the retreat of lieutenant-colonel Floyd, from Sallimungulum, prevented General Medows from ascending the Ghauts, and obliged him to detain lieutenant-colonel Hartley, with his detachment, at Palicautcherry, to form magazines of grain.

From this change in the movements originally intended, his lordship was convinced, that a diversion on the Malabar coast might be attended with beneficial consequences. As soon as I was acquainted with his wishes that I would in person proceed hither, I resolved, with the little force that could be spared from Bombay, to embark for Tellicherry, and on the spot determine, if

if an attempt could be made with propriety to clear the country of a force stationed by Tippoo to awe the garrison of Tellicherry, and curb the Nairs, who were universally disposed to join us.

On my arrival, the 5th of December, I was informed, that the force to the southward of Tellicherry had assembled, and had marched towards lieutenant-colonel Hartley, at that time ordered to Pannani, to keep the communication open. Much as I wished to assist him in a measure so important in its consequences, I found it impracticable to take a corps sufficient for the purpose, unless Cannanore was first reduced. The government of that district had, during the rains, made a treaty with the chief of Tellicherry; had evaded a compliance with the articles; had invited the force stationed by Tippoo in the Cherical country, and which had retired at the opening of the campaign, to return to their defence; and had at length openly avowed their hostile intentions.

On the 10th, the force that could be spared for the purpose, encamped in the heights of Egar. It consisted of his majesty's 77th regiment, seven companies of the 1st Bombay regiment, the 2d, 3d, 10th, and 12th battalions of native infantry, the flank companies of the 6th, and two companies of artillery, amounting to upwards of 3,000 disciplined men. On the 12th and 13th the neighbouring Rajahs joined, with about 2,000 irregular Nairs.

The 14th, the line moved towards the enemy. They were strongly posted on heights to the southward and eastward of Cannanore, defended by a chain of stone redoubts, with cannon in them. On viewing their

position, I determined to gain possession of a very strong redoubt in the centre of their posts, which would enable me to attack either of their wings with the greatest part of my force. Notwithstanding much resistance during the day, I took post sufficiently near to erect a battery, which early in the morning of the 15th demolished the defences, and obliged them to evacuate the place. At the same time the left brigade advanced in line, and attacked the height of Carley. The resistance was trifling, considering the strength of the ground occupied by a brigade of the enemy's troops. They retreated under the guns of Carley redoubt, and through the town of Cannanore. In the night of the 15th a battery was raised against Carley, which surrendered at day-break next morning.

By these operations I was in possession of the heights and works to the southward, and by a small movement to my right, could completely prevent the enemy's retreat. Convinced of the danger of their situation, they offered to capitulate. The articles were agreed on in the evening, and hostages came into my camp.

On the morning of the 17th, the Cannanore troops, amounting to 800 men, retired within the town, and Tippoo's forces paraded in front of their encampment, and, agreeably to the terms that had been granted, surrendered their arms and all Circar property, and engaged not to serve during the war. They consisted of 200 horse, a corps of grenadiers, two brigades of regular infantry, and rocket boys, irregulars, &c. amounting to upwards of 5,000 men. The fort of Cannanore was summoned immediately

diately afterwards, and surrendered without conditions.

The fort of Billiapatam, the capital of the Cherukal Raja, situated on the South bank of the river, and Nurrarow on the north, also surrendered in the evening, and the garrison received the same terms with the rest of Tippoo's troops. They have since been all sent under an escort to the Canara country.

By these successes we have taken 34 stand of colours, 68 pieces of cannon, a quantity of ammunition, military stores and grain, and near 5,000 stand of arms. I have the honour to inclose a return of them, and of the killed and wounded of the detachment, which I am happy to observe, is much more trifling than could have been expected. I have also great pleasure in assuring you, I have every reason to be perfectly satisfied with the gallantry and discipline of the troops, whose behaviour equalled my most sanguine expectations.

I was now at liberty to have assisted lieutenant-colonel Hartley; but his little detachment had completely defeated and dispersed the corps opposed to them, and were in possession of Turuckabad, the capital of this coast. It consisted of his majesty's 75th regiment, the grenadier native battalion, and seven companies of the 7th battalion, amounting to about 1,600 men, with ten pieces of cannon, 500 Travancore horse, a battalion of Travancore Sepoys, and a body of irregular Nairs. The enemy's force was about 10,000 men, posted at Ventzetty Cottah, whither Lieutenant Colonel Hartley marched on the 6th of December. They retreated on his approach the 7th, and the fort surrendered on the

8th in the morning. They were found posted in a wood in the front of the village of Tervanangurry. The detachment forced them from thence, and attacked the village, as well as the grounds on both sides of it, which were woody, and intersected with hedges and mud banks. The enemy retreated, after disputing the ground; and formed in front, and on the flanks of the fort of Trincalore, the esplanade of which extends to the village; but our troops advanced with vivacity and spirit, pursued them into the covert-way, where many of them were killed, obliged the fort to surrender, and totally dispersed them. Upwards of 800 were taken in the fort, and numbers were killed in the different attacks.

Mootaub Khan, who commanded them, retreated to Turackabad, and the next day he left it, with about 2,000 men, and a considerable sum in specie, and fled to the Ghauts. Lieutenant-colonel Hartley advanced to that place on the 10th, when 1,500 men, the remains of their army, laid down their arms. A considerable quantity of military and other stores were captured, and, in particular, the guns taken from the Travancore lines.

The posts of Barragurry and Cootahpore, in the Cartanad country, still remained in possession of Tippoo's troops. A detachment from hence marched against them the 27th of December, and returned on the 5th instant with 400 prisoners, which they had taken without any loss. The posts surrendered, after a little opposition, on nearly the same terms as Cannanore.

The object that induced me to visit the coast being completed, and the ancient Nair princes in possession of their districts, from Biliapatam river to Cape Comorin, nothing remains to be done with the little force under my command. Having reason, however, to imagine his lordship wishes to unite the detachments, and being persuaded they may be of essential consequence to his future operations, I have determined to remain and wait his orders.

I am pleased at an opportunity of assuring you, that captain Byron, of his Majesty's ship Phoenix, has been of essential service, not only by a well-directed fire from his ship, but in his exertions in forwarding the public stores, and in landing, with two 18-pounders, his marines and a part of his crew, to assist us in the reduction of Carley and Barragurry.

By a letter from lieutenant-colonel Hartley, received since writing the above, dated Turuckabad, the 6th instant—he advises me, that he had received orders from general Meadows to deliver over charge of Palicautcherry to major Cuppage, who was coming from Coimbatore with two regiments for that purpose, and that he and his detachment were then to consider themselves as under my orders.

Enclosed you will please to receive a general return of the troops encamped at this place; and I have the honour to remain,

Sir, &c.

ROBERT ABERCROMBY.

General return of the troops encamped near Cannanore, under the command of Major-General Abercromby, Jan. 8, 1791.

Total for duty, 4,603. Total sick, and wounded, 396.

ROB. ABERCROMBY.

General return of ordnance stores, &c. taken in Cannanore Fort and other subordinates. Camp near Cannanore, December 26, 1790.

Guns. — Total, 1 thirty-two pounder, 7 twelve ditto, 7 nine ditto, 9 eight ditto, 23 six ditto, 8 four ditto, 2 two ditto, 11 swivels.

Carriages.—Total, 1 thirty-two pounder, 7 twelve ditto, 7 nine ditto, 9 eight ditto, 23 six ditto, 8 four ditto, 2 two ditto.

Shot. — Total, 1 thirty-two pounder, 38 twenty-four ditto, 459 eighteen ditto, 973 twelve ditto, 282 nine ditto, 979 six ditto, 93 four ditto, 1,016 different sizes.

Powder.—Total, 312 cartridges, 19 chests, 19 jars.

Stores.—Total, 61 handspikes, 45 sponges, 25 ladles and worms, 1 limber, 4 linstocks, 104 quoins.

R. Jones, Major Artillery.

S. Auchmuty, Act. Mil. Sec.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing of his majesty's and the honourable company's troops, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Hartley, in the action of Trivanangurry, Dec. 10, 1790.

Total, 5 killed; 50 wounded; 2 missing.

Names of the officers wounded: Capt. Lawman, artillery; capt. Blachford, engineers; lieutenant Charles Stewart, 7th battalion; lieutenant

lieutenant fireworker Powell, artillery.

J. Hartley, Lieut. Col. Com.
S. Auchmuty, Act. Mil. Sec.

Return of killed and wounded of his majesty's and the honourable company's troops, under the command of major-general Abercromby, the 14th and 15th of Dec. near Cannanore.

Total, 8 killed ; 75 wounded.

Mr. Cockran, surgeon's mate, wounded.

One sepoy of the native infantry, and many of the Nairs, wounded, and since dead.

R. Sinclair, Dep. Adj. Gen.
S. Auchmuty, Act. Mil. Sec.

Account of the Capture of Bangalore.

To the Honourable Court of Directors for Affairs of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

Honourable Sirs,

I shall not trouble your honourable court with an explanation of the nature of the incessant exertions, both of body and mind, which are required by the various duties of my present situation ; nor should I now have alluded to them, but that I am under the indispensable necessity of stating them, as the cause of my being obliged, on this occasion, instead of entering into a detail of particulars, to limit myself to a concise and general account of our late operations, and of my future intentions.

Our preparations for the campaign having been completed at

Madras, the army marched from Velhout on the 5th of February ; and having reached Vellore on the 11th, we halted there two days, for the purpose of drawing from thence a supply to my stock of provisions, and an addition that had been prepared to the battering train, and of receiving some stores and recovered men from Arnee.

I had, previous to my arrival at Vellore, employed every means in my power to obtain accurate descriptions of the different passes that lead into the Mysore country ; and having seen sufficient grounds to be confident that the Moogly pass could easily be rendered practicable I turned off to the right at Vellore, and not only ascended the pass without much difficulty, but, by having taken a rout that Tippoo does not seem to have expected, I was also lucky enough to advance a considerable distance into his country before it was possible for him to give us the least obstruction.

The forts of Colar and Ouscottah lay in our route to Bangalore, and surrendered to us without resistance ; but, as neither of them were in a tenable condition, nor at that time of any value to us, I left them unoccupied, after disarming and dismissing their small garrisons.

I arrived before Bangalore on the afternoon of the 5th of March, and on the 6th the engineers were employed in reconnoitering the place, both in the morning and evening : on their latter excursion, lieutenant-colonel Floyd, who escorted them with the whole cavalry, discovered the rear of Tippoo's line of march, apparently in great confusion, and unfortunately suffered

ferred himself to be tempted, by the flattering prospect of striking an important blow, to deviate from the orders he had received from me, and to attack the enemy. His success at first was great, but the length and ardour of the pursuit threw his squadrons into great confusion. In this state they were charged by Tippoo's cavalry, and being out of the reach of all support, they were obliged to retire with great precipitation, and with the loss of above 200 men, and near 300 horses. Lieutenant-colonel Floyd received a very severe wound in the face; from which, however, I have the pleasure to add, that he is now perfectly recovered.

The ill success of our examination, the fear of losing time, and many other circumstances, of which the hopes of obtaining a supply of forage was not the least, induced me to determine immediately to attack the fort from the Pettah side. The Pettah was accordingly assaulted and carried on the morning of the 7th; and the siege of the fort, which was rendered singularly arduous, not only by the scarcity of forage, and the strength of its works and garrison, but also by the presence of Tippoo and his whole army, was happily terminated by an assault on the night of the 21st, in which the Kellidar, and a great number of his garrison, were put to the sword; and our loss, in proportion to the nature of the enterprise, was extremely inconsiderable. I cannot, however, help expressing, on this occasion, my sincere regret for the death of that brave and valuable officer, lieutenant-colonel Moorhouse, who

was killed at the assault of the Pettah on the 7th of March.

I have not yet been able to obtain correct lists of the ordnance, or of the different articles that were found in the magazines of the place; and I can therefore only say, in general, that there were upwards of 100 serviceable pieces of ordnance, near 50 of which were brass, a large quantity of graip, and an immense *dépôt* of military stores.

Although Tippoo approached our position, and even cannonaded the camp, both on the 7th and 17th, yet on these occasions, and on all others during the siege, he took his measures with so much caution, as put it effectually out of my power to force him to risk an action; and on the night of the assault he retired, in great haste, from the south side of the fortress, where he was then posted, immediately upon his being acquainted with its fall. After giving some repairs to the breaches, making a number of necessary arrangements, and leaving the train of heavy artillery to be refitted during my absence, I moved from Bangalore on the 28th, with the design of securing a safe and speedy junction with a large body of cavalry that the Nizam had promised to send me, and of receiving a reinforcement of troops, and a supply of provisions and stores, which I had some time before ordered to be in readiness to join me, by the way of Amboor, from the Carnatic, considering those as necessary preliminary measures for enabling me to proceed to the attack of Seringapatam; and I, at the same time, communicated my intentions to general Abercromby,

Abercromby, and directed him to use every exertion in his power that might be consistent with the safety of the corps under his command, to prepare himself, in the manner that I prescribed, to give me effectual assistance when I should reach the enemy's capital.

Tippoo having made a movement to the westward on the same day that I marched from the neighbourhood of Bangalore, I fell in with his rear, at the distance of about eight or nine miles from that place; but, from the want of a sufficient body of cavalry, it was found impracticable, after a pursuit of considerable length, either to bring him to action, or to gain any advantage over him, except that of taking one brass gun, which owing to its carriage breaking down, he was obliged to leave upon the road.

My first object being to form a junction with the Nizam's cavalry, I made such movements, or took such positions as I knew would effectually prevent Tippoo from intercepting them, or even from disturbing their march; but, although I was at great pains to point out the safety of the march to Rajah Teige Wunt, and to encourage him to proceed, the effects of my recommendations and requests were but slow; and, after waste of time, which, at this late season of the year, was invaluable, and which almost exhausted my patience, this junction was not made till the 13th instant.

It is not easy to ascertain the number of the corps with precision, but I suppose it to amount to fifteen or sixteen thousand horse; and though they are extremely defective in almost every point of mili-

tary discipline, yet, as the men are in general well mounted, and the chiefs have given me the strongest assurances of their disposition to do every thing in their power to promote the success of our operations, I am in great hopes that we shall derive material advantage from their assistance.

This junction being accomplished, I marched on to effect my next object without loss of time: and having arrived at my present camp on the 18th, and ordered the most expeditious measures to be taken for transporting the stores from the head of the pass, I shall commence my march again to the westward on the 22nd, and after calling at Bangalore for the heavy artillery, I trust that I shall find it practicable to reach Seringapatam before the 12th of next month.

No useful purpose could be promoted by my enumerating the difficulties which I have already encountered in carrying on the operations of this campaign, and it would be equally unprofitable to enlarge at present upon the obstacles which I foresee to our future progress; they are, however, of so weighty a nature, that under different circumstances I should undoubtedly act with more caution, and defer the attempt upon the enemy's capital till after the ensuing rains; but, acquainted as I am with the unsettled situation of political affairs in Europe, and knowing that a procrastinated war would occasion almost certain ruin to your finances, I consider it as a duty which I owe to my station and to my country, to disregard the hazard to which my own military reputation may be exposed, and to prosecute, with every species of precaution

caution that my judgment or experience can suggest, the plan which is most likely to bring the war to an early decision.

I have, at the same time, been the more encouraged to persevere in the execution of my original intentions, as both the Nizam and the Mahrattas have of late shewn an uncommon alacrity in fulfilling their engagements, which by the smallest appearance of backwardness on our part, would be immediately cooled; and which, I trust, will, in addition to our own efforts, essentially contribute to counteract many of the disadvantages which the difficulty of the march, the risk of scarcity of provisions and forage, and the approach of the rainy season, present against the undertaking; and, if those obstacles can be overcome, the capture of Seringapatam will probably, in its consequences, furnish an ample reward for our labours.

A few days after our success at Bangalore, Tippoo repeated his propositions to open a negotiation for terminating our differences; but whether with a sincere desire to obtain peace, or with the insidious hopes of inciting jealousies in our allies, by inducing me to listen to his advances, is not certain. The line for my conduct, however, was clear; and, conformable to our treaties, I declined, in civil and moderate terms, to receive a person of confidence, on his part, to discuss the separate interests of the company; but informed him, that, if he should think proper to make propositions, in writing, for a general accommodation with all the members of the confederacy, I should, after communicating with

the other powers, transmit our joint sentiments upon them.

I shall refer you entirely at present to the accounts that you will receive from the different governments of the details of their respective business; and shall only add, that the personal attention that I have experienced from the members of the supreme board, and the zeal which they have manifested, since I left Calcutta, in promoting the public good, have given me very particular satisfaction.

The Swallow packet will remain in readiness to be dispatched in August, or sooner, if it should be thought expedient; and I shall, by that opportunity, have the honour of writing fully to you on several of those subjects, on which you must, no doubt, be anxious to receive minute information. I cannot, however, conclude this letter without bearing the most ample testimony to the zeal and alacrity which have been uniformly manifested by his majesty's and the company's troops, in the performance of the various duties of fatigue and danger in the course of this campaign, and assuring you, that they are entitled to the most distinguished marks of your approbation.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

Honourable Sirs,

Your most obedient and

Most humble servant,

CORNWALLIS.

*Camp at Venkettigherry,
April 21, 1791.*

FINANCE

FINANCE REPORT,

Presented to the House of Commons, May 10, 1791.

Report from the Select Committee appointed to examine and state the several accounts and other papers, presented to the House in this Session of Parliament, relating to the public income and expenditure; and to report to the House what has been the whole amount of the public income and expenditure during the last five years, and what may be expected to be the annual amount thereof in future; and also what alteration has taken place in the amount of the public debt, since the 5th day of January 1786.

YOUR committee have proceeded to consider the matter referred to them, under the several heads of income, expenditure, and national debt, and have thought it right to state separately, under each of these heads, the result of their inquiries, as it applies either to the last five years, or to the expectation which may be formed for the future.

I. INCOME.

PAST INCOME. PERMANENT TAXES.

§ 1. The net produce of the different branches of the ordinary revenue (exclusive of land and malt) for each of the five years, from the 6th of January 1786 to the 5th of January 1791, both inclusive, appears to have been,

1786.....	£.11,867,055*
1787.....	12,923,134
1788.....	13,007,648
1789.....	13,433,068
1790.....	14,072,978

§ 2. Your committee, observing that the report of the former committee, in 1786, has been referred to them, have thought it their duty, in considering the past income of the country, to compare the expectations then formed with the actual produce of the taxes upon which they were grounded.

The committee of 1786 proceeded upon a supposition that the permanent taxes then subsisting were likely to produce annually
12,797,471*l*.

It appears that those taxes, according to the best information which your committee have been able to collect, have produced,

In 1786.....	£.11,836,531
1787.....	12,754,795
1788.....	12,812,952
1789.....	13,209,871
1790.....	13,782,393

Making, upon an average,
12,879,308*l*.

It is to be observed, that an alteration was made in the horse tax, in the session of 1786, by which persons of certain descriptions were exempted from it; and that, in consequence, the assessment, which in the year ending the 5th day of April, 1787, was 133,087*l*. in the subsequent year fell to 101,284*l*. The accounts from the tax office calculate the diminution, by comparing the assessment of 1786 with that of 1789, and make it amount to 37,687*l*. Some allowance ought evidently

* After deducting 522,500*l*. of respited duties paid by the East India company.

evidently to be made for this circumstance; in comparing the produce of the four last years with the expectations of the former committee. But, as a small part of this decrease may be supposed to have arisen, either from the operation of the tax in reducing the number of horses, or from the increase of evasions, which, from information given to your committee, have been considerable, they have not thought proper to state any particular sum on this account.

Some farther allowance ought to be made on account of a tax upon linens and stuffs, imposed in 1784, which produced, in 1785, 27,655*l.* and which was also a part of the income upon which that committee grounded their expectations. This tax was repealed in 1785; and the *ad valorem* duty, which was imposed in that year to replace it, having proved unproductive, was also repealed by the consolidation act in 1787.

§ 3. It appears that the committee of 1786, in addition to their calculation of the general produce of the permanent taxes, had made a particular estimate of what might be expected to be raised by certain duties, the future annual produce of which they considered as likely to be different from their actual amount in the year immediately preceding.

These duties were expected to produce annually 2,107,186*l.*

And have produced upon an average 2,122,600*l.*, notwithstanding the diminution of the horse tax.

ANNUAL TAXES.

§ 4. Your committee have hi-

therto confined themselves in their statements, to the permanent taxes.

With respect to those which are annually granted, the land tax, after deducting all the charges previous to its coming into the exchequer, except the payments on account of the militia, was calculated at 1,967,650*l.*

This estimate was formed upon the average produce of the aids for the seven years from 1776 to 1782, both inclusive, upon which the payments were supposed to be complete at the period to which the accounts before that committee referred. It appears, however, that, subsequent to this period, a sum of 34,106*l.* was received on account of the aids for the said seven years, which would have made an addition of 4,872*l.* to the average stated by them, and would have raised their calculation to 1,972,522*l.*

From the manner in which this duty is collected, the accounts of the payments of the aids granted for the service of the years 1789 and 1790 cannot yet be made up, and there are still some small arrears on the aids of 1787 and 1788. Your committee, however, think it right to observe, that the sum charged annually upon the country on account of the land tax, is exactly the same, and is subject to no other deductions (except the payments for the militia) than what arises from the poundage, which is also invariable, and from some other small charges, the fluctuations of which do not appear to have been such as to deserve particular notice. Whatever, therefore, may be the accidental variations in the times of payment, the real produce on account of each year

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must ultimately prove nearly the same. If your committee had taken it at the full amount of the assessment, deducting only the postage and the above charges, for an average of the years 1786, 1787, and 1788, the result would have been

1,973,651*l*.

It allowing a small sum for casual loss, it may be stated

91,72,000*l*.

The malt tax was estimated

632,350*l*.

The accounts of the actual pro-

duce of the several annual malt

do not appear complete only for the years 1786, 1787, and 1788.

The average produce paid into the exchequer, of the aids granted for the service of those years, has

597,171*l*.

REVENUE INCOME. PERMANENT TAXES.

5. Your committee proceeded to consider what may be expected for the future income of the country. And in order to estimate the produce of the permanent taxes, they have not thought it necessary to go back to a more remote period than three years.

Successive alterations which have taken place in various branches of the revenue, the modifications arising from the constitution act, and from the commercial treaty with France, and particular circumstances attending the preceding years, seem to require a more remote retrospect inaccessible to this view of the sub-

ject.

The produce of the permanent taxes, from the 6th day of January 1791, to the 5th day of January

1791, both inclusive, appears to have been,

In 1788 £.13,007,642

1789 13,433,068

1790 14,072,978

Making a total of £.40,513,688.

Your committee, however, think it necessary to remark, that the account for the year ending the 5th day of January 1790, includes fifty-three days of weekly payment upon the letter money; that the account for the next year includes the same number of days weekly payment upon the customs, excise stamps, and salt; and that the amount of the payment upon all those articles together, on the 4th and 5th days of January 1791, has been

193,657*l*.

As this circumstance must recur rather oftener than in the proportion of once in every six years, if the above total had been formed upon the produce of six years, it would not have been necessary to make any deduction upon this account. But that total having been formed (for the reasons already stated) upon the produce of three years only, half the amount of that weekly payment, being a sum of 96,828*l*. must be deducted, and would leave

40,416,860*l*.

The average of those three years would then be

13,472,286*l*.

It is also to be observed, on the other hand, that, in order to form as accurate a calculation as possible, some addition ought to be allowed for beyond this average, on account of whatever may be the excess of the taxes imposed in 1789, above what may be sufficient to replace the shop tax, which was repealed in that year.

It

It appears, that the actual receipt on account of those taxes cannot be accurately ascertained; but if a calculation were to be formed, by deducting from the produce of the three last years what was received on account of the shop tax, and what is calculated to have been received on account of the duties imposed in 1789, and by substituting in each year what may be expected as the future produce of the last-mentioned duties, the result would be an addition to the average of between 20,000*l.* and 30,000*l.* But, from the shortness of the period since they were imposed, the several accounts from the stamp and tax offices do not appear sufficiently clear and distinct, to enable your committee to state any precise sum upon this account.

A similar observation arises from the increase of the revenue upon the article of tobacco, since it has been put under the management of the excise; and though your committee are here also unwilling to hazard any particular calculation, it may be supposed, from the papers referred to, that if this regulation, which took place only in October 1789, had existed during the whole of the three years, it would have added a considerable sum to the average above stated.

ANNUAL TAXES. LAND TAX.

In considering what is to be taken on account of the land tax, your committee have adopted the estimate already mentioned, for the reasons there given, and state it at 1,972,000*l.*

MALT DUTY.

The produce of the duty on malt,

not being, like that of the land tax, uniform in its amount, can only be estimated from some former average. If this estimate were formed from its produce in 1786, 1787, and 1788, the result would be 597,171*l.*

But as the reasons which led the committee to confine their consideration of the permanent taxes to three years, do not apply to this, it may be proper to include a greater number of years in the average; especially as the produce of this duty depends so much on the variations of the seasons. If taken upon an average of the last complete five years; included in the account given in, it would amount to about 586,000*l.*

The total average arising from the permanent taxes, and the annual duties upon land and malt, exclusive of any additional allowance for the taxes imposed in 1789, or for the increase upon tobacco, would be, upon the above estimate,

Permanent taxes	£.13,472,286
Land tax	1,972,000
Malt duty	586,000

£. 16,030,286

§ 6. Your committee are sensible, that any estimate which can be formed of the future produce of a revenue, arising from so great a number of articles, and necessarily varying with the fluctuations of an extensive commerce, must be liable in its nature to uncertainty. They think it right, however, to remark, that the average on which they have grounded their expectations, is formed upon a revenue which has

has been annually increasing*; and that a considerable proportion of this increase (as appears from the papers referred to) has taken place upon articles of general consumption; and particularly upon those to which the attention of parliament has lately been directed.

EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES.

§ 7. Your committee, having stated all that they think necessary to observe relative to the past or future produce both of the permanent taxes, and of those which, though annually voted, form a part of the ordinary income of the country, have judged it proper, before they proceed to the other branches of their inquiry, to take notice of such extraordinary resources, exclusive of money raised by loans, as have arisen during the period referred to them.

There appears to have been applied to the public service.

From respited duties paid in by the East-India company of	522,500 <i>l</i> .
From arrears of aids of land tax granted prior to 1786,	131,467 <i>l</i> .
Ditto malt, ditto	14,875 <i>l</i> .
From sums remaining in the exchequer on the 5th day of Jan. 1786,	1,172,119 <i>l</i> .
From imprest monies, and monies repaid	820,165 <i>l</i> .
From money repaid on account of an advance for foreign secret service	34,000 <i>l</i> .

From sale of French prizes 3,000*l*.
From army savings, and Chelsea pensioners 1,091,147*l*.
And from profit on the annual lottery 1,212,692*l*.

From the nature of the articles which have composed these extraordinary aids, it is evidently impossible to form any estimate of what farther receipt may be expected under such of those heads as can recur in future.

The repayment of imprest and other monies may still be supposed to yield some additional sums; but as these principally arise from the settlement of accounts for monies issued during the last war, this resource cannot be relied on for any length of time; and even while it lasts must be expected to become every year less productive.

The extent of the resource of a lottery (which has become within these few years an object of increased importance) necessarily depends upon circumstances, which make it impossible to form any certain estimate of the profit to be expected from it: but there is no apparent reason to imagine, that, as long as parliament thinks proper to avail itself of this mode of raising money, it may not continue to furnish as large a sum in time of peace as it has lately produced.— No notice is here taken of army savings, as they are allowed for, to a certain extent, in the army estimates.

II. EXPEN-

* Permanent taxes, and land and malt, without any deduction on account of the fifty-third weekly payment.

5 years average	£. 15,618,775
4 years	15,917,205
3 years	16,062,562
2 years	16,311,023
Last year's income	16,630,978

II. EXPENDITURE.

PAST EXPENDITURE.

§ 1. The total expence incurred in the last five years, under the heads of—interest and charges of the national debt—interest of exchequer bills—civil list charges on the aggregate and consolidated funds—navy—army—ordnance—militia—miscellaneous services—and appropriated duties—appears to have been *.

For the year 1786 £. 15,720,543
 1787 ... 15,620,783
 1788 ... 15,800,796
 1789 ... 16,030,204
 1790 ... 15,912,597†

§ 2. No precise estimate having been formed by the committee of 1786 of what might be expected to be the total expence of all those services previous to a permanent peace establishment, it is impossible to draw the same kind of comparison as to the expenditure, which your committee have attempted to do as to the income.

FUTURE EXPENDITURE.

§ 3. The next object pointed out for their inquiry, was the probable future expenditure, which they have stated in the same order.

The annual interest and other charges payable upon the public debts, as they stood on the 5th day of January 1791, including the interest on the stock which has been purchased by the commissioners, was 9,289,110ℓ.

From this is to be deducted 14,000ℓ. being the interest of the

short annuities granted in 1789, because the fund from whence this interest is paid does not appear as part of the income 14,000ℓ.

There must be added, on the other hand the interest on the tontine loan. It appears, that on the 5th of April 1791, 21,431ℓ was set apart in the exchequer to pay half a year's interest on that loan, but that the future annuity cannot be ascertained with perfect accuracy. Taking, however, the whole year's interest according to this proportion, it would stand at 42,862ℓ.

The whole amount of the interest and charges would then be 9,317,972ℓ

§ 4. Your committee called upon the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury for an estimate of the expence likely to be annually incurred under the head of exchequer bills, upon the land tax, the malt duty, and the supplies. The future charge upon this article is stated by them at 260,000ℓ.

§ 5. The sum charged upon the consolidated fund, for the support of his majesty's household, is 898,000ℓ.; and, together with 2,000ℓ. which is paid by the alienation office, before the nett produce of that revenue is paid into the exchequer, forms the whole of the civil list.

§ 6. The remaining charges upon this fund in the last year (exclusive of 4,000ℓ. paid to his late royal highness duke of Cumberland) appear to have been 205,385ℓ.

§ 7. Your

* The expence of the armament of the year 1790, being a part of the charge of the year 1791, and having been separately provided for by parliament is not here included.

The grants on this account, as far as they appear in the papers referred to, under the heads of—navy—army—and ordnance, have been 7,821,000ℓ.

† Exclusive of the militia.

§ 7. Your committee called upon the different offices for estimates of the future annual expense of the navy, army and ordnance; and, according to the statements received from them, it is calculated to be as follows, subject to the observations subjoined to those estimates.

For the navy.....	£.2,000,000
For the army.....	1,748,842
For the ordnance	375,000

§ 8. The annual charge of the militia, during the only three years since the reductions in that branch of the national service for which the accounts are yet made up, appears to have been, upon an average,

93,110*l*.

But, by an estimate delivered in for the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, it is stated at,

95,311*l*.

§ 9. The expected expence upon the articles usually included under the head of miscellaneous services, is stated according to the estimate received from the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, and amounts to,

128,416*l*.

§ 10. The amount of the taxes which still remain appropriated for particular purposes, not included under any of the preceding heads of charge, appears to have been, upon the average of the three last years,

40,252*l*.

§ 11. The sum directed to be issued in each year, to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, is,

1,000,000*l*.

The total of the sums above stated is,

15,969,178*l*.

§ 12. It does not appear to your

committee, that it falls within their province to consider what other extraordinary expences, not included in any estimate before them, may occur in a course of years, as the nature and extent of such services depend upon circumstances which cannot be foreseen, and must be decided upon by the wisdom of parliament, as the occasions arise.

The only article of this nature which has been brought distinctly under the view of your committee, is the amount of the money remaining due upon the principal and interest of the American and East Florida claims, which has been directed by parliament to be paid by instalments.

The principal appears to have amounted, on the 10th of October, 1790, to the sum of 1,546,062*l*., exclusive of the interest payable half-yearly upon such part of it as remains undischarged; and exclusive of such farther annual payments as are made for the temporary support and pensions of American loyalists, the present amount of which appears to be,

54,211*l*.

As, however, in the estimate of the income of the country, no credit is taken for any aid from a lottery, or from any incidental payments, those additional resources may be considered as applicable towards defraying this and other charges of the like description.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.

§ 13. Your committee have hitherto stated the result of their examination respecting the past and future income and expenditure, considering

considering them in the same view, and arranging them under the same heads, as the former committee. These heads appear to comprehend all the articles which are necessary to be included on each side of the account in that view of the subject.

But in order to ascertain, with as much precision as they were able, the means by which the whole amount of the public expence, during the last five years, has been defrayed, they have thought it necessary to consider the income and expenditure of that period in another point of view, for the purpose of forming such a comparative statement of their total amount as may render the account as distinct as possible, according to the several heads of service under which money is issued from the exchequer.

The total produce of the permanent taxes, for the five years, has been, 65,303,877*l*.

There was received from the East-India company in 1786, on account of duties due before that time, the payment of which had been postponed, 522,500*l*.

The whole sum of 2,750,000*l*. raised upon the credit of the land and malt-tax acts, is actually received from the bank in each year. Exchequer bills to this amount are made out and deposited from time to time with the bank; and the sum by which the produce of those duties paid into the exchequer, up to the time of settling the respective accounts with the bank, falls short of repaying both the principal and interest of such exchequer bills is paid over at such time to the bank, and is annually stated as an article of expenditure, under the head of deficiency of land and malt. It will be inserted as such on the other side of the account now to be

formed; and it is evident, therefore, that in this view of the subject, the full sum so raised must be taken as a part of the receipt for the last five years, 13,750,000*l*.

Arrears of land tax 8.171,166

Arrears of malt-duty ... 16,489

These are sums received at the exchequer subsequent to the period at which the respective accounts were closed with the bank, and the balance paid, and therefore form a part of the public income, in addition to the whole annual sum of, 2,750,000*l*.

The whole sum raised by way of lottery is placed upon this side of the account; the amount of the prizes, and of the charges of management, being stated as an article of expenditure, 3,758,794*l*.

Imprest monies, and monies repaid, 820,165*l*.

It appeared, upon examination, that the whole of the sums contained in the papers referred to under this head, were applied to the public service of the years in question, either by specific votes, or by being carried to the consolidated fund, except 100,000*l*. paid by the East-India company in part of the 400,000*l*. voted for the supply of 1781, and 5,000*l*. which belonged to the civil list. The remainder, after deducting both these sums, forms the total above stated.

Monies in the exchequer on the 5th of January 1786, 1,172,119*l*. which were applied to the public service in that and the subsequent year, as appears by the explanation subjoined to the account referred to.

It appears further, that there have been applied, as part of the ways and means, during this period, the following sums:

Arising

Arising from army savings, £.	1,091,147
Raised by way of tontine	1,002,140
Raised by granting short annuities	187,000
Re-payment in part of a loan for foreign secret service.....	34,000
Arising from the sale of French prizes	3,000
The total amount of the receipts appears to have been.....	87,832,327l.

It is to be observed, that the annual exchequer bills, furnishing in the ways and means exactly the same sum by which they increase the charge on the supply, are omitted on both sides of the account.

The first great article of expenditure, is the interest and charges of the public debt : and it appears that there has been issued from the exchequer during the last five years, under that head. the sum of, 46,187,010l.

The charges upon the aggregate and consolidated funds have been, on account of the civil list, 4,481,000l.

And upon sundry other accounts 474,751l.

The sums granted by parliament (exclusive of the armament of 1790) for the service of the navy have been,.....£. 11,649,539

Of the army 9,639,626

And of the ordnance 2,308,344

The expences incurred under the name of miscellaneous services, include a variety of articles of different descriptions, and among them some of those which have been already stated as appearing on both sides of the account; your committee, therefore, have thought proper to distinguish them under several heads.

It has been already observed, that the deficiencies of land and malt are annually stated as articles of expenditure, and would be inserted on this side of the account ; and the manner in which they arise has been sufficiently explained. It must, however, farther be remarked, that the ways and means are usually opened to parliament, and the committee of supply closed, some months before the account with the bank, relative to exchequer bills issued upon the credit of those duties are actually settled. This deficiency, therefore, is then only stated upon calculation; and, as its real amount, whatever it may prove, must be paid out of the supplies of the current year, it follows that if it should turn out more than the calculation, it would be one cause of a deficiency, in the whole of the grants for that year. If it should be less, it would either occasion a surplus of those grants or diminish by so much any deficiency which might arise from other causes.

The sum stated by your committee is not the estimated but the actual deficiency of land and malt ; and as this is in part occasioned by the expence of the militia, the whole of which is paid out of the land tax before it comes into the exchequer, no separate charge is made for that branch of service in this statement of the account:

The sums stated under the head of interest and charges of exchequer bills, in the paper referred to, are the amount of the interest paid out of the supplies in each year respectively, upon exchequer bills issued by virtue of acts passed in the preceding year. As it has been the constant practice not to make any provision for this interest beforehand

hand, either a part or the whole of this expence (according to the excess or deficiency of the ways and means, compared with the other charges upon the supplies) is thrown upon the year subsequent to that in which it is actually paid, and appears annually under the head of deficiency of grants. From what has been just observed, it follows, that in addition to the charges incurred during the last five years, and stated in this account as the interest of exchequer bills, any sum which was paid in the year 1786, to make good the deficiency of grants in 1785, must be inserted amongst the expences defrayed out of the ways and means of that period.

It appears equally evident, that any sums voted under the head of deficiency of the grants of any of the succeeding years, must be omitted in this statement of the account, as all the services of each year (including what is paid for the interest of exchequer bills, and for the deficiency of land and malt as above explained) are stated at their full amount, under their proper heads, as articles of expenditure.

It is necessary, however, here to observe, that the interest of exchequer bills, paid in 1790, will be provided for in 1791, under the head of deficiency of grants of the preceding year, and will account for a difference, to that amount, between the apparent receipt and expenditure of the whole five years.

Having premised these remarks, your committee proceed to state the deficiencies of land and malt at,

2,033,764*l*.

The deficiency of grants of the year 1785, at,

127,138*l*.

And the interest and charges of

exchequer bills, issued on the credit of the supplies, at,

914,144*l*.

The amount of the prizes in the lotteries of the several years, and of the charges attending them, has been, 546,032*l*. and requires no particular explanation.

The expence incurred upon those articles of miscellaneous services, which were expressly stated by the former committee, has been

507,580*l*.

Other miscellaneous articles, consisting principally of incidental or temporary demands, have amounted to

929,676*l*.

The total expence occasioned by the relief of the American loyalists, appears to have been

1,336,371*l*.

Your committee have omitted a sum of 33,890*l*. for the purchase of lands at sundry places, as it is included in the ordnance account. They have also thought proper to leave out in this place a sum of 112,101*l*. stated as the deficiency of the consolidated fund on the 5th day of January 1789, being the sum which was then wanted to complete the quarterly issue to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, and which was defrayed out of the supplies of that year; because the sum of 4,750,000*l*. which is inserted below, is the full amount of all the quarterly issues under this head, and consequently includes, as a part thereof, the sum of 112,101*l*. above stated.

The whole produce of the appropriated duties having been comprehended in the total produce of the taxes, such part of it as has been applied to the services to which they were appropriated, and which do not appear in this statement of the account, must be considered as

an

an article of expenditure: this has been 231,935*l*.

The sum issued to the commissioners for discharging the national debt has been, as above stated 4,750,000*l*.

exclusive of what they have received from the interest of stock bought, or of annuities expired or fallen in.

The total expence under all these heads, amounts to 88,116,916*l*.

But the total receipt for the last five years is stated to have been only 87,832,327*l*.

To this will be to be added (for reasons already explained) the amount of the deficiency of grants for 1790, which remains to be defrayed out of the ways and means of 1791 207,728*l*.

The total, applicable to the expences of the five years will then appear to have been 88,040,055*l*.

There will be then left unaccounted for a sum of 76,861*l*. by which the disbursement will have exceeded the amount of the several articles of receipt which it has been possible in this statement to ascertain.

It would certainly have been more satisfactory if the totals now drawn up had been found to tally with perfect accuracy. It must, however, be recollected, that the accounts referred to your committee include a period when the revenue was encumbered with a variety of minute appropriations: and although the change made, by the consolidation act, in the course and practice of the exchequer, has simplified the accounts since the time when it took place, yet the intricacy of the former system has probably rendered it difficult precisely to

ascertain the sums brought forward, under different heads, from an antecedent period; and that difficulty may be supposed to have been in some measure increased by the interval of time which has now elapsed since that system was altered.

§ 14. In order, however, to throw still farther light upon this part of the subject, your committee have thought proper to add a brief statement of the account in a different point of view.

For this purpose they have stated as the income the several surplusses of the sinking and consolidated funds, as they stood at the end of each quarter, from the 5th of April, 1786, to the 5th of January, 1791, both inclusive; and such farther sums as appear in the ways and means of each year, taken from the accounts laid annually before parliament, shewing how the money given for the service of each year respectively has been disposed of. The expenditure is composed of such sums as have been charged in each year, in consequence of the grants of parliament, excluding only (for reasons above stated) such as have been voted in 1787, 1788, 1789, and 1790, under the head of deficiencies of the grants of the years respectively preceding. In this manner of stating the account, no notice is taken, on either side, of the fixed charges upon the income, or of the revenue by which they are defrayed; but the principal of the annual exchequer bills, and the deficiencies of the annuity funds, are included on both sides. These deficiencies were sums which, prior to the consolidation act, were annually

nually made good, out of the sinking fund, to the various other funds appropriated to the payment of particular annuities, and replaced to that fund out of the supplies of the subsequent years.

It appears by the table referred to, that the whole receipt for the last five years (so stated) has been
62,519,440*l*.

To which must be added 176,347*l*. being the sum wanting on the 31st day of December 1790, to make up what had been granted as the growing surplus of the consolidated fund, up to the 5th of April, 1791, to defray the services included on the other side of the account.

And a farther sum of 207,728*l*. under the head of deficiency of grants of 1790, being that by which the whole of the ways and means granted for the service of that year falls short of defraying the expences incurred in the course of it.

The total will then be
62,903,515*l*.

The amount of the grants for the same period appears to have been
62,903,519*l*.

The difference between the totals, which may be supposed to arise only from fractions, may be entirely overlooked.

§ 15. Your committee, desirous of ascertaining in what manner the difference between the receipt and expenditure, as first stated, has arisen, by all the means which occurred to them, proceeded to examine the disposition papers of each year; and have taken the surplusses of the sinking and consolidated funds (as before) for each quarter, from the 5th of April 1786, to the 5th of January 1791, both inclusive;

deducting only the sums carried to them to make good the annuity funds, which do not appear as articles of expenditure.

As these surplusses arise after defraying the interest of the public debt, the annual million, the civil list, and all other permanent charges upon these funds, the whole of which must have been paid as they became due, at the expiration of each quarter, before any surplus could be applied to the current service of the year, it is evident that the total income arising from the permanent taxes, and other articles, carried, during this period, to the sinking and consolidating funds, must have exceeded the amount of those surplusses by a sum equal to the amount of the charges above enumerated.

Adding, therefore, to these surplusses, the charges above stated—the amount paid out of the appropriated duties for the purposes to which they are respectively appropriated—the sums separately voted as the ways and means of each year, exclusive of the principal of the annual exchequer bills—the sum wanted, on the 31st of December 1790, to complete the total for which the growing surplus had been taken, up to the 5th of April 1791—and the deficiency of grants, 1790, the total will be 88,116,918*l*.

In order to examine the expenditure in a similar manner, your committee have taken the totals, stated in the disposition papers, as granted by parliament, as the whole amount of the supplies; deducting only the principal of the annual exchequer bills—the deficiencies of the annuity funds—the deficiencies of grants for every year, except
1785

5—and the deficiency of the consolidated fund on the 5th of January 1789.

On this they have added the interest of the public debt—the charges on the aggregate and consolidated funds, including the civil—the quarterly payments to the commissioners for discharging the national debt—and the produce of appropriated duties as above mentioned; being articles of expence which are not included in the annual grants of parliament.

The total of these sums appears, in the papers referred to, to be 88,116,926*l*.

Which agrees almost exactly with the whole amount of the expenditure, already stated in a different manner, and is an additional proof that there can be no error, which deserves notice, on this side of the account.

The coincidence between the income and expenditure, as here stated, sufficiently proves that the difference which appeared in the former statement, must have proceeded from the omission of sums on the receipt side; and the cause of which such an inaccuracy may be supposed to have arisen, already been mentioned.

II. NATIONAL DEBT.

Our committee find, that there has been applied to the discharge of the public debt, during the period referred to them, a sum of 4,750,000*l*.

Coming from the quarterly payments directed by parliament; a further sum of 674,592*l*. coming from the interest of stock

bought, and of annuities expired or fallen in; making together a sum of 5,424,592*l*.

The only increase of the funded debt, during the same period, which is to be set against the above decrease, has been occasioned by a loan raised by annuities with the benefit of survivorship.

The capital so raised was 1,002,140*l*.

A farther sum of 187,000*l*. was raised by short annuities in 1789, of which 34,000*l*. has been since repaid. But as this loan, which was intended to replace a sum advanced for foreign secret service, is to be repaid by instalments, in such proportions as will be equal to the sums necessary for discharging both the principal and interest, by the time at which the above-mentioned annuities are to determine, it did not appear to your committee of a nature to be stated as an increase of the national incumbrances.

In comparing the outstanding debt of the navy, on the 31st of December, 1785, and on the 31st of December, 1790, there appears to have been an increase of 105,530*l*.

On the 31st of December, 1789, there had been an increase of 657,950*l*. But in the year 1790, a sum of 200,000*l*. was granted by parliament towards discharging this debt, and has been included in the statement of the expences of the five years, which would have reduced the increase to 45,950*l*.

Your committee think it necessary to remark, that, from information received from the navy board, the apparent decrease which has taken place in the year 1790, beyond what can be accounted for by the grant of 200,000*l*. appears to have been in part occasioned by the circumstances

circumstances attending the late armament, and the sums voted for defraying it.

Credit has been taken, in making up this account, for so much of those sums as was intended to replace the stores delivered out in the course of the last year, which apparently diminishes the debt, till that service has been fully performed. Some of the works proposed in the extra estimate of 1790 having been necessarily suspended, in consequence of the exertions for the armament, left a part of the sum voted on that estimate applicable, in the course of that year, to the reduction of the debt.

A farther sum arose from the additional expence of the armament having been stated as including the purchase of hemp and other articles, which, although immediately necessary for the extraordinary preparations then made, are stated to have been in fact defrayed out of the grants of parliament for the current service of the navy. Your committee, therefore, having reason to believe that the great apparent decrease of the debt during the last year would have proved only temporary (even if the navy had continued this year upon the usual establishment), have thought proper to state the increase of the period referred to them, by comparing the state of the debt on the 31st of December, 1785, with that of the 31st of December, 1789; and, by deducting from this increase the sum of 200,000*l.* voted by parliament, it would then stand at 457,950*l.*

The deficiency of the grants of 1790, which falls upon the revenue of 1791, is 207,728*l.*

But the deficiency of grants of 1785, which was defrayed out of

the income of 1786, was only 127,138*l.*

The difference, therefore, must be added to the increase of the debt in the whole period, and makes a sum of 80,590*l.*

There appears by the ordinance account to have been, on the 5th of January, 1791, a sum due, for articles not provided for by parliament, amounting to 61,909*l.* which has been since voted, and must be considered as a part of the debt incurred in the five years preceding.

The whole excess of the sum applied to the discharge of the public debt, beyond those by which it has been increased (during the last five years) appears to have been, according to the above statement, 3,822,003*l.*

The amount of the unfunded debt arising from the exchequer bills annually issued by the authority of parliament upon the credit of the supplies, is 5,500,000*l.* being the same as at the commencement of this period, exclusive of those issued in consequence of the late armament, which are charged upon taxes appropriated to that purpose, and not included in the statement of the future income of the country.

The amount of the exchequer bills annually issued on the credit of the land and malt, which are now outstanding, is not stated by your committee as a part of the unfunded debt, because money applicable to the discharge of those bills is constantly in a course of collection, and no other charge is occasioned by them to the public, except the annual interest, which is already stated as a part of the future expenditure.

It

It is farther to be observed, that in the year 1786, the growing produce of the sinking fund was taken up to the 5th of April, 1787, which included the surplus of five quarters, and appears to have been for the time an anticipation, to a certain extent, of the revenue of the subsequent year; and that the growing produce of the sinking and consolidated funds had, since that time, been taken from April to April. The surplus of the consolidated fund has produced, on the 31st of December, 1790 (being the day on which the account of that fund was made up) within 176,347*l.* of the whole sum for which it had been taken, up to the 5th of April, 1791. This sum, therefore, was, on the 31st of December, 1790, all that remained of the amount of that anticipation. Your committee having called for an account of the produce of the taxes from that day to the 5th of January, 1791, find that it amounted to 200,468*l.*

If, therefore, the balance had been struck upon the consolidated fund account on the 5th of January in 1791, as was done in 1786, (instead of so many days earlier than usually happens in the course of the exchequer) the produce of the three last quarters would have been rather more than sufficient to make good the whole charge on the growing produce of that fund for the supplies of the year 1790, without any anticipation.

Your committee beg leave also to remark that an alteration was made with respect to the time of payment of certain annuities, by an act of the 26th of his present majesty, cap. 34. One quarter was

paid on the 10th of October, 1786, and the future payments were directed to be made half-yearly, on the 5th of April, and the 10th of October. By this change the public availed itself, in that year, of the amount of one quarterly payment upon these annuities, which would have been payable on the 5th of January, 1787 (in addition to that issued on the 10th of October), which quarter was not afterwards to be paid till the 5th of April, 1787; and, on the other hand, the public became bound, for the future, to pay, on every 5th of April, half a year's interest, being in fact an advance of one quarter, which would not otherwise have been payable till the 5th of July following. The result of this is, that, on the 5th day of January, 1791, there had been paid, upon the whole, one quarter less, on account of the interest of these annuities, than would have been issued if the above-mentioned alteration had not taken place.

It is farther to be observed, that the abolition of all the distinct appropriations, and the charging all the quarterly issues for the interest of the public debt on one general fund, to which all the permanent taxes are carried, has produced the effect of making the whole amount of the revenue in the exchequer applicable, at the end of each quarter, to the discharge of the demands then existing; whereas, under the former system, that part of the revenue which consisted of taxes distinctly appropriated to the payment of the interest of particular annuities, could only be applied to the half-yearly payments on those annuities; in consequence of which, there remained, at the expiration of

of each quarter, certain sums of this description useless, till the expiration of a subsequent quarter.

The capital stock bought by the commissioners for discharging the national debt, up to the 1st day of February, 1791, (being the day on which they made up their accounts of the application of the sums issued in the preceding year) was

6,772,350*l*.

The annual interest of the same is

203,170*l*.

To this must be added, the present amount of the annuities expired or fallen in, which appears to be

51,634*l*.

Both together make a sum of

254,804*l*.

which is at this time an addition to the million annually applied to the reduction of the national debt, resulting from the adoption of the plan for that purpose, and now increasing at compound interest.

ABSTRACT of the several Articles of the PUBLIC RECEIPT and EXPENDITURE.

RECEIPT.

Permanent taxes	£. 13,472,286	
* Land and malt	2,558,000	£.
	<u>16,030,286</u>	

EXPENDITURE.

Interest and charges of the public debt	£. 9,317,972	
Exchequer bills	260,000	
Civil list	898,000	
Charges on consolidated fund	105,385	
Navy	2,000,000	
Army	1,748,842	
Ordnance	375,000	
Militia	95,311	
Miscellaneous services	128,416	
Appropriated duties	40,252	
Annual million	1,000,000	
	<u>15,969,178</u>	
Balance	£. 61,108	

STATE

* Calculated upon the average produce of the three last years, and exclusive of any additional allowance for the taxes imposed in 1789, or for the increase upon tobacco.

STATE of the THERMOMETER and BAROMETER for the Year, 1791.

	THERMOMETER.			BAROMETER.			Rain.
	Greatest Height.	Least Height.	Mean Height.	Greatest Height.	Least Height.	Mean Height.	
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	
1791.							
January	53	31	42,1	30,58	28,18	29,56	1,957
February	52,5	30	41,1	30,48	29,16	29,94	0,873
March	55	31,5	44,3	30,67	28,90	30,20	0,716
April	64	41	51,9	30,11	29,08	29,77	1,460
May	67,5	39	53,1	30,37	29,53	30,02	0,794
June	80	47	61,3	30,22	29,39	29,93	0,332
July	78,5	32,5	62,6	30,24	29,44	29,39	2,194
August	78,5	50	64,9	30,52	29,65	30,06	0,624
September	77	43	59,5	30,33	29,52	30,09	0,482
October	62,5	34	48,9	30,46	28,89	29,69	2,027
November	52,5	25	43,6	30,28	28,76	29,68	2,527
December	48	21	36,7	30,38	28,90	29,64	1,124
Whole Year			50,8			29,87	15,310

An ACCOUNT of the AMOUNT of UNCLAIMED DIVIDENDS, and other Sums of Public Money remaining unpaid in the BANK of ENGLAND, from the Year 1736 to the Year 1789. Prepared pursuant to an Order of the Honourable HOUSE of COMMONS.

On the declared Accounts of the Chief Cashiers of the Bank.

				Bal. remaining.		
				£.	s.	d.
For 4 years, from	1736	to	1739 both inclusive ..	1,090	15	4
	1740	to	1743	9,711	3	3
	1744	to	1747	20,476	15	11
	1748	to	1751	64,421	5	4
	1752	to	1755	62,504	4	1
	1756	to	1759	102,075	4	11
	1760	to	1763	134,688	6	6
	1764	to	1767	186,356	3	11
	For 2 years, from	1768	to 1769	227,928	6	2
		1770	to 1771	257,040	13	2
		1772	to 1773	253,855	10	9
		1774	to 1775	292,551	7	8
		1776	to 1777	284,719	17	6
		1778	to 1779	314,885	8	3
		1780	to 1781	340,111	12	9
		1782	to 1783	361,388	5	5
		1784	to 1785	424,301	3	8
		1786	to 1787	493,144	15	3
For one year, to 5th July			1788	508,123	2	2
			to 5th July 1789	547,366	16	6

NOTE.—The foregoing balances arise not only from the sums that have not been received by persons entitled to dividends on the several annuities transferable at the Bank but also from prizes in lotteries, unclaimed at the several periods to which the accounts were respectively declared.

JOHN WIGGLESWORTH,

Office for Auditing the Public Accounts, Inspect. Gen. of Accounts.
15th December, 1790.

ARREARS of DIVIDENDS and LOTTERY CERTIFICATES, paid at the BANK of ENGLAND since 1759; together with the Balance remaining in Hand at the Termination of each Account. Prepared pursuant to an Order of the Honourable HOUSE of COMMONS.

Time of Account.	Arrears paid.			Balance in Hand.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Four Years, to the 5th of July 1763	89,524	15	10	134,688	6	6
Four Years, to the 5th of July 1767	122,635	0	2	186,356	3	11
Two Years, to the 5th of July 1769	153,207	16	7	227,928	6	2
Two Years, to the 5th of July 1771	153,061	7	6	257,040	13	2
Two Years, to the 5th of July 1773	169,913	9	5	253,855	10	9
Two Years, to the 5th of July 1775	146,897	19	5	292,551	7	8
Two Years, to the 5th of July 1777	177,735	18	10	284,719	17	6
Two Years, to the 5th of July 1779	164,044	0	5	314,885	8	3
Two Years, to the 5th of July 1781	240,293	9	3	340,111	12	9
Two Years, to the 5th of July 1783	343,665	10	4	361,388	5	5
Two Years, to the 5th of July 1785	429,723	12	0	424,301	3	8
Two Years, to the 5th of July 1787	345,288	0	11	493,144	15	3
One Year, to the 5th of July 1788	224,153	9	3	508,123	2	2
One Year, to the 5th of July 1789	222,440	0	5	547,366	16	6

JOHN WIGGLESWORTH,

Office for Auditing the Public Accounts, Inspect. Gen. of Accounts.
15th December, 1790.

An

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE.

An ACCOUNT of the TOTAL NET PRODUCE paid into the Exchequer of the DUTIES on STAMPS, from Jan. 6, 1786, to Jan. 5, 1791; distinguishing each Year, and distinguishing, as far as possible, the Produce on every separate Article, the Duties on which shall have amounted to 1,000*l.* or more.

	1787.			1788.			1789.			1790.			1791.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Consolidated Duties	706,710	6	10	602,494	13	8	651,558	0	3	659,163	0	10	711,968	7	5
Insurance Duty	93,654	4	1	96,516	18	1	96,173	7	5	101,674	8	6	105,888	16	7
Burials &c.	1,130	0	0	4,268	15	7	3,709	4	3	4,211	6	4	4,688	12	1
Bills of Exchange	23,006	0	0	81,131	14	4	86,999	7	3	83,348	13	8	93,816	8	7
Receipts	11,338	0	0	41,470	8	2	59,917	13	9	59,284	1	9	40,231	19	0
Hats	37,958	8	5	25,196	9	11	23,617	15	7	20,380	19	1	17,008	10	4
Plaids	23,584	11	11	22,707	16	8	23,295	18	10	22,453	9	11	18,433	6	5
Horse Dealers, &c.	1,330	0	0	4,328	9	10	1,594	11	5	1,034	7	3	181,155	9	11
Post Horse Duty, &c.	145,204	8	3	169,410	12	9	204,659	18	8	170,554	18	7	11,197	4	9
Medicine	12,508	4	10	11,018	7	2	11,054	13	3	10,587	16	9	35,235	0	2
Game	46,784	2	2	45,898	16	3	55,616	10	8	47,771	12	10	24,703	13	11
Attorneys	24,832	11	4	25,583	18	0	24,902	17	1	24,593	16	0	4,515	12	8
Pawnbrokers	4,505	18	3	14,393	7	10	4,191	12	7	4,173	12	5	8,344	9	1
Glove	17,061	2	11	12,199	12	3	10,654	9	10	9,108	6	3	7,281	2	6
Perfumery	4,703	0	0	13,243	1	11	10,598	1	0	8,200	5	6	1,270	18	6
Judges Duty in Scotland ..				1,096	4	1	1,306	5	7	1,163	12	10	7,692	4	6
Apprentice	7,516	8	54	7,226	5	2	7,265	13	11	7,260	8	2			
£.	1,162,827	7	54	1,168,135	10	8	1,257,115	18	4	1,214,966	16	8	1,293,431	16	5

Stamp-office, February 22, 1791.

J. LLOYD, Pro. Compt.

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE. [139

An ACCOUNT of the Annual Averages of the Prices of GRAIN, by the Fiars of the several counties of Scotland, from Crop 1756, with a progressive Average of 25 Years.

COMMUNICATED BY JOHN FRANCIS ERSKINE, Esq.

Crops.	Wheat, per qr.		Bear, per qr.		Oats, per qr.		Meal, per boll.	
	Annual aver.	Aver. 25 yrs.	Annual aver.	Aver. 25 yrs.	Annual aver.	Aver. 25 yrs.	Annual aver.	Aver. 25 yrs.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1756	35 9		18 8		15 10		15 11	
57	32 2		17 2		15 1		14 6	
58	25 9		11 1		10 2		9 9	
59	23 7		10 11		9 2		9 1	
60	23 7		10 10		9 2		9 7	
61	24 9		12 0		10 7		10 5	
62	32 9		17 1		16 8		16 2	
63	26 11		15 6		12 6		12 9	
64	30 7		15 11		13 11		13 10	
65	35 3		19 11		17 4		17 1	
66	32 7		20 1		16 6		16 3	
67	35 2		17 7		15 10		15 1	
68	33 10		13 7		12 5		12 6	
69	30 11		15 8		13 8		13 9	
70	30 9		16 6		14 7		14 5	
71	35 10		19 1		16 10		16 4	
72	38 2		20 1		16 9		16 11	
73	38 10		19 6		16 6		16 4	
74	37 6		19 3		16 4		15 11	
75	32 0		16 7		13 7		13 7	
76	30 8		13 6		12 3		12 3	
77	34 11		15 9		13 3		11 9	
78	31 7		16 1		13 11		12 0	
79	25 0		13 4		11 11		10 2	
80	33 10	31 9	15 3	16 1	13 6	13 11	12 5	13 7
81	32 10	31 7	15 2	15 11	13 7	13 10	12 3	13 5
82	42 4	32 0	29 2	16 5	19 11	14 0	18 8	13 7
83	35 6	32 5	21 6	16 10	18 3	14 4	15 10	13 10
84	36 9	32 11	20 10	17 2	16 9	14 8	14 6	14 0
85	35 3	33 5	17 7	17 6	14 5	14 10	12 10	14 2
86	34 8	33 9	18 11	17 9	16 3	15 1	14 6	14 4
87	36 11	33 7	19 1	17 10	16 0	15 1	14 5	14 3
88	38 3	34 5	16 0	17 10	13 6	15 1	11 11	14 3
89	42 0	34 10	19 0	18 0	14 10	15 2	13 0	14 2

140] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1791.

An ACCOUNT of the Nett Produce of the Duties of CUSTOMS, EXCISE, STAMPS, and INCIDENTS, between the 6th Day of January 1790, to the 5th Day of January, 1791, both Days inclusive.

	£.	s.	d.
CUSTOMS	3,784,974	0	1½
EXCISE	7,154,735	2	9½
STAMPS	1,332,530	13	3
INCIDENTS.			
Seizures, anno 1760	14,897	5	0½
Proffers, Do.	624	1	2
Alum mine, Do.	960	0	0
Compositions, Do.	3	16	8
Alienation Duty, Do.	2,767	5	4
Fines and Forfeitures, Do.	40	0	0
Rent of a light-house, Do.	6	13	4
Letter money, Do.	196,000	0	0
6d. per lib. on pensions, 24th June, 1721	44,440	0	0
1s. deduction on salaries, 5th April, 1758	47,135	15	4
Houses and windows, 10th October, 1766	360,651	17	9½
Houses, 5th April, 1778	123,970	14	4½
Hawkers and Pedlars, 5th July, 1710	4,169	1	8½
Hackney Coaches, 1st August, 1711	12,700	0	0
Do. 1784	15,000	0	0
First fruits of the Clergy	4,587	1	10½
Tenths of the Clergy	10,014	18	5
Male servants, anno, 1785	88,929	7	0½
Female Do. Do.	28,464	5	10½
Four-wheel carriages, Do.	141,055	15	0½
Two-wheel, Do. Do.	29,803	3	1½
Horses, Do.	98,621	6	0½
Waggons, Do.	14,596	11	4
Carts, Do.	9,734	16	1½
Shops Do.	6,142	18	8½
Male Servants, 1777 (arrears)	4	10	0
Consol. Letter money, anno, 1787	156,000	0	0
Do. Salt, Do.	389,417	19	1
Total of Incidents	1,800,739	3	5½
Total of Customs, Excise, Stamps, } and Incidents	14,072,978	9	7½

Exchequer,
21st March, 1791.

ROBERT JENNINGS.

SUPPLIES

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE. [141

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1791.

N A V Y.

	December 7, 1790.	£.	s.	d.
F OR 24,000 men, including 4,800 marines.....	1,248,000	0	0	
	December 13.			
Expences of the late armament.....	1,565,000	0	0	
	May 16, 1791.			
Ordinary of the navy	689,395	13	4	
Extra navy	506,010	0	0	
	£. 4,008,405	13	4	

A R M Y.

	December 13, 1790.	£.	s.	d.
Expences of the late armament	64,000	0	0	
Provisions for the troops in the East and West Indies, } in consequence thereof	41,000	0	0	
	February 8, 1791.			
For 17,013 men, as guards and garrisons	570,499	11	2½	
Forces in the plantations.....	329,544	10	0	
Difference between the British and Irish establishments	8,487	10	7	
Troops in the East Indies	11,435	12	10½	
Recruiting land forces and contingencies	64,500	0	0	
Full pay to supernumerary officers	15,551	14	5½	
General and staff officers	6,409	8	0	
Allowance to the paymaster-general, &c. &c.	63,276	5	8	
	March 29.			
Reduced officers of land forces and marines.....	155,287	5	5	
Ditto of independent companies.....	10,000	0	0	
Ditto horse guards	212	14	7	
Ditto officers of British, American forces	55,092	10	0	
Allowances to several reduced officers of ditto.....	4,907	10	0	
Officers late in the service of the states-general	3,161	10	10	
Widows' pensions.....	9,710	4	3	
Chelsea pensioners	174,167	4	3½	
Scotch roads and bridges	5,911	4	3	
				Hessian

142] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1791.

	£.	s.	d.
Hessian subsidy	36,098	15	0
Extraordinaries	335,234	18	0
May 16.			
Augmentation of a corps of foot in New South Wales	2,754	5	8½
	£. 1,967,237	15	1½

ORDNANCE.

	£.	s.	d.
December 13, 1790.			
Expences of the late armament	151,000	0	0
February 8, 1791.			
Ordnance, previous to Dec. 31, 1783, not provided for	3,857	5	1
Ditto, land service, not provided for in 1789	30,613	19	1
Ditto, sea service, ditto	25,278	12	0
Ditto, land service, not provided for in 1790	2,159	4	5
Ditto, for 1791	381,769	18	3
	£. 594,678	18	10

MILITIA.

Pay and clothing of the militia	£. 95,311	0	0
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MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

	£.	s.	d.
December 7, 1790,			
For paying off exchequer bills	3,500,000	0	0
April 18, 1791.			
American and East Florida sufferers	324,124	6	1½
April 19.			
For paying off exchequer bills	3,000,000	0	0
Catwater harbour	2,000	0	0
Civil establishment of Nova Scotia	6,376	17	6
Ditto, of New Brunswick	4,400	0	0
Ditto, of St. John's island ..	1,840	0	0
Ditto, of Cape Breton	2,100	0	0
Ditto, of Newfoundland	1,182	10	0
Ditto, of the Bahama islands	4,180	0	0
Chief justice of the Bermuda islands	580	0	0
Ditto of Dominica	600	0	0
Civil establishment of New South Wales	4,758	6	3½
April 21.			
Somerset house	25,000	0	0
May			

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE. [143

May 12.			
	£.	s.	d.
Prosecution of offenders against the coin laws.....	1,565	0	3
Extraordinary expences of the mint	12,016	17	2½
African forts	13,000	0	0
May 19.			
To the prince of Wales, to discharge a debt for stone- mason's work	3,500	0	0
To Mr. Cotton, for American sufferers	31,000	0	0
Ditto, to pay fees for receipts of money for compensa- tion to the royalists of Georgia.....	1,271	17	0
Ditto, to pay bills of exchange, &c.....	775	18	8½
Purchase of hemp-seed for Canada.....	766	16	6
Arrears of contingencies due from the auditor's office	4,237	4	1
Provisions for New South Wales.....	29,613	1	8
Convicts on the Thames.....	41,716	10	7
Ditto at Plymouth	10,849	1	6
Address money	67,948	12	10
Expences of Mr. Hastings's prosecution.....	14,158	3	9
Secretary of commissioners for regulating the shipping of slaves	500	0	0
Board of land revenue	4,000	0	0
Secretary of commissioners for the American loyalists	3,600	0	0
Arrears of the salary of Mr. Johnston, formerly gover- nor of North Carolina	2,018	19	2
Commissioners of American loyalists	24,000	0	0
Ditto of East Florida sufferers	5,100	0	0
May 21.			
For money issued out of the civil list for the duke of Clarence	34,210	5	0
To discharge the annuity due to the late duke of Cumberland.....	1,546	7	10
A claim of the sons of the late Dey of Algiers.....	6,762	19	0
	£. 7,191,294	16	4½

DEFICIENCY

April 19.

Deficiency of grants for 1790.....	207,728	3	1
Navy	4,008,405	13	4
Army	1,967,237	15	1½
Ordnance	594,678	18	10
Militia	95,311	0	0
Miscellaneous services.....	7,191,294	16	4½
Deficiency	207,728	3	1
	£. 14,064,656	6	9½

WAYS

WAYS and MEANS for raising the above Supplies, granted to his Majesty for the Year 1791.

	December 9, 1790.	£.	s.	d.
Land Tax	2,000,000	0	0	
	December 16.			
Exchequer bills.....	1,833,000	0	0	
Surplus of the consolidated fund on April 5	1,300,000	0	0	
Malt duty	750,000	0	0	
	April 18, 1791.			
Surplus of the consolidated fund on April 5.....	303,221	9	0½	
	April 19.			
Part of interest on foreign secret-service money....	4,026	6	0	
	May 17.			
To be lent, without interest, by the bank	500,000	0	0	
	May 19.			
Surplus of the consolidated fund.....	2,375,000	0	0	
Profit in 50,000 lottery tickets, at 16l. 2s. 6d.	306,250	0	0	
Exchequer bills.....	5,500,000	0	0	
Surplus of hemp and flax bounty money	10,137	4	0	
	Total Ways and Means	14,881,634	19	0½
	Total Supplies	14,064,656	6	9½
	Excess of Ways and Means	£. 816,978	12	3½

Principal Public Acts passed in the First Session of the Seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain.

December 29, 1790.
Land tax act.
Malt duty act.
Act for an additional duty on malt.
March 23, 1791.
Mutiny act.
Marine mutiny act.
April 11.
Act for an additional duty on sugar.
Militia pay and clothing bill.

June 6.
Act to settle an annuity on the duke of Clarence.
Act for new duties on receipts, bills of exchange, &c.
Act for new duties on game certificates.
Act to grant a compensation to the officers of the Wine-licence office for the loss of their offices.
Act to prohibit the importation of silk crapes and tiffanies of Italy.
Act for new duties on tanned goat and sheep skins.
Act to allow the importation of seal skins, cured with foreign salt.
An

An act to indemnify all persons concerned in carrying into execution an order of council, respecting the importation of salt-petre, &c.

Act to amend an act 28 George III. for regulating the trade between the British colonies and the United States of America.

Act for the better regulation and government of seamen employed in the coasting trade.

Act for establishing a court of civil judicature in Newfoundland.

Act for allowing a further bounty on pilchards.

Act to render persons guilty of petty larceny competent witnesses.

Act respecting the powers of the governor-general of Bengal.

June 10.

Act for regulating the importation and exportation of corn.

Act to make further provisions for the government of the province of Quebec.

Act to relieve Roman Catholics from certain penalties and disabilities.

Act to amend the act for regulating the shipping of slaves.

Act to protect the oyster-fisheries.

Act for the better regulation of gaols.

PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1791.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.

	Bank Stock.	3 pr Cl. Reduc.	1 pr Cl. Con.	1 pr Cl. Con.	5 pr Cl. Con.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Ann.	India Bon.	8. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Each Bill.	Lottery Tickets.	
January	190	82½	83	103½	123	24½	13½	175½	77½	113	93½	82½	81½	1½	16	16	9 D
February ..	186	80½	79½	101½	117½	23½	13½	168	76	100	92½	80½	80	½	13	16	1 16
March	188½	81½	81½	102½	119½	24	13½	170	76½	109	91	81½	80½	½	18	16	13 6 6
April	187½	80½	80½	101½	118½	23½	13½	166½	76	95	90½	80½	80½	½	16	16	6 6
May	191½	82½	82½	103½	120½	24½	13½	170	77	110	91½	82½	82½	3½	20		
June	178½	78	75½	98½	113½	22½	12½	169		38	87½	81½	76½	½	19		
July	188½	80½	81½	101½	119½	23½	12½	167½	74½	91	90½	80½	80½	3½	5		
August	178½	77½	76½	100½	114	22½	12½	159½	73½	33	86	79½	76½	1½	Par.		
September ..	187½	81½	82½	101½	121	23½	12½	167½	75½	90	90½	80½	81½	1½	8		
October	183½	79½	80½	100	118½	23½	12½	163½	74½	85	89½	79½	80½	1½			
November ..	187½	82	83½	102	121	24	13½	168½	75½	96	90½	81½	81½	1½	10	16	0 6 6 6 6 6
December ..	185½	80½	81½	101½	120	23½	12	166	75½	84	89½	80½	80½	1	13	16	0 0 0 0 0 0
	190	83½	83½	104½	120½	24½	13½	172	77½	107	91½	83½	82½	1½		16	1 6 6 6 6 6
	185½	80½	81½	101½	119½	23½	12½	165½	75½	87	91½	80½	81½	½	12	16	0 0 0 0 0 0
	204	90	89½	107	122½	26½	13½	186	83½	116	97½	88½	88½	½	26	16	8 4 6 6 6 6
	190½	83½	83	103½	115½	24½	13½	173½	78½	106	93½	84½	83½	½	20	16	4 6 6 6 6 6
	204½	90½	89½	105	118½	26½	13½	195½	83½	117	97½	90½	89½	dis.	28	16	13 0 0 0 0 0
	200½	89½	88½	104	116½	26½	13½	185	83½	112	96	89	88½	Par.	25	16	7 0 0 0 0 0
	203	89½	89½	104½	118½	26½	12½	194½	81½	117	96½	87½	88½	dis.	23	16	16 0 0 0 0 0
	194	87½	87½	100½	116	25½	12½	188½	81	106	95½	87½	87	Par.	6	16	10 6 6 6 6 6
	196½	87½	88½	101½	118½	25½	12½	193½	82½	109	96½	87½	88	dis.	12	17	3 0 0 0 0 0
	194½	85½	86½	100½	117½	25½	12½	181½	81½	89	96½	86½	87	Par.	7	16	14 6 6 6 6 6
	200½	89½	90½	103½	120	26½	12½	187½	84½	94	96½	88	89½	dis.	16	17	9 0 0 0 0 0
	196	87½	88	101½	118½	25½	12½	183	84½	85	96½	87½	87½	Par.	12	17	1 1 1 1 1 1

A GENERAL

A

GENERAL BILL

OF ALL THE

CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS,

From December 14, 1790 to December 13, 1791.

Christened { Males 9394 } Buried { Males 9577 } Increased in the Burials
 { Females 9102 } { Females 9183 } this Year 722.

Total Males and Females Christened 18496.—Total Males and Females Buried 18760.

Under Two Years	6556	—Forty and Fifty ...	1766	A Hundred and Two...	0
Between Two and Five	1878	—Fifty and Sixty.....	1654	A Hundred and Three	0
Six and Ten	589	—Sixty and Seventy	1365	A Hundred and Four	2
Eleven and Twenty ...	636	—Seventy and Eighty	940	A Hundred and Five	0
Twenty and Thirty	1332	—Eighty and Ninety	351	A Hundred and Seven	0
Thirty and Forty ...	1641	—Ninety and a Hundred	50		

DISEASES.		CASUALTIES.	
Abortive and Still-born	681	Broken Lambs	3
Measles	21	Bruised ...	2
Whooping Cough	1078	Burnt	29
Scarlet Fever	1	Cramp.....	1
Dysentery & Sudden	55	Drowned.....	93
Croup and Phthi-	337	Excessive Drinking	6
sis	337	Executed*	6
Hidden	11	Found Dead ...	7
Measles	14	Fractured	2
Stomachic Flux ...	0	Frighted	2
Small Pox	0	Frozen	0
Scarlet and Rup-	17	Killed by Falls and	
el	17	several other Ac-	
Measles	46	cidents	53
Whooping Cough	0	Killed themselves	26
Scarlet Pox ...	1	Locked Jaw.....	1
Measles	160	Murdered	8
C, Gripes, twist-	9	Overlaid	0
of the Guts	3	Poisoned	4
Whooping Cough	5090	Scalded	3
Measles	4386	Smothered	0
Whooping Cough	279	Starved	2
Measles	0	Suffocated	4
		Total	252

The
 There have been executed in Middlesex and Surry 17; of which number 6 only have
 been reported as buried within the Bills of Mortality.

148] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1791.

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Register are taken from Accounts collected from the Custom-House Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, Receiver of Corn Returns, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into England and Scotland, with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the Year ended the 5th of January, 1792.

E X P O R T E D.			
1791. ENGLAND.	BRITISH Quarters.	FOREIGN Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid. £. s. d.
Wheat	31,008	15,187	7,168 19 4½ Bo. Drawbacks Nil.
D° Flour	19,968	cwts. qrs. lbs. 11,834 3 7	
Rye	2,343	qrs. 1,185	
Barley	2,390		
Malt	34,409	957	
Oats	13,686	69	
Oatmeal	569	1,000	
Beans	6,906		
Pease	5,388	1,246	
Indian Corn			
SCOTLAND.		2,079	754 8 10 Bo. Drawback Nil
Wheat			
D° Flour	345		
Barley	4		
D° hulled	145		
Malt	4,787		
Oats	918		
Oatmeal	160		
Groats	10		
Beans	370		
Pease	57		
Bear	473		
Biscuit	405		
I M P O R T E D.			
ENGLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received. £. s. d.	
Wheat	357,999	15,561 18 0	
D° Flour	cwts. qrs. lbs. 113,258 1 7		
Rye	qrs. 56,124		
Barley	43,718		
Oats	637,717		
Oatmeal	1,251		
Beans	12,615		
Pease	1,939		
Indian Corn	1,240		

IMPORTED

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE. [149

I M P O R T E D.

SCOTLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.
Wheat	72,798	
D ^o Flour	cwt. qrs. lbs. 1,517 3 25	£. s. d.
Rye	qrs. 254	
Barley	17,417	
Oats	115,530	3,243 5 0
Oatmeal	27,040	
Oatmeal	bolls. 9,015	
Beans	qrs. 127	
Pease.....	45	

The following is an Account of the Average Prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the Standard Winchester Bushel, for the year 1791.

Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
5 10½	3 11	3 2½	2 3½	3 9½

N. B. The price of the finest and coarsest sorts of grain generally exceed, and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per bushel, 6d	3d	3d.	3d.	6d.

STATE PAPERS.

*His Majesty's most gracious Speech
to both Houses of Parliament,
Nov. 26, 1790.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is a great satisfaction to me to inform you, that the differences which had arisen between me and the court of Spain have happily been brought to an amicable termination.

I have ordered copies of the declarations exchanged between my ambassador and the minister of the catholic king, and of the convention which has since been concluded, to be laid before you.

The objects which I have proposed to myself in the whole of this transaction, have been to obtain a suitable reparation for the act of violence committed at Nootka, and to remove the grounds of similar disputes in future; as well as to secure to my subjects the exercise of their navigation, commerce, and fisheries in those parts of the world which were the subject of discussion.

The zeal and public spirit manifested by all ranks of my subjects, and the disposition and conduct of my allies, had left me no room to doubt of the most vigorous and effectual support; but no event could have afforded me so much satisfaction, as the attainment of the objects which I had in view, without any actual interruption of the blessings of peace.

Since the last session of parliament, a foundation has been laid for a pacification between Austria and the Porte, and I am now employing my mediation, in conjunction with my allies, for the purpose of negotiating a definitive treaty between those powers, and of endeavouring to put an end to the dissensions in the Netherlands, in whose situation I am necessarily concerned, from considerations of national interest, as well as from the engagements of treaties.

A separate peace has taken place between Russia and Sweden, but the war between the former of those powers and the Porte still continues. The principles on which I have hitherto acted, will make me always desirous of employing the weight and influence of this country in contributing to the restoration of general tranquillity.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the accounts of the expences of the late armaments, and the estimates for the ensuing year, to be laid before you.

Painful as it is to me, at all times, to see any increase of the public burthens, I am persuaded you will agree with me in thinking that the extent of our preparations was dictated by a due regard to the existing circumstances, and that
you

you will reflect with pleasure on so striking a proof of the advantages derived from the liberal supplies granted since the last peace for the naval service. I rely on your zeal and public spirit to make due provision for defraying the charges incurred by this armament, and for supporting the several branches of the public service on such a footing as the general situation of affairs may appear to require. You will at the same time, I am persuaded, show your determination invariably to persevere in that system which has so effectually confirmed and maintained the public credit of the nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You will have observed with concern the interruption which has taken place in the tranquillity of our Indian possessions, in consequence of the unprovoked attack of an ally of the British nation. The respectable state, however, of the forces under the direction of the government there, and the confidence in the British name, which the system prescribed by parliament has established among the native powers in India, afford the most favourable prospect of bringing the contest to a speedy and successful conclusion.

I think it necessary particularly to call your attention to the state of the province of Quebec, and to recommend it to you to consider of such regulations for its government, as the present circumstances and condition of the province may appear to require.

I am satisfied that I shall, on every occasion, receive the fullest proofs of your zealous and affectionate attachment, which cannot

but afford me peculiar satisfaction, after so recent an opportunity of collecting the immediate sense of my people.

You may be assured that I desire nothing so much on my part, as to cultivate an entire harmony and confidence between me and my parliament, for the purpose of preserving and transmitting to posterity the invaluable blessings of our free and excellent constitution, and of concurring with you in every measure which can maintain the advantages of our present situation, and promote and augment the prosperity and happiness of my faithful subjects.

His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, Feb. 25.

GEORGE R.

HIS majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the House of Commons, that it appears to his majesty, that it would be for the benefit of his majesty's subjects in his province of Quebec, that the same should be divided into two separate provinces, to be called the province of Upper Canada and the province of Lower Canada; and that it is accordingly his majesty's intention so to divide the same, whenever his majesty shall be enabled by act of parliament to establish the necessary regulations for the government of the said provinces. His majesty therefore recommends this object to the consideration of this house.

His majesty also recommends it to this house, to consider of such provisions as may be necessary to enable

enable his majesty to make a permanent appropriation of lands in the said provinces for the support and maintenance of a protestant clergy within the same, in proportion to such lands as have been already granted within the same by his majesty; and it is his majesty's desire, that such provision may be made, with respect to all future grants of land within the said provinces respectively, as may best conduce to the same object, in proportion to such increase as may happen in the population and cultivation of the said provinces; and for this purpose, his majesty consents, that such provisions or regulations may be made by this house, respecting all future grants of land to be made by his majesty within the said provinces, as this house shall think fit. G. R.

His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, March 28.

GEORGE R.

HIS majesty thinks it necessary to acquaint the House of Commons, that the endeavours which his majesty has used, in conjunction with his allies, to effect a pacification between Russia and the Porte, having hitherto been unsuccessful, and the consequences which may arise from the further progress of the war being highly important to the interests of his majesty and his allies, and to those of Europe in general, his majesty judges it requisite, in order to add weight to his representations, to make some further augmentation of his naval force; and his majesty relies on

the zeal and affection of the House of Commons, that they will be ready to make good such additional expense as may be incurred by these preparations, to the purpose of supporting the interests of his majesty's kingdom, and of contributing to the restoration of general tranquillity, on a secure and lasting foundation. G. R.

His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, May 18.

GEORGE R.

His majesty finding that the additional charges incurred on account of the establishment of the younger branches of his royal family, cannot be defrayed out of the monies applicable to the purposes of his majesty's civil government, is under the necessity of desiring the assistance of parliament for this purpose; and his majesty relies on the affection of his faithful Commons, that they will make such provision as the circumstances may appear to them to require. G. R.

Protest of Lord Hawke, against the Questions to be proposed to the Judges, relative to Mr. Hastings's Trial, May 16.

Dissentient,

1st, Because I conceive the question to be complicated, containing different propositions as to the judgment, the process, and other points, which ought to have been divided and stated singly and separately.

2dly, Because the subject being of

of a judicial nature, of great magnitude, and which may ultimately affect not only the life, liberty, and property of every peer in this house, but also of every person in this kingdom, I conceive it should not have been decided upon so hastily, but ought to have been solemnly argued, point by point, with the assistance of the judges.

3dly, Because this resolution, as I conceive, indirectly sets aside the law and practice of parliament in all ages, relative to impeachments being abated by dissolution, without one precedent to the contrary, except in the cases which happened after the order made on the 19th March, 1678-9, which order was, as I conceive, unfounded in precedent, and made, as it should seem, on the spur of the occasion, and which was reversed and annulled on the 22nd May, 1685; in pursuance of which last order, consonant to the law and practice of parliament, the Earl of Salisbury and the Earl of Peterborough were discharged on the 30th October, 1690.

4thly, Because the order of the 22nd May, 1685, now stands on the journals unrepealed, and consequently, as I conceive, is in force, and the acknowledged law of the land upon the subject.

5thly, Because this court, in its judicial character, ought, as I conceive, to be governed like all other courts of law, by precedents, and by its own orders unrepealed, where any precedents are established, or orders made; more especially when such precedents are consonant to the law of the land, and to the law and usage of parliament, that the subjects of this country may know with precision and cer-

tainty the resolutions and laws by which, in this high court of judicature (from which there is no appeal), their lives, liberties, and property are to be decided and disposed of.

6thly, Because extending the duration of this impeachment from one parliament to another, after dissolution, even on the ground of the impeachment of the Earl of Oxford having been continued after a prorogation, by the resolution of this house of the 25th May, 1717, is, as I conceive, to extend criminal law by influence and analogy, which is contrary to the known and settled rules of justice.

7thly, Because whatever merit or demerit this resolution may contain, I neither claim the one, nor am content that myself or my posterity should share the other.

HAWKE.

Protest against a proposed Amendment in the Libel Bill, June 8.

Dissentient,

1st, Because we hold it to be an unalienable right of the people, that in cases of libel (as well as in all criminal cases), the jury should decide upon the whole matter that may constitute the guilt or innocence of the person accused; and that in cases of libel, the jury ought not to be directed by the judge to find the defendant or defendants guilty, merely on the proof of the publication, by such defendant or defendants, of the paper charged to be a libel, and of the sense ascribed to the said paper in the indictment or information.

2dly, And because we conceive that the said right of the people is
of

of the utmost consequence to the freedom of this nation, and to that great bulwark of its rights, the liberty of the press.

3dly, And because we conceive that the bill sent from the Commons is well calculated to convey a parliamentary declaration and enactment of the said important right of the people; and because we conceive that every delay of such declaration and enactment to be in the highest degree dangerous to the safety of the subject.

4thly, And because we conceive that we cannot with propriety refuse our immediate assent to propositions which no person in the debate did deny to be salutary; and because we conceive that this delay tends to give countenance to doubts that we apprehend to be utterly ill-founded, and to encourage a contest of jurisdiction that can only be injurious to the regular and partial administration of justice in this kingdom.

STANHOPE,
RADNOR.

For the first and second reasons.

Dissentient, for the following reasons:

1st, Because we conceive that the bill sent from the Commons is of the highest importance for the preservation of the rights of juries; and that, considering the different opinions which have prevailed of late years with respect to this subject, we conceive every delay of a parliamentary declaration and enactment to be dangerous in the highest degree to the safety of the subject.

2dly, Because whatever difference of opinion may subsist in regard to the existing law, there seems to be so general a concur-

rence with respect to what ought to be the law in future, that we cannot with propriety refuse our immediate assent to provisions which are admitted to be salutary, on the ground of requiring time to ascertain how far the late practice of the court is, or is not, justifiable by the law of the land.

WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM,
LAUDERDALE,
PORCHESTER,
PORTLAND,
HAY.

*His Majesty's most gracious Speech
to both Houses of Parliament,
June 10.*

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

IN closing the present session of parliament, I cannot omit expressing my satisfaction in that zeal for the public interests with which you have applied yourselves to the consideration of the different objects which I recommended to your attention.

The measures which have been adopted for defraying the extraordinary expences of the last year, in such a manner as not to make any permanent addition to the public burthens, and the provisions which have been made for the good government and prosperity of my subjects in Canada, call for my particular acknowledgments.

Gentlemen of the House of
Commons.

I return you my thanks for the readiness with which you have granted the supplies necessary for the public service, and for the proof of your affectionate attachment, in enabling me to provide
for

for a part of the charges of the younger branches of my family, out of the consolidated fund.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I am not yet enabled to inform you of the result of the steps which I have taken with a view to the re-establishment of peace between Russia and the Porte. It is my earnest wish that this important object may be effectuated in such a manner as may contribute to the preservation and maintenance of the general tranquillity of Europe. I feel, with the greatest satisfaction, the confidence which you have reposed in me, and my constant endeavours will be directed to the pursuit of such measures as may appear to me best calculated to promote the interests and happiness of my people, which are inseparable from my own.

Speech of the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, January 20.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have some pleasure in acquainting you, by the king's command, that the differences which had arisen between his majesty and the court of Spain have happily been brought to an amicable termination. Copies of the declarations exchanged between his majesty's ambassador and the minister of the Catholic king, and of the convention which has been since concluded, will be laid before you.

Had the honour of his majesty's crown, and the protection of the rights and interest of the empire, involved this kingdom in the calamities of war, the zeal manifested

by all his subjects, and by none more than his loyal people of Ireland, had left him no doubt of the most vigorous and effectual support. It is a source of peculiar satisfaction to his majesty, that these objects have been accomplished without any actual interruption of the blessings of peace.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the proper officers to lay the national accounts before you, fully relying upon your accustomed zeal to provide for the exigencies of the state, and the honourable support of his majesty's government.

I have also ordered an account of the extraordinary expences of government, which have been incurred during the negotiation with Spain, to be laid before you; and I trust you will find that the confidence you reposed in me has not been misplaced.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your disposition to facilitate the business of commerce, and to consult the ease of the merchants, will induce you to consider, and if possible to accomplish, during this session, such regulations as may tend to simplify the collection of the various articles of the public revenue.

The Speech of the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, May 5, 1791.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His majesty having directed an augmentation to be made of his
naval

naval forces, in order to add weight to his representations for the re-establishment of peace between Russia and the Porte, has commanded me to communicate this circumstance to his parliament of Ireland, on whose zealous and affectionate attachment to the interests of his majesty's crown his majesty places the firmest reliance.

The unremitted application you have given to your parliamentary duties enables me now to close the session, and to relieve you from any further attendance. And I have the king's direction to express his perfect satisfaction in the zeal and dispatch with which you have brought the public business to a conclusion.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

His majesty directs me to thank you for the supplies which you have granted for the maintenance of the establishments, and the honourable support of his government. They shall be faithfully applied to the purposes for which they were granted.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have observed, with peculiar satisfaction, the attention you have shown to the interests of your country, by facilitating the business of the merchants in the payment of duties, by providing accommodations for the shipping and trade of the metropolis, and by extending the operation of national credit. The salutary provisions you have made to check the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, afford the strongest proof of your regard for

the public welfare. Success in this desirable measure can alone be expected from your continued and well-directed efforts.

I therefore trust, that in your respective counties, you will particularly apply yourselves to give efficacy to the regulations you have adopted upon this subject. On my part, no endeavours shall be wanted to enforce the execution of laws so judiciously calculated to preserve the healths, and amend the morals, of the people, and to advance the industry and prosperity of Ireland. To these objects my exertions are directed by his majesty's commands, and by every impulse of inclination and duty.

Letter from the Emperor of Germany to the King of the French.

Leopold II. Emperor and king of the Romans, &c. Pursuant to our constitutional laws, we have communicated to the electors, princes, and states of the empire, on the one part, the complaints of the vassals of our empire, which, agreeably to the wishes of our electoral college, we transmitted amicably to you, on the 14th Dec. last, and on the other, the answer returned by your majesty.—The more we have considered this affair, the more we must regret that your majesty's answer was not conformable to our just expectation. Besides its not being drawn up in an idiom usual in discussing business between the empire and your kingdom, we remarked, that it called in question the competence of the vassals of the empire to implore our intervention at the diet,

* *Memorial or Circular Letter from the Emperor of Germany to all the great powers of Europe.* (For this see History of Europe, p. 72.)

diet, in order to assure them the same protection of the emperor and the empire, which protected their interests on occasion of public pacifications.

To judge from the tenour of your answer, your majesty, no doubt, supposed, that all the possessions of our vassals in dispute were subject to the supremacy of your crown, so as to make it free to dispose of them as the public utility seems to require, provided a just indemnification were given; but if your majesty will take the trouble of examining more attentively the public pacifications in question, as well as all the other treaties between the empire and France, since 1648, it will not surely escape your perspicacity, that such a supposition cannot be well founded.

You will then see most clearly, on the one part, what are the lands that have been hitherto transferred to the supremacy of your crown by the consent of the emperors and the orders of the empire; and on the other, that the possessions of our vassals in Alsace, Lorraine, and elsewhere, which have not been transferred to your crown by a similar consent, must remain in their ancient relation to the empire, and cannot consequently be subjected to the laws of your kingdom. But with respect even to the districts, the cession of which is most expressly stipulated in the treaties, France cannot be ignorant that these very treaties have given to the exercise of your supremacy, in regard to the vassals of the empire, different restrictions both spiritual and civil, which cannot in any shape be arbitrarily overturned by new decrees of your nation.

We have therefore reason to complain of the derogations which, since the month of August, 1789, have been made to the terms of the said treaties, and infractions which have followed in consequence; to the prejudice of our rights, of those of the empire, and of our vassals; and we are convinced that we are bound not only to interpose in their favour the most solemn protestation, both in our name and the name of the empire, but also to give to the injured all the aid which the dignity of the imperial court and the maintenance of the present constitution require.

Such is the resolution on which we have determined, and we should already have taken measures to signify it in the most efficacious manner, if your majesty's well known sentiments of justice and equity had not left us the hope of obtaining, by an amicable negotiation, in favour of the vassals of our empire, a reintegration full and conformable to the disposition of those treaties.

Your majesty's prudence will easily perceive the injury which a violation of the promises equally binding on both parties reciprocally made to the empire by your crown, and even guaranteed by the latter, would do to the title by which the different countries of Alsace and Lorraine have been successively transferred to you. It will easily discover the consequences not to be calculated which may be produced both in Europe and the other parts of the world, where nations exist that have at any time entered into treaties with your's, by so manifest a proof, that France, without regard to the sanctity of public promises, thinks

thinks herself at liberty to violate them whenever her own interest makes it appear convenient.

Your desire to cause justice between nations to be observed, and to maintain the friendship that subsists between your kingdom and our empire, will certainly induce you to disregard this pretended convenience, which cannot be obtained but with the detriment of treaties, and does not allow us to doubt, that the instances which we now renew to you, both in our name and the name of the empire, will effect a cessation of all the innovations made since the beginning of August, 1789, as far as they affect the states and vassals of our empire; that they will operate the re-establishment of the latter in the enjoyment of all the revenues of which they have been deprived; and, finally, that the re-establishment of all things, on the foot determined by the treaties, will be the consequence.

We entreat your majesty to make known to us if this be your full intention. The more prompt your answer, and the more conformable to received custom, the less doubt we shall entertain of the sincerity of your desire, and that of your nation, to cultivate peace and friendship with the empire. We wish your majesty every thing that can contribute to your happiness.

Given at Vienna, Dec. 3, 1791.

Memoir, or Proclamation, left by the French King, and presented to the National Assembly of France on Tuesday, June 21, 1791.

While the king had any hope of seeing order and

happiness restored, by the means employed by the National Assembly, and by his residence near the assembly, no sacrifice would have appeared to him too great, which might conduce to such an event; he would not even have mentioned his own personal deprivation of liberty, from the month of October, 1789. But at present, when the result of every transaction is only the destruction of royalty, the violation of property, and the endangering of persons; when there is an entire anarchy through every part of the empire, without the least appearance of any authority sufficient to control it; the king, after protesting against all the acts performed by him during his captivity, thinks it his duty to submit to the French nation the following account of his conduct.

In the month of July 1789, the king, he declares it upon his conscience, had no fear on coming amongst the Parisians. In the month of October of the same year, being advised of the conduct of some factious persons, he apprehended that his departure might afford them a pretence for fomenting a civil war. All the world is informed of the impunity with which crimes were then committed. The king, yielding to the wish of the army of the Parisians, came with his family, and established his residence at the Tuilleries. No preparations had been made for his reception, and the king was so far from finding the accommodations to which he had been accustomed, that he was even without the comforts common to persons of any condition.

Notwithstanding every constraint, he thought it his duty, on the

the morning after his arrival, to assure the provinces of his intention to remain in Paris. A sacrifice still more difficult was reserved for him; he was compelled to part with his body guards, whose fidelity he had experienced; two had been massacred, and several wounded, while in obedience to the order which they had received not to fire. All the art of the factious was employed in misrepresenting the conduct of a faithful wife, who was then confirming all her former good conduct; it was even evident, that all their machinations were directed against the king himself. It was to the soldiers of the French guard and of the Parisian national guard that the custody of the king was committed, under the orders of the municipality of Paris.

The king thus saw himself a prisoner in his own state; for in what other condition could he be, who was forcibly surrounded by persons whom he suspected? It is not for the purpose of censuring the Parisian national guard, that I recal these circumstances, but for that of giving an exact statement of facts; on the contrary I do justice to their attachment, when they were not acted upon by factious persons.—The king convened the States-General; granted to the tiers etats a double representation; the union of the orders, the sacrifices of the 23rd of June were all his work, but his cares were not understood. When the States-General gave themselves the name of the National Assembly, it may be recollected how much influence the factious had upon several provinces, how many endeavours were used to overcome the principle, that the

confirmation of the laws should be given in concert with the king.

The Assembly ejected the king from the constitution, when they refused him the right of sanctioning the constitutional laws, and permitted themselves to arrange in that class those which they pleased, at the same time limiting the extent of his refusal, in any instance, to the third legislature. They voted him 25 millions per annum, a sum which was totally absorbed by the expences necessary to the dignity of his house. They left him the use of some domains under certain restrictions, depriving him of the patrimony of his ancestors; they were careful not to include in the list of his expenses those for services done to himself, as if they could be separated from those rendered to the state.

Whoever observes the different traits of the administration, will perceive, that the king was excluded from it. He had no part in the completion of laws; his only privilege was, to request the Assembly to occupy themselves upon such and such subjects. As to the administration of justice, he could only execute the decrees of the judges, and appoint commissioners, whose power is much less considerable than that of the ancient attorney-general.

There remained one last prerogative, the most acceptable of the whole, that of pardoning criminals, and changing punishments: you took it from the king, and the juries are now authorized to interpret, according to their pleasure, the sense of the law. Thus is the royal majesty diminished, to which the people were accustomed to recur,

cur, as to one common centre of goodness and beneficence.

The societies of friends of the constitution are by much the strongest power and render void the actions of all others. The king was declared the head of the army; yet the whole conduct of it has been in the committees of the National Assembly, without any participation: to the king was granted the right of nomination to certain places, but his choice has already met with opposition. He has been obliged to alter the duty of the general officers of the army, because his choice was not approved of by the clubs. It is to these that the revolt of several regiments is to be imputed. When the army no longer respects its officers, it is the terror and the scourge of the state; the king has always thought that officers should be punished like the soldiers, and that these latter should have opportunities of promotion according to their merit.

As to foreign affairs, they have granted to the king the nomination of ambassadors, and the conduct of negotiations; but they have taken from him the right of making war. The right of making peace is entirely of another sort. What power would enter into a negotiation, when they knew that the result must be subject to the revision of the National Assembly? Independent of the necessity for a degree of secrecy, which it is impossible should be preserved in the deliberations of the Assembly, no one will treat but with a person, who, without any intervention, is able to fulfil the contract that may be agreed upon.

With respect to the finances, the king had recognized, before the States-general, the right of the nation to grant subsidies; and, on the 23rd of June, he granted every thing required from him upon this subject. On the 4th of February the king intreated the Assembly to take the finances into their consideration, with which they somewhat slowly complied. But they have not yet formed an exact account of the receipt and expenditure; they have adopted hypothetical calculations; the ordinary contribution is in arrear, and the resource of twelve hundred millions of assignats is nearly perfected. Nothing is left to the king but barren nominations; he knows the difficulty of such a government; and, if it was possible that such a machine could go on without his immediate superintendence, his majesty would only have to regret, that he had not diminished the taxes, which he has always desired, and, but for the American war, should have effected.

The king was declared the head of the government of the kingdom, and he has been unable to change any thing without the consent of the Assembly. The chiefs of the prevailing party have thrown out such a defiance to the agents of the king, and the punishment inflicted upon disobedience has excited such apprehensions, that these agents have remained without power.

The form of government is especially vicious in two respects. The Assembly exceeds the bounds of their power, in taking cognizance of the administration of justice, and of the interior parts of the kingdom; and exercises, by its committee

committee of researches, the most barbarous of all despotisms.—Associations are established under the name of friends of the constitution, which are infinitely more dangerous than the ancient corporations. They deliberate upon all the functions of government, and exercise a power of such preponderance, that all other bodies, without excepting the national assembly itself, can do nothing but by their order.

The king thinks it impossible to preserve such a government; and as a period approaches to the labours of the assembly, so do they lose their credit. The new regulations, instead of applying a balm to former wounds, on the contrary, increase the pain of them; the thousand journals and pamphlets of calumnation, which are only the echoes of the clubs, perpetuate the disorder; and never has the assembly dared to remedy them.—All this tends only to a metaphysical government, which is impossible in the execution.

Frenchmen! was it this that you intended in electing representatives? Do you wish that the despotism of clubs should be substituted for the monarchy under which the kingdom has flourished for fourteen centuries? The love of Frenchmen for their king is reckoned amongst their virtues. I have had too affecting proofs of it to be able to forget it. The king would not offer this memoir but for the purpose of representing to his subjects the conduct of the factious. Persons torn away by the triumph of M. Necker affected not to pronounce the name of the king: they pursued the archbishop of Paris; one of the king's couriers was ar-

rested, and the letters which he carried opened.

During this time the assembly appeared to insult the king; he determined to carry to Paris the words of peace: upon the journey, it was resolved that no cry of *vive le roi!* should be permitted. There was even a motion for carrying off the king, and putting the queen in a convent, which was loudly applauded.

In the night of the 4th and 5th, when it was proposed to the assembly to repair to the king, it was replied, that consistently with its dignity, it could not remove: from this moment the scenes of horror were renewed. On the arrival of the king at Paris, an innocent person was massacred almost within his sight, in the garden of the Thuilleries; all those who had declared against religion and the throne received the honours of a triumph. At the fœderation, upon the 14th of July, the national assembly declared, that the king was the chief, by which it was implied that they had a right to name another. His family was placed in a situation apart from himself, but that was, notwithstanding, one of the happiest moments they have passed since their stay in Paris.

Afterwards, when, on account of their religion, Mesdames, the king's aunts, wished to go to Rome, their journey was opposed, in contradiction to the declaration of rights, and both at Bellevue and Arnay le Duc, the orders of the assembly were necessary to release them, those of the king being despised. In the tumult factiously excited at Vincennes, the persons who remained about the king were ill-treated, and they carried their

M

audacity

audacity so far, as to break the arms of those persons in the presence of his majesty.

Upon the king's recovery from his illness, he intended to go to St. Cloud, and was detained. In vain did M. de la Fayette endeavour to protect his departure; the faithful servants who surrounded his majesty were torn away from him, and he was taken back to his prison. Afterwards he was obliged to dismiss his confessor, to approve the letter of the minister to the foreign powers, and to attend mass performed by the new rector of St. Germain Auxerrois. Thus perceiving the impossibility of averting any public evil by his influence, it is natural that he should seek a place of safety for himself.

Frenchmen! and you the good inhabitants of Paris, distrust the suggestions of the factious; return to your king, who will always be your friend; your holy religion shall be respected; your government placed upon a permanent footing; and liberty established upon a secure basis.

(Signed) LOUIS.

Paris, June 20, 1791.

P. S. The king forbids his ministers to sign any order in his name, until they shall have received his further directions; and enjoins the keeper of the seals to send them to him, when required on his behalf.

(Signed) LOUIS.

Proclamation of the National Assembly to the French people.

A GREAT attempt has just been made.—The national assembly was

near the conclusion of its long labours; the constitution was almost completed; the tumults of the revolution were about to cease; and the enemies of the public welfare were eager, therefore, to sacrifice the whole nation to their vengeance. The king and the royal family were carried off on the 21st instant.

But your representatives will triumph over all these obstacles. They estimate calmly the extent of the duties imposed upon them. The public liberty shall be maintained; conspirators and slaves shall understand the intrepidity of the French nation, and we make, in the name of the nation, a solemn engagement to revenge the law or die.

France would be free, and she shall be so. It is intended to make the revolution recede, but it recedes not. It is the effect of your will, and nothing can retard its progress. It is necessary to accommodate the law to the state of the kingdom. The king, in the constitution, exercises the power of the royal sanction over the decrees of the legislative body; he is the head of the executive power, and in that capacity, causes the laws to be executed by his minister.

If he quits his post, although carried off against his will, the representatives of the nation have the right to supply his place. The national assembly has in consequence decreed, that the seal of state, and the signature of the ministers of justice, shall be added to all its decrees to give them the character of laws. As no order of the king would have been executed without being countersigned by the responsible minister, nothing was

was necessary but a simple delegation by the assembly to authorise him to sign the orders, and those only issued by them. In this circumstance they have been directed by the constitutional law relative to a regency, which authorises them to perform the functions of the executive power until the nomination of a regent.

By these measures your representatives have ensured order in the interior part of the kingdom; and to repulse any attack from without, they add to the army a reinforcement of three hundred thousand national guards.

The citizens then have, on all sides, the means of security. Let them not be overcome by their surprise; the constituent assembly is upon its duty; the constituted powers are in activity; the citizens of Paris, the national guards, whose patriotism and fidelity are above all praise, watch round your representatives; the active citizens throughout the kingdom are in arms, and France may wait for its enemies.

Are they to fear the consequences of a writing forced, before his departure, from a seduced king? It is difficult to conceive the ignorance and blindness that have dictated this writing, which may deserve to be further discussed hereafter; at present, your representatives content themselves with examining particular sentiments.

The national assembly has made a solemn proclamation of political truths and of rights, the acknowledgment of which will one day produce the happiness of the human race: to engage them to renounce this declaration of rights,

the theory of slavery itself has been presented to them.

Frenchmen! we have no fear in recalling to your memories the famous day of the 23rd of July 1789; that day, on which the chief of the executive power, the first public functionary of the nation, dared to dictate his absolute will to your representatives, charged by your orders to form a constitution. The national assembly lamented the disorders committed on the 5th of October, and ordered the prosecution of the persons guilty of them; but, because it was difficult to discover some rioters amongst such a multitude of people, they are said to have approved all their crimes. The nation is, however, more just. It has not reproached Louis XVI. with the violences that have occurred under his reign and those of his ancestors.

They are not afraid to call to your recollection the federation of July. What are the statements of the persons who have dictated the letter of the king with respect to this august act? that the first public functionary was obliged to put himself at the head of the representatives of the nation. In the midst of the deputies of all the kingdom, he took a solemn oath to maintain the constitution. If the king does not hereafter declare, that his good faith has been surprised by seditious persons, he has, of course, announced his own perjury to the whole world! Is it necessary to go through the fatigue of answering the other reproaches of this letter?

The king is said to have experienced some inconveniences in his residence in Paris, and not to have

found the same pleasures as formerly; by which it is implied, no doubt, that a nation ought to regenerate itself without any agitation, without disturbing for an instant the pleasures and the indulgences of courts. As to the addresses of congratulation and adherence to your decrees, these, say they, are the works of the factious.—Yes—no doubt, of twenty-six millions of the factious!

It was necessary to re-constitute all powers, because all the powers were corrupted, and because the alarming debts accumulated by the despotism and the disorders of government would have overwhelmed the nation. But does not royalty exist for the people? And if a great nation obliges itself to maintain it, is it not solely because it is believed to be useful? The constitution has left to the king this glorious prerogative, and has confirmed to him the only authority which he should desire to exercise. Would not your representatives have been culpable, if they had sacrificed twenty-six millions to the interest of one man?

The labour of citizens supports the powers of the state: but the maxim of absolute power is to consider the public contributions as a debt paid to despotism. The national assembly has regulated its expences with the strictest justice; they thought themselves bound, when acting in the name of the nation, to act munificently; and when they were to determine what part of the public contributions should be allowed to the first functionary, thirty millions were allotted for him and the royal family; but this is represented as a trifling sum!

The decrees upon the subject of peace and war have taken from the king and his ministers the power of sacrificing the people to the caprices of courts, and the definitive ratification of treaties is reserved to the representatives of the nation. The loss of a prerogative is complained of. What prerogative? that of not being obliged to consult the national will, when the blood and the fortunes of citizens were to be sacrificed. Who can know the wish and the interests of the nation better than the legislative body? it is wished to make war with impunity. But have we not had, under the ancient government, sufficient experience of the terrible effects produced by the ambition of ministers?

We are accused of having despoiled the king, in forming the judicial power, as if he, king of a great nation, ought to appear in the administration of justice for any other purpose than that of causing the law to be observed, and its judgments executed. It is wished that he should have the right of granting pardons and changing punishments; but does not all the world know how such a right would be exercised, and upon whom the benefit of it would fall? The king could not exercise it by himself, and after having prohibited royal despotism, it was very natural to prohibit that of the ministers.

The necessity of circumstances has sometimes obliged the national assembly to meddle, contrary to its inclination, in the affairs of administration. But ought it not to act, when the government remained in blameable inertness? Is it, therefore,

therefore, necessary to say, that neither the king nor the ministers have the confidence of the nation?

The societies of friends of the constitution have supported the revolution; they are more necessary than ever, and some persons presume to say that they govern the administrative bodies and the empire, as if they were the deliberating bodies.

Frenchmen! all the powers are organized; all the public functionaries are at their posts; the national assembly watches over the safety of the state; may you be firm and tranquil! one danger alone threatens us. You have to guard against the suspension of your labours; against delay in the payment of duties; against any inflammatory measures which commence in anarchies, and end in civil war. It is to these dangers that the national assembly calls the attention of citizens. In this crisis, all private animosities and private interests should disappear.

Those who would preserve their liberty should show that tranquil firmness which appals tyrants. May the factious, who hope to see every thing overturned, find order maintained, and the constitution confirmed, and rendered more dear to Frenchmen, by the attacks made upon it. The capital may be an example to the rest of France. The departure of the king excited no disorders there, but, to the confusion of the malevolent, the utmost tranquillity prevails in it. To reduce the territory of this empire to the yoke, it will be necessary to destroy the whole nation. Despotism, if it pleases, may make such an attempt. It will either

fail, or at the conclusion of its triumphs will find only ruins.

Note from M. Simolin, the Russian Ambassador to M. Montmorin.

M. le Comte,

I DID not learn till this morning, from the public newspapers, the unfortunate effect of a passport which I had the honour to request of your excellency three weeks ago. I there read, that madame the baroness de Corff was a Swede, which would tend to impress the public, whose opinion I infinitely respect, with the idea, that I had infringed upon the rights and privileges of the Swedish ambassador. I hastened to rectify that error, by declaring, that madame the baroness de Corff is a Russian, born at Petersburg, widow of baron de Corff, a colonel in the service of the empress, who was killed in the assault of Bender, 1770—that she is daughter of madame de Stegleman, likewise born at Petersburg, and that they have both resided for twenty years past at Paris.

These two ladies then could not, nor ought they to have addressed themselves to any other but me, to procure them their passports; and though no way related to them, never having even seen them, I could not refuse them the slight favour of my intervention for that purpose. It is true that a passport was pretended to have been burnt, as madame de Corff herself observed in the note which accompanied my request to obtain a duplicate; but my conduct through the whole of

of this business has been as candid as regular, and I dare hope that every one will think that it was impossible for me to suspect that it could give rise to the least subsequent imputation, either against your excellency or against myself, notwithstanding the inconsiderate use which appears to have been made of the second passport. I hope, in consequence, that your excellency will approve my inserting this letter in the public papers.

I have the honour, &c.

Paris, June 25, 1791.

Copy of the Note from the Baroness de Corff, referred to in the preceding.

I am inconsolable—yesterday, in burning several useless papers, I had the misfortune to throw into the fire the Passport which you had the goodness to obtain for me. I am, indeed, ashamed to beg you to repair my blunder, and of the trouble which I occasion you.*

Letter of M. de Bouille to the National Assembly.

Gentlemen,

THE king has lately made an effort to break the chains with which, for a considerable time past,

you have held him and his family. He is yet your captive, and his days, as well as those of his queen, are, I shudder to think of it! yet at the disposal of a people whom you have rendered ferocious and sanguinary, and who have become the object of contempt of the universe. It is of importance to you, gentlemen, that you should know the causes which have produced the event which now occupies your attention, and you will see that, if it has been noble and courageous on the part of the king to come and seek an asylum with me, he has therein less consulted his own welfare than that of a cruel people whom he yet loves. Disengaged, however, from the ties which bound me to you, I am about to speak to you the language of truth, which you doubtless will reject. The king had become a prisoner to his people—Attached to my sovereign, although detesting the abuses resulting from an authority too powerful, I mourned over the frenzy of the people—I blamed your proceedings, but I hoped, that in the end, the wicked would be confounded, that anarchy would have an end, and that we should have a government that could at least be endured. My attachment for my king and country gave me sufficient courage to support

* A Madame D'Ossun having been arrested, as having been privy to the flight of the Queen, and having intended to follow her, the falsity of this accusation was proved by a note found in the possession of that lady, written by the Queen, and dated the 20th of June.—It is with much pleasure we translate this short billet, as it does honour to her majesty's character.

Queen's note to Madame D'Ossun. "Every duty united, my dear Madame, has prevented me from advertising you of our departure. Nevertheless, I risk the consequences of this letter to ease your anxieties on my account. I have but a few moments to myself, and much business to do. I take pleasure in assuring you of my inviolable and eternal friendship. God grant that we may meet again happy. I embrace you."

support all the outrages which I have experienced, and the shame and the humiliation of addressing you.

I saw that the spirit of faction prevailed—that some were desirous of a civil war—that others wished for a republic, and that in the last party was M. la Fayette. Clubs were established to destroy the army, and the populace were no longer directed but by cabal and intrigue; the king being without forces, and even without importance—the army without commanders and without subordination. No means of re-establishing order appearing, I proposed to the king to quit Paris, and to retire to the frontiers, persuaded that it would produce a happy change.

This proposal the king and queen constantly refused, alleging the promise which they had made, not to separate themselves from the national assembly—I urged in answer, that a promise extorted by force was not binding. The transaction of the 28th of February induced me to renew my solicitations: but the king again reminded me of the constitution—the queen agreed with him in opinion, and rejected all the proposals which I made to that purport. I knew that all the powers in Europe were arming against France—It was in the power of the king to save that beautiful kingdom. I knew that its towns were dismantled, its finances exhausted, and that its fictitious money could not supply the specie that was wanting—besides, I did not doubt but that the people would throw themselves into the arms of their king, and intreat him to prevent the evils with which they were threatened.

After the obstacles which were thrown in the way of his journey to St. Cloud, on the 18th of April last, I represented to him that there remained but this one step to be taken to save France. He at length agreed to it, and resolved to go to Montmidi. He agreed, that as soon as he should be in safety there, he would inform the foreign powers of it, that they might suspend their vengeance till a new assembly should be formed. He then would have published a proclamation to convoke this new assembly, according to the ancient laws, which would have been the rule of his conduct. The king would have become the mediator between foreign powers and his people; and they, placed between the fear of becoming a prey to foreign powers, and a hope of the re-establishment of order, would have intrusted their interests to an enlightened assembly, who would at length have repressed those crimes which have resulted from popular despotism. That is what your monarch would have done: that is what he would have done in spite of you; in spite of the ingratitude of his ferocious people. He was actuated by no other motive. Your blindness induced you to refuse that protecting hand which he extended towards you—it will soon be productive of the destruction of the empire of the French. Believe me, gentlemen, the princes of Europe consider themselves threatened by the monster whom you have cherished—your country will soon become the theatre of a most bloody war. Your means of defence are inadequate—it is too late to think of adopting measures for defence.—You will be justly and severely

severely punished—your chastisement will be an example for all nations, and you will long have cause to repent the assassination of your country.

I ought to add, that I hold you, and the people whom you have misled, in contempt, in indignation, and in horror!—All Europe is about to unite against your infernal constitution! I projected every thing, and have ordered every thing.

Against me alone should be directed your sanguinary fury—for me should you sharpen your poignards, and drain your poisons! You shall answer for the king, and the royal family—you shall answer for their lives, not to me alone, but to all the potentates of Europe! If you hurt only one hair of their heads, there shall shortly remain not one stone upon another in Paris!—I know the roads—I will lead against it foreign armies. This letter is but the forerunner of the manifesto of the sovereigns of Europe—they will give notice in a more decided manner of the war which you have to fear. Adieu.

(Signed)

LE MARQUIS DE BOUILLE.

Letter from M. Rœderer to M. Bouille.

I RECEIVED yesterday, Sir, a packet with the post mark of Luxembourg, and sealed with your arms, containing a printed copy of your letter to the national assembly. I flatter myself that in transmitting this letter to me, you wish to indicate that I am personally interested

in the insults which it contains; and I thank you accordingly.

Perhaps you may recollect a conversation which we had together at Metz, during the epoch of the revolution. I was then at the head of the patriotic party, and you were commandant of that place: The citizens distrusted you; they were afraid lest you should invite the king, and those courtiers whom the revolution had condemned to the punishment of equality, within their walls. You were at that time the cause of a continual fermentation, but you were taught to know (how much have you since forgot this useful lesson!) that your cannon were of no avail against the eternal batteries of reason, which, from the printing-house at Lendoin, began to humble all the supports of tyranny and of tyrants, and which, be assured, will continue to humble them, to whatever distance they may retreat, or within whatever citadel they may entrench themselves.

Penetrated with these truths, so humiliating to you, you then waited on me, and asked me this question—"Do you think that the public welfare demands that I should give up my command? If you do so, I am ready to give in my resignation."—"If the fugitives," I replied, "intend to rally in this country; if the king intends to take refuge here; if Metz is destined to become the cradle of a civil war, I wish you were a thousand leagues distant. But on the contrary, if the king shall adhere to the constitution, if the fugitives dispersed throughout the world are content to act the parts of knights-errant, I shall be very happy to see in the chief garrison of our frontiers a general like you, who has gained

gained the attachment of the soldiery, and is capable of enforcing obedience at home, and respect abroad."

Your reply to me was a memorable one, and I am able to recapitulate it exactly:—"I give you my word of honour to enforce the decrees of the national assembly with my utmost power, whether I approve them or not; I also pledge you my word of honour, never to involve my country in a civil war."

Perhaps this conversation has been recollected by you since your arrival at Luxembourg; you may have been afraid lest one of the *words of honour* which you have betrayed should be forgotten, and you have undoubtedly addressed your letter to me, for fear that this claim to public infamy should lose its just reward.

If this is your motive, sir, I doubly thank you for your correspondence.

For some time past, philosophy has laboured to dishonour honour, and to elevate virtue in its room. Louis XVI. and you have at one and the same time rendered this service to the nation, and have advanced the morals of mankind at least half a century nearer perfection.

In fine, I hope that public opinion and the laws will no longer confine themselves to feats of chivalry and words of honour, as necessary titles for public employments, but that they will also insist on proofs of virtue and acts of patriotism.

(Signed)

RCEDERER,
DEPUTY TO THE NATIONAL
ASSEMBLY.

Protest of Two Hundred and Ninety Deputies, against the Decrees which suspend the exercise of the Royal Authority, and which infringe the inviolability of the sacred person of the King.

THREE months have scarcely elapsed since we deputies undersigned made known to our constituents our protest against a decree which attacked the sacred principle of the inviolability of the king's person. The zeal with which many of us defended it on the 28th of March, the conviction which we entertained that it was impossible to violate with impunity this principle essential to all monarchy, are too well justified by the events now passing under our eyes, and by the afflicting spectacle of which we have the misfortune to be witnesses.

The king and royal family conducted as prisoners, by authority of the decrees of the national assembly; the monarch guarded in his palace by soldiers not subject to his command; the royal family entrusted to a guard, over whom the king has no authority; the right of directing the education of the presumptive heir of the throne taken from him, who, both as king and father, had the most undoubted right, and the strongest obligation to direct it; in fine, the monarch, whose inviolability was declared even by the new constitution, suspended by a decree from the exercise of his authority; such is the afflicting spectacle which we and all good Frenchmen lament, and such are the too obvious and too fatal consequences of the first violation

lation offered to this sacred and fundamental principle.

And we ought to declare it, since we are compelled to refer to the decree itself against which we have protested, and against which we still protest, there is none of those measures which was not before proscribed to the constitution, in the name of which they are taken. The sacred person of the king was declared inviolable: one only abuse was provided for, in which, contrary to all the principles essential to monarchy, it was supposed that that inviolability might cease. This case has not yet occurred; nevertheless the king is dragged as a criminal into his own capital, and made a prisoner in his own palace, and despoiled of his prerogative. Thus, after having infringed the inviolability of the king by decrees, they annul them in order completely to destroy it.

Amidst these outrages offered to the monarch, to his august family, and in their persons to the whole nation, what has become of the monarchy? The decrees of the national assembly have centered in themselves all the royal power; the seal of the state has been deposited on their table; their decrees are rendered executory without requiring sanction; they give direct orders to all the agents of the executive power; they inclose in their own name oaths, in which Frenchmen do not even find the name of their king; commissioners, who have received their mission from them alone, traverse the provinces, in order to receive oaths which they exact, and give directions to the army: thus, at the moment at which the inviolability of the king

was annulled, monarchy was destroyed; the appearance of royalty no longer exists; a republican interim has succeeded.

Far from all those who are acquainted with the rules of our conduct (and, we believe, there are very few Frenchmen who do not rightly appreciate them), be the idea that we could concur in such decrees. They are not less unpleasant to our feelings, than repugnant to our principles. Never have we more severely felt the rigour of our duty, never have we more lamented the fatal consequences resulting from the mission with which we were charged, than when forced to remain witnesses of acts which we regarded as culpable attempts; while those who are most frequently our organ, became timid, for the first time condemned themselves to silence, that they might not involve the sacred cause in that unpopularity which had so ingeniously been contrived to be thrown upon our party. Without doubt, if we were guided by common rules; if we yielded to the horror with which we are inspired by the idea of being thought to approve, by our presence, decrees, to which we were so averse, we would fly without delay, we would without hesitation separate from an assembly, who have been able to break through principles which they had been forced to preserve. But in circumstances so singular, we can neither assume common rules nor our own sentiments as the basis of our own conduct. When our principles, our honour, may perhaps, in the opinion of a great number, command us to fly, motives more imperious still exact of us a painful sacrifice,

ice, that of remaining in a position where we preserve the means of preventing greater evils. Before the calamitous epoch at which we are arrived, we could at least grasp the shadow of monarchy; we fought upon the basis of the hope of preserving it to direct our conduct. Now, the law has been given to monarchy. But, in addition to that motive, we were bound by our duties. The monarch exists; he is captive; it is for the king's safety that we ought to rally our strength; it is for him, it is for his country, it is for the precious blood of the Bourbons, that we ought to stand firm at the post, where we can lay down over a deposit so valuable. We will discharge, then, this sacred duty, which alone ought to be our excuse, and we will prove, in our hearts the monarch and monarchy can never be separated.

But whilst we comply with this sacred duty, let not our constituents expect to hear us come forward upon any other subject. The one interest alone can force us to sit along with those who have raised a mis-shapen republic in the ruins of monarchy, it is that interest alone that we are solely devoted. From this moment, in the most profound silence, on never shall not relate to this subject, shall express our deep regret, and at the same time our inviolable opposition to every decree that may be passed.

In fine, let our constituents turn their attention to the circumstances in which we are placed; if, in the present moment, we have not glory in marching foremost in the path of honour, our situation now

imposes, both with regard to them and to ourselves, duties which do not go beyond ourselves alone. For us, honour lies no longer in the common track; our sole object is the triumph of the sacred cause with which we are intrusted; but let them be beforehand assured, that whatever may happen, to whatever extremities we may be reduced, nothing will efface from our hearts the unalterable oath which irrevocably binds us to the monarch and to monarchy.

After these considerations, which appear to us founded upon the true interest of the nation, and the eternal advantage of the people, essentially dependant on monarchy, we declare to all Frenchmen—

That after having constantly opposed all those decrees, which in attacking royalty, either in its essence, or in its privileges, have prepared the people to receive without indignation, as without examination, the anti-monarchical principles to which these days of anarchy have given birth;

That after having defended till the last moment, monarchy undermined in its foundations;

That after having seen its ruin completed by the deliberations of the national assembly; for to attack the person of the monarch, is to annul monarchy; to suspend monarchy is, in fine, to destroy it;

Nothing can authorise us any longer to take part in deliberations, which become in our eyes guilty of a crime which we do not wish to participate;

But that monarchy existing always in the person of the monarch, from whom it is inseparable; that his misfortunes and those of his august family, imposing upon us a stronger

stronger obligation always to surround his august person, and defend it from the application of principles which we condemn; we place our sole honour, our most sacred duty in defending, with all our might—with all our zeal for the blood of the Bourbons—with all our attachment to the principles which our constituents have transmitted to us, the interests of the king and the royal family, and their indefeasible rights.

That, in consequence, we shall continue, from the sole motive of not abandoning the interests of the person of the king and the royal family, to assist at the deliberations of the national assembly; but being neither able to avow their principles, or recognize the legality of their decrees, we will henceforth take no part in deliberations which have not for their object the only interest which it now remains for us to defend.

Paris, June 29, 1791.

To the above are added the signatures of two hundred and ninety members of the national assembly, the first being that of the Abbé Maury. Some of them insert additions or restrictions before their names, as is sometimes done to a protest in the House of Lords, and all the noblesse insert their titles.

Procès Verbal of the Declaration of the King of the French, with respect to the Motives of his Flight.

ON this present Sunday, June 26th, 1791, We, Francis Denis Tronchet, Andrian John Francis Duport, and Anthony Balthazar

Joseph Dandre, commissioners nominated by the national assembly for the execution of its decree of this day, the said decree providing, "That the national assembly shall nominate three commissioners, taken out of its own body, to receive in writing from the mouth of the king his declaration, which shall be signed by the king and the commissioners; the same ceremony being also used in regard to the declaration of the queen, &c."

We, after having repaired to the military committee, set off at half an hour after six o'clock, for the palace of the Tuilleries; where having arrived, we were introduced into the king's cabinet, and being alone with him, the king made the following declaration:

I see, Gentlemen, by the object of the mission with which you are charged, that there is no intention of making use of interrogatories; but I shall most willingly comply with the wishes of the national assembly, and I shall never be afraid of making the public acquainted with the reasons of my conduct.

The motives which occasioned my departure, were the threats and the menaces which took place on the 18th of April against my family and myself. Since that time, several writings have been published with an intention to provoke the public fury against the royal family and myself, and these insults still remain unpunished; from this circumstance, I perceived that it would not be safe, nor even decent for me to remain in Paris.

In consequence of this I resolved to quit the metropolis.—Not being able to get from Paris in the day-time, I determined to depart during the

night, without any attendants; it was not my intention, however, to leave the kingdom. I never did entertain a plan of this kind, either with the neighbouring powers, or with my relations, nor with any Frenchmen in foreign coun-

My plan was to retire to Montmédy, and I accordingly ordered the necessary arrangements to be prepared for me there. As that town is well fortified, I thought it peculiarly convenient for the safety of myself and family; and being near the frontier, I also imagined it well adapted to oppose every invasion that might be attempted by the enemies of France. Another powerful motive of my retreat was, to put an end to the assertion of my being a prisoner.

My intention had been to retire into a foreign country, and I could never have published a memorial previous to my departure:—I should most assuredly in this case have suppressed it till I had passed the frontiers.

My intention continued constant in the wish of returning to Paris; for on looking to this same memorial, it may be seen that I promise to the Parisians speedily to return to them: "Frenchmen, and you Parisians, at my pleasure shall I not have in my train appearing among you!" These are the very expressions I made use of.

I had in my carriage only 13,200 francs in gold, and 56,000 livres in bank notes, which were contained in a port folio sent me by the department.

I never informed Monsieur of my departure, till a very short time before it took place; he passed into a foreign country, merely because

it was agreed between him and I that we should not travel the same road, and he was to return to me in France. I gave orders, a few days before my departure, to the three persons who accompanied me as couriers, to procure the clothes usually worn on these occasions, because they would be entrusted with dispatches.

The passport was necessary for facilitating my journey; the route of Frankfort was mentioned, merely because they never grant passports at the office of the secretary for foreign affairs to any part within the kingdom; and the route indicated was not even preserved by us.

I have never made any protestation whatever but in the memorial left by me at my departure.

This protestation, as may be easily perceived, does not contain any objection to the principles of the constitution, but only with respect to the form of sanction, that is to say, in regard to the little liberty which I appeared to enjoy. As the decrees were not presented in a body, I could not judge of the whole design of the fabric of the constitution. The principal objection contained in this memorial regards the difficulties attendant on administration and execution.

I perceived in the course of my journey, that the public opinion was decidedly in favour of the constitution. I was not before able, during my stay in Paris, to make myself acquainted with this circumstance; but from the ideas I have been able to form personally in my route, I am convinced how much it is necessary to give the proper energy to the powers established for the maintenance of public order.

At

As soon as I knew the public wish, I did not hesitate, and I shall never hesitate to make the sacrifice of every thing that regards myself, to procure the good of the people, which has ever been the first object of my wishes.

I shall willingly forget all the disagreeable circumstances which have occurred, that I may thus ensure the peace and tranquillity of the nation.

The king, after having read the present declaration, has observed that he omitted to add, that the governante of his son, and the ladies in the queen's retinue, were not informed of his intentions till a short time before their departure; and the king has signed this declaration in company with us.

(Signed) LOUIS.
TRONCHET.
ANDRIAN DUPORT.
DANDRE.

M. de Bouille's statement of the King's Journey from Chalons to Varennes, when his Majesty and the Royal Family left Paris to go to Montmidi.

IN consequence of the king and queen's order, M. de Bouille informed M. de Goguelas, an officer of rank, of their majesties' intention to go to Montmidi, and the arrangements he had made to receive them. That officer had been sent to Paris a little before the king left it, and brought his majesty's definitive orders to the general; in obedience to which he had ordered M. de Goguelas to reconnoitre the different posts on their route, and

to wait personally for their majesties at Pontsommeville, the first post after passing Chalons, and three leagues beyond that town. M. de Goguelas carried a written order from the king, for the commander of the detachment at Chalons to obey M. de N———, who was to arrive there twelve hours before the royal family. M. de N———himself was authorised by his majesty to deliver the orders of M. de Bouille to each officer commanding a detachment on this service, and at the same time to give them particular orders conformable to any new circumstance which might have occurred since that general had formed his plan.

M. de N——— or M. de Goguelas were to arrive at each post from Pontsommeville, at a proper time previous to the royal family, to give the commanding officers timely notice that the troops, and every thing else necessary for the speedy and safe passage of the carriages, should be in readiness all the way; M. de Bouille, in the mean time, being in a central position, that he might have it in his power to protect the royal family, in case of necessity.

Agreeable to this plan, M. de Goguelas had left Varennes to go to Pontsommeville on the 20th of June, with forty hussars of the regiment of Lausun, on the pretext of escorting a large sum of money expected for the use of the troops. These hussars were under the command of M. Bondet, a lieutenant. They passed the night of the 20th at St. Menehault, and arrived on the 21st at Pontsommeville. Forty dragoons of the regiment royal, commanded by M. d'Andouin

Idouin their captain, arrived the same day at St. Menehault. A detachment of a hundred dragoons of the regiment of monsieur, sixty of the regiment royal, and on the 20th to Clermont, on the occasion of going into cantonments at Bouillon on the Meuse, but with orders to remain on the 21st at Clermont. They were under the command of M. de Damas. Sixty dragoons of the regiment of Lausun, commanded by M. Rodwel a lieutenant, were posted at Varennes; a hundred of the same regiment, under the command of M. Deslongueun; fifty of the regiment of Royal Allemand, under M. Guntz were placed at Mouse, a village between Dun and Stenai. This last was intended to have escorted the royal family all the way to Montmédy, where his majesty would have found several regiments ready to form an encampment, which the others, already on their march, were to join on the 21st or 22nd. Some of the commanding officers of those detachments were privy to the plan; the others were in hourly expectation of meeting with the military chest with money. They had orders to hold their troops in constant readiness, to watch attentively for every occurrence that should take place at their respective posts. A courier, who preceded the carriage of the royal family the hours, was to give these commanding officers timely notice of the king's arrival.

The orders signed by the king, were to be presented successively to each detachment by M. de N——. M. de Goguelas, enjoined the officers and soldiers to escort the king and his family, and to use

every means in their power for their protection. These two gentlemen were to inform the king, when he arrived at Pontsonmeville, of the disposition of the troops intended for his escort, and his majesty was then to give them orders respecting the manner in which he wished to continue his route.

In case the king thought proper to let himself be known, each detachment was to keep close to the carriage all the way, till it was relieved by the succeeding detachment at the new post: but if the king preferred remaining *incognito*, his carriage was to pass for that which carried the military chest. The detachments were to fall behind at convenient distances, to give the king's party time to change horses without suspicion; at the same time not to lose sight, or to be at too great a distance for giving assistance in case of need. In either of those suppositions, the officers who commanded the detachments were to be informed by M. de Choiseuil or Goguelas, at the king's arrival at each post, that his majesty was in the carriage, but it was only in case he did not think it necessary to preserve the *incognito* that the private men of the detachments were to be informed. All the detachments were to proceed to Montmédy, after the king's passage, with all possible expedition, except that at Pontsonmeville, which was to stop at St. Menehault for eighteen or twenty hours, on purpose to prevent any person, of whatever description, from proceeding during that time. M. de Bouille was to take measures, during the same period, for preventing any intelligence from arriving at his camp; and by this means secured

cured to the detachment at St. Menehould a safe retreat to Mont-midi.

As the cross road from Varennes to Dun was bad, M. de Bouille had the precaution to place a sufficient number of horses at the former, that the king, on his arrival, might find no difficulty or retardment to prevent his proceeding to Dun. Those horses belonged to M. de N——, and were sent on the pretext of carrying his camp equipage to Mouson. When M. de N—— went to Paris to receive the king's orders, he had given directions to an officer of his regiment respecting those horses, which were to set out on the 17th of June, that they might be at Varennes on the 20th, and there remain till farther orders. This arrangement had been settled, on the supposition that the king would leave Paris on the 19th, as was at first intended: but a woman in the service of the dauphin, and known to be a violent democrat, being to finish her weekly attendance on the 20th, it was thought prudent to defer the departure of the royal family till she should be out of the palace; of course they did not set out till the 20th, at midnight. M. de Bouille was informed of this alteration by a letter from the king, which, however, he did not receive before the 15th, in the evening, and immediately sent orders to the regiment royal and that of Monsieur, both dragoons, to begin their march a day later than had been formerly directed, on purpose that they might be at Clermont only one day previous to the arrival of the royal family: but unfortunately the officer, entrusted with the direction of the horses, which were said to trans-

port M. de N——'s camp equipage, neglected to give fresh orders to those who conducted them to Varennes, and of course they arrived at that town one day sooner than was intended. The prolongation of their stay created those suspicions which afterwards proved so fatal. Those horses were not placed where it had been agreed upon they should; and when those who were charged with the placing them arrived at Varennes, the suspicions which had arisen on their account had excited such a fermentation, that it would not have been prudent to have attempted any alteration.

The Report of M. Boudet.

The detachment arrived in precise time at the place of their destination. The hussars of the regiment of Lausun came to St. Menehould on the 20th of June; the officer quartered them at the inn, but he neglected to give the usual information to the magistrates of the place relative to their route and quarters. This occasioned a good deal of surprise and speculation in the town, which were augmented by the arrival of a detachment of the king's regiment of dragoons in the morning of the 21st. The impression which the conduct of the officer commanding the hussars left on the minds of the inhabitants, made them watch the dragoons with jealous eyes. They even attempted to take their arms from them.

The king left the Thuilleries on the 20th, at midnight. His carriage broke down near Chalons. That accident detained him several hours. The royal family were expected at Sommeville about three o'clock

ck in the afternoon of the 21st
ough M. de N——and M. de
delas had calculated that they
d arrive about that hour, it
certainly their duty to remain
all that day with the detach-
of hussars, the instructions
ose commanding officers bore,
he convoy they were to escort
d pass in the course of that
nevertheless, when those two
emen saw no appearance of
ourier, or of the arrival of the
family, they left Sommeville
e o'clock in the evening, car-
the whole detachment from
mportant post, from whence
directions to all the others
to originate. It is to be hoped
those two officers had very
g reasons for conducting them-
in this manner, which, how-
have never been fully made
n. It has been said, that
chiefly determined them was
n marks of inquietude and
otion which began to appear
g the people in the country,
onsequences of which they
ht might prove dangerous to
ing and royal family.

ssrs. de N——and Goguelas
rew the troops from Somme-
at five o'clock in the evening,
eir majesties arrived there an
after, finding neither the
they expected, nor the two
as who had been entrusted
their instructions, who were
as couriers, and to give or-
signals, and directions to the
distributed at the different

Their majesties, however,
eded without any retardment
Meneshout, while the de-
ent which had left Somme-
ell back to Varennes. By a
y that seems to have invari-
XXXIII.

ably accompanied the king, the
commanding officer of the detach-
ment, not choosing to return to
St. Meneshout, where he had been
ill-received the day before, instead
of keeping to the high road, by
which means he would have joined
the royal family, struck into a cross
road, where he lost his way, as also
did the two persons entrusted with
the king's orders; so that none of
them reached Varennes until an
hour after their majesties had been
arrested.

The royal family had come to
St. Meneshout without any prece-
ding courier. When they stopped
to change horses at the post-house
the commanding officer of the de-
tachment of dragoons, supposing
that those were the carriages which
it was his duty to escort, ordered
the soldiers to mount, that he
might fulfil the object of his mis-
sion. He met with a decided op-
position from the inhabitants, and
the stables were occupied and
guarded by the national guards of
the town.

The King not seeing those he ex-
pected, looked out of the carriage
with the utmost uneasiness, and
made many inquiries concerning
the road. He was recognised by
a postillion, who immediately ran
and informed the post-master. The
King's journey was not, however,
stopped; he went on to Clermont,
while the post-master of St. Mene-
houlth dispatched his son to Va-
rennes, to give notice of his ma-
jesty's approach, that measures
might be taken to stop him. The
King changed horses again at Cler-
mont, and was suffered peaceably
to take the road to Varennes. M.
de Damas, who commanded the
royal dragoons and those of mon-
N
sieur,

sieur, expected the arrival of the courier every moment, according to agreement, and he kept his troops in readiness, but had not been able to make any other preparations for the arrival of their majesties. However, on being informed that two carriages, of which they gave him the description, had changed horses at the post-house, he had no doubt of their being those of the king and queen. He immediately gave orders to his dragoons to mount. The district and municipality of the place were alarmed, and he was desired to give an account of this unexpected order. M. de Damas, without returning an answer, set spurs to his horse, ordering his dragoons to follow him: but they, yielding to the threats and intreaties of the national guards, basely deserted their commanding officer. M. de Damas pursued alone the road to Varennes, and arrived a few minutes after their majesties.

The son of the post-master of St. Menehoult got the start of the King by some hours. His departure from that town had been observed by one of the quarter-masters of the regiment royal, who was in the secret, and who, suspecting the young man's intentions, found means to escape the watchful observations of the populace, and of his own companions, and pursued the fellow, in order to prevent his fatal design. He followed him for about a league: but being afraid to push his horse, which had a great way to go, he did not overtake him; and the fellow perceiving himself pursued, suddenly quitted the high road, escaped into the woods, and through unbeaten tracts, known to himself, proceed-

ed to Varennes. He arrived betwixt ten and eleven o'clock at night, and with as little noise as possible he awaked every person he thought necessary for his project, and barricaded with carts and wagons the bridge of Varennes, which separated the *ville haute* from the *ville basse*.

In the midst of these preparations their majesties arrived at the *ville haute* and stopped at the first house, in hopes of finding fresh horses ready for them: but in this they were disappointed; the horses intended for them were still at an inn on the opposite side of the bridge. M. de Bouille had sent his youngest son and M. de Raigecourt to Varennes on the morning of the 21st, with orders to make the necessary preparations for the king's arrival. They had not sufficient confidence in the officer who commanded the detachment at Varennes to trust him with the secret, but they desired him to hold his troops in readiness to escort a convoy. They anxiously expected the arrival of the courier, as their orders were to make no preparation till he came. Besides, their very appearance in the town had created suspicions, and the fear of increasing them prevented their removing the horses from the *ville basse* to the *ville haute*, until they should receive notice of the king's arrival. The officer who commanded the detachment at Varennes had orders to escort a convoy which was of so much importance, that in case he perceived any disposition in the people to obstruct it, he was to order his troops to mount, make himself master of all the passages, and enforce the advancement of the convoy. But as none of these measures

res were executed, the post-
r had full time to make all
iminal arrangements, with-
ncountering the least obsta-

eir majesties were very uneasy
ing informed, on their arri-
hat there were no horses in
less and saw no appearance
troops they expected for their
ction. To add to their vex-

their postillions threatened
ve them. The queen alight-
d called at several houses to
information respecting the
s. Nobody knew her. She

d for some time in the *ville*
with the king, in expectation
some person would appear
ould give them the informa-
they stood so much in need
ut all in vain. They were

ed to return to their carriage
ut the expected satisfaction ;
ll they could do was to intreat
ostillions to proceed with the
horses. As they passed under

ch-way near the bridge, a
of ruffians, who lay in wait,
ed the carriages, seized upon
ing, and forced him and his
to alight, and they were con-

d prisoners to the house of the
procureur de la commune. The king
stulated against this violence
equal firmness and dignity,
no purpose. In a moment

streets were barricaded, the
s of the hussars surrounded,
ational guards drawn up un-
rms, and the tocsin sounded
rm the country. The young

uille and M. Raigecourt, on
ing the tumult, hastened to-
the hotel of the command-
but found the streets barrica-
They had time only to mount

orseback, to push through the

armed crowds that opposed them,
and to go with all possible expedi-
tion to inform general de Bouille
of what had happened.

In less than an hour after the
king was stopped, Messrs. de N——
and de Goguelas arrived at Va-
rennes with the detachment from
Pontsommeville. At the gates of
the town they found some pieces
of cannon and a party of the na-
tional guards, who at first disputed
their entrance. They desired to
be made known to the sixty hussars
in the town, who belonged to their
regiment. M. Rodwell, who com-
manded those hussars, came to
meet them alone. M. Boudet, the
commanding officer of the detach-
ment from Pontsommeville, in-
formed him that the company
which had been stopped was ac-
tually the king and the royal family,
and ordered him to take every ne-
cessary measure for the defence and
surety of their majesties : but Rod-
well, in place of obeying his com-
manding officer, immediately left
Varennes, on pretence that he must
go and inform M. de Bouille of
what had happened ; and he left
the command of this important
post to one of the quarter-masters,
who was extremely ill-affected to
the king, as appeared by his keep-
ing the hussars in total inaction.

The detachment of Pontsomme-
ville being the only troops well
disposed to the king in the town,
reached the house where the royal
family were detained, which they
found surrounded by a number of
national guards. M. de Goguelas,
instead of attempting to disperse
them by any orders to the detach-
ment, addressed himself to the
procureur de la commune, who still
affected not to know who the peo-

ple he detained were, desiring to be introduced to them. He was introduced accordingly, and on his return assured the people that it was unquestionably the royal family. This information rendered the multitude more obstinate for detaining the royal family.

M. de Goguelas, wishing to ascertain whether the minds of the troops had not been corrupted by the town's people, during his absence, ordered them to prepare their arms*, and then very inconsiderately asked whether they were for the king or the nation. They answered, "*Vive la nation ! Nous tenons et tiendrons toujours pour elle.*"

This answer, which the surrounding crowd had inspired them with, plainly shewed no assistance could be expected for his majesty in this seditious town. M. de Goguelas, therefore, seeming to adopt the prevailing sentiment, resolved quietly to wait the arrival of a sufficient force, to assist him in delivering their majesties.

While these events were passing at Varennes, M. de Bouille was extremely uneasy at receiving no intelligence. He had passed the night on horseback betwixt Dun and Stenai. At last he rode to the highway which leads to Montmidi, that he might be at hand to give assistance, if necessary. He was at the gates of Stenai about four in the morning, when M. de Raigecourt, the chevalier de Bouille, and M. de Rodwell brought him the unwelcome news of the king being stopped. That instant, orders were given for the regiment Royal Allemand to mount, but the horses were not saddled, although their

commanding officer had received orders the preceding evening to hold himself in readiness by day-break, and although it was known in the regiment that the king was to pass during the night. M. de Bouille sent, at the same time, to Montmidi, an order to M. de Klinglin, *marechal de camp*, to send one of the battalions of Nassau towards Dun, and to expedite orders to the Swiss regiment of Castellas, then on its march to Montmidi, to detach one of its battalions to Stenai, and there to attend his further orders. M. de Bouille also sent orders to the detachments of Mous and Dun to march with all diligence to Varennes, giving them to know that he would soon follow with the regiment Royal Allemand, and enjoining them, immediately upon their arrival, to use every means in their power for the deliverance of the royal family.

M. de Bouille waited till the regiment of Royal Allemand were quite ready, and then put himself at its head; after which, that he might assure himself of its dispositions, he read the king's orders, informed the men of the occasion of this march, and distributed money amongst them. He found them extremely well disposed, and they followed him with an alacrity which promised success: but it was five o'clock in the morning when they set out.

Extract of M. de Long's report.

M. de Long, who commanded, at this time, the detachment of Dun, occupied, with his hussars,

all

* *Mettre haut les armes.*

the streets and avenues of that town. On being informed, by M. de La Fayette, of the distressing situation of the royal family, he marched to Varennes with his troops, without waiting the general's order, leaving twenty-four men and an officer at Dun, in order to secure a free passage through that town. He was only an hour and a half in going five leagues betwixt Dun and Varennes. He arrived at this last town at five o'clock in the morning. His project had been to begin the attack immediately, and to make his way by force to the king; but when he entered the town, he perceived the barricades, which forced him to alter his plan. The advanced guard of the national guard required M. de Long to attend them to the municipality, and explain the reasons of his journey to Varennes. He positively refused, and demanded entrance with his detachment, in order to join that which was in the town. They answered, that his demand was contrary to the king's orders. M. de Long, being assured, by this answer, that the king was at Varennes, requested permission to pay respects to his majesty. This was agreed to by M. Seignemont, commander of the national guards, chevalier de St. Lewis, who promised him protection, and gave him word of honour that he should be allowed to speak to the king without any witness. For the better surety that this promise should be adhered to, M. de Long demanded that an hostage should be given to his hussars. This was

His scheme was to inform the king of the succours that were sent and expected, and to ob-

serve whether it would be possible to force the barricades sword in hand. He found them so strong, particularly on the bridge, that he had no hopes of succeeding, unless he was joined by the hussars under the command of M. Boudet. Having arrived at the house in which the royal family were confined, he saw, to his astonishment, thirty hussars before it, commanded by one of the national guards; and this certitude of their defection deprived him of all hopes of his detachment's being allowed to enter the town. After waiting half an hour, he was introduced to the king. Seignemont, contrary to the word he had pledged, entered with him. When M. de Long reproached him in the presence of his majesty, his only apology was, that the citizens would not allow that he should have any private conference with the king; yet he afterwards permitted M. de Long to talk a little, in the corner of the room, with his majesty, who was then informed of his real situation, and of the insurmountable obstacles which the barricades, and the defection of some of the troops, formed to the zeal of M. de Long. He was informed, at the same time, of the march of M. de Bouille, at the head of the regiment of Royal Allemand.

The king seemed in such a state of confusion, that M. de Long repeated this information three times, from an apprehension that his majesty had not heard what he had said; at last he begged to have his majesty's orders for M. de Bouille.

'You may acquaint him,' said the king, 'that I am a prisoner; that I doubt much whether he can do

do any thing for me, but that I desire he may do what he can.'

M. de Long spoke also to the queen: but as she stood very near to the commander of the national guards, he gave her the same information in German, that he had given to the king. That unhappy princess complained bitterly of her persecutors, and particularly that they would not permit her to proceed to Verdun, where she and the children could more commodiously repose themselves.

The king desiring M. de Long not to prolong the conversation in German, to prevent suspicions, he took leave of their majesties, asking their orders aloud. The king replied,

'I am a prisoner, and have no orders to give.'

M. de Long having arrived at his detachment, sent a non-commissioned officer with an order to M. de Boudet to attack those who confined the royal family, while he should force the barricades, and advance with his troops to their assistance. After a considerable interval, the non-commissioned officer returned, without having been able to speak to M. de Boudet, who, with his detachment, was blocked up in the convent and garden of the Cordeliers.

In these circumstances, M. de Long had no other resource but to wait for the arrival of the regiment of Royal Allemand: but he soon understood that the royal family, having been obliged to go into their carriages, were on the road to Paris, guarded by an armed multitude. He was joined by the chevalier de R——, and they endeavoured to cross the river, in the intention of attacking the escort and delivering the king. They ac-

tually passed the first branch, but found the second too deep; and seeing no possibility of succouring the royal family, they determined to join M. de Bouille, which they did, about nine o'clock in the morning, near Varennes. Greatly shocked at the information they brought, he was still inclined to continue his march, and make a last attempt, but no person among the troops knew of any ford by which they could pass the river which separated them from the king. The horses were nearly exhausted with the long march they had already made, Stenai being more than five leagues from Varennes; besides, the king having set out about an hour and a half before, all pursuit seemed useless. There was therefore an absolute impossibility of delivering the royal family; and M. de Bouille, overwhelmed with grief, marched back with his troops to Stenai.

Besides the above statement, M. de Bouille drew up a particular account, explanatory of the failure of this plan, for protecting the royal family in their journey from Paris to Montmidi, for the information of their majesties.

Note from the King to the National Assembly, July 9.

Gentlemen,

I AM informed that several officers, gone into foreign countries, have, by circular letters, invited the soldiers of the regiments to which they belonged to quit the kingdom to join them; and that as an inducement, they promise to advance them, by virtue of full powers, directly or indirectly, flowing from me. I think it my duty to give a formal contradiction to

to these assertions, and to repeat my former declaration, that in leaving Paris, I had no intention but to go to Montmidi, and there to make to the National Assembly such representations as I thought necessary, on the difficulties experienced in the execution of the laws, and of the administration of the kingdom. I declare positively, that all persons who say that they have received such powers from me, are guilty of a most culpable imposition.

(Signed) LOUIS.

Letter from Monsieur and the Count D'Artois to the King their Brother.

[The following Letter was circulated in Paris, and we believe through all France. Of its authenticity and importance every reader must judge for himself. It may not be improper, however, to observe, that it is generally supposed to be the composition of the celebrated M. de Calonne.]

Sire, our Brother and Lord,

WHEN the Assembly, which owes its existence to you, and which has used it only for the destruction of your power, believes itself to be upon the point of consummating its guilty enterprize; when, to the indignity of holding you a captive in the centre of your capital, they add the perfidy of wishing you to degrade your throne by your own hand; when they even dare to present to you the option of subscribing the decrees which are to occasion the unhappiness of your people, or of ceasing to be king; we hasten to inform your majesty, that the powers whose assistance we have claimed

for you, are determined to employ their forces, and that the emperor and the king of Prussia have just contracted a mutual engagement to do so. The sage Leopold, immediately after having confirmed the tranquillity of his own states, and restored that of Europe, signed this engagement at Poelnitz on the 27th of last month, conjointly with the worthy successor of the Great Frederick. They have given the original into our hands, and for the purpose of forwarding it to you, we cause it to be printed at the end of this letter, publication being at present the only means of communication of which your cruel oppressors have not been able to deprive us.

The other courts have the same dispositions with those of Vienna and Berlin. The princes and states of the empire have already protested, in authentic acts, against the injuries done to their rights, which they have resolved to support with vigour. You cannot doubt, sire, the lively interest which the Bourbon kings take in your situation. Their Catholic and Sicilian majesties have given unequivocal testimonies of it. The generous sentiments of the King of Sardinia, our father-in-law, cannot be uncertain. You may rely also upon those of the Swiss, the good and ancient friends of France. Even in the bosom of the north, a magnanimous king is ready to contribute to the re-establishment of your authority; and the immortal Catherine, to whom glory of no sort is a stranger, will not miss that of defending the cause of all sovereigns.

It is not to be feared that the British nation, too generous to oppose

pose that which is just, and too enlightened not to desire that which interests its own tranquillity, will be inimical to the views of this noble and irresistible confederation.

Thus, in your misfortunes, sire, you have the consolation to see all the powers conspire to end them, and your firmness in the present critical moment will have the support of all Europe.

Those who know that they can only shake your resolution by touching your sensibility, will, no doubt, represent the aid of foreign powers as destructive to your subjects; that which is only meant in an auxiliary view, they will invest with purposes of hostility, and describe your kingdom to you as overflowed with blood, distracted in all quarters, and menaced with dismemberment. It is thus that, after having always employed the most false alarms to cause real evils, they will use the same means to perpetuate them. It is thus that they hope to continue the wounds of their odious tyranny, by making it be believed, that whatever opposes it would lead to a harder state of slavery.

But, sire, the intentions of the powers who will give you their assistance are as direct and as pure as the zeal which has induced us to solicit it; they have nothing dreadful either for the state or for your people. It is not to attack them, it is to render them the most signal of all services, that they would snatch them from the despotism of demagogues and the calamities of anarchy. You are willing to confirm more than ever the liberty of your subjects, when the seditious have seized upon your's:

what we may do to restore it to you, with the measure of authority which lawfully belongs to you, cannot be suspected of any oppressive wish. On the contrary, to repress licentiousness is to revenge liberty; to re-establish the public force, without which no nation can be free, is to free the nation.

These principles, sire, are your's: the same spirit of moderation and benevolence which characterises your actions will be always the rule of our conduct; it is the soul of all our measures at foreign courts; and as the depositaries of those positive testimonies of views equally generous and equitable, we can guaranty, that they have no other desire than that of putting you in possession of the government of your states, that your people may enjoy in peace the blessings which you have destined them.

If rebels oppose to this desire a conceited and blind resistance, which may force foreign armies to enter your kingdom, they only will have brought them there; to them alone let the guilty blood be imputed, which it may be necessary to shed; the war will be their work: the end of the confederated powers is only to support the sound part of the nation against the delirious, and to extinguish in the bosom of the kingdom that volcano of fanaticism, the propagated eruptions of which menace all empires.

Besides, sire, there is no reason to believe that the French, whatever pains may be taken to inflame their natural bravery, by exalting and electrifying their heads with notions of patriotism and liberty, will long sacrifice their repose, their

their effects, and their blood, to support the extravagant innovation which has only made them unhappy. Intoxication has but a time; the success of a crime has its bounds, and men are soon weary of excess, when they are themselves the victims of it. Presently they will enquire, Why they should fight? and they will find, that it is to serve the ambition of a factious troop whom they despise, against a king who has always shewn himself just and humane: Why they should be ruined? and they will find, that it is to gratify the avarice of those who possessed themselves of all the riches of the state, making the most detestable use of them, and being charged to restore the public finances, have precipitated them into the most dreadful abyss: Why they should violate the most sacred duties? and they will perceive, that it is to become poorer, more wretched, more harassed, more taxed than they have ever been: Why they should overturn the ancient government? and they will perceive, that it is in the vain hope of introducing a system, which, if it was practicable, would be a thousand times more pregnant with abuse, but of which the execution is absolutely impossible: Why they should persecute the ministers of God? and they will perceive, that it is to favour the designs of a proud sect, which has resolved to destroy all religion, and consequently to give a loose to all crimes.

Even already all these truths are become perceptible; already the veil of imposture is torn in all parts, and the murmurs against an assembly which has usurped all powers, and abolished all rights,

are heard from one extremity of the kingdom to the other.

Judge not, sire, of the disposition of the greater number by the movements of the turbulent; judge not of the public sentiment from the inaction of its fidelity and its apparent indifference, when you were stopped at Varennes, and a troop of *satellites* reconducted you to Paris. Surprise froze all minds, and produced a deadly silence.—What they conceal from you, what sufficiently denotes the change, which is daily increasing, of the public opinion, are the marks of discontent which appear in all the provinces, and which wait only for support to break out more clearly; it is the demand which many departments have made, that the Assembly should give an account of the enormous sums wasted during their administration: it is the terror which the chiefs discover, and their reiterated attempts to enter into an accommodation; it is the distress of commerce, and the recent explosion of despair in our colonies; the absolute penury of specie; the refusal of the taxable to pay taxes; the expectation of an approaching bankruptcy; the defection of the troops, who, the victims of all sorts of seductions, begin to resent them; and the increasing progress of emigration.—It is impossible to misinterpret such signals; and their notoriety is so great, that the audacity even of the seducers of the people cannot contest their truth.

Give no credit, sire, to the exaggerations of danger by which they endeavour to alarm you. They know that, regarding but little the dangers which threaten only your own person, you are tremblingly
alive

alive to those that might fall on your people, or strike the objects dear to your heart: for these objects it is that they have the barbarity to keep you constantly in fear, while they have the effrontery to boast of your liberty. But they have abused this artifice too long, and the moment is now come for turning against the factious spirits who insult you, the weapon of terror, which has hitherto constituted all their force.

Great crimes are not to be apprehended when no interest can be promoted by committing them; and when, if committed, there is no means of avoiding a terrible punishment. All Paris knows, all Paris ought to know, that if a fanatical or suborned wickedness should dare to attempt your life, or that of the queen, powerful armies, chasing before them a militia feeble from want of discipline, and discouraged by remorse, would instantly fall on the impious city, which had drawn down on itself the vengeance of heaven, and the indignation of the universe. None of the guilty could then escape from the most rigorous punishments—None of them will expose themselves to such punishments.

But if the blindest fury should arm a parricidal hand, you would see, sire, be assured of it, millions of faithful citizens throw themselves round the royal family, cover you, if necessary, with their bodies, and shed the last drop of their blood to preserve yours. Ah! why will you hesitate to confide in the affection of a people whose happiness you have not ceased for a moment to desire?

Frenchmen easily suffer themselves to be misled; but with equal

facility they return to the path of duty. Their manners are naturally too gentle for their actions to be long ferocious; and their love for their king is too deeply rooted in their hearts for a fatal illusion to eradicate it entirely.

Who can be more powerfully induced than we to entertain alarms for the situation of a brother, tenderly beloved? but by the accounts even of your most daring oppressors, the refusal of the Constitutional Resumption, which we understand to have been presented to you by the Assembly on the 3d of this month, will not expose you to the danger of being deprived of the royalty.

But of this there is no danger. Of what consequence is it that you cease to be king in the eyes of the factious, when you will be so more solidly and more gloriously than ever in the eyes of all Europe, and in the hearts of all your faithful subjects? Of what consequence is it, that by a foolish enterprise they presume to declare you deprived of the throne of your ancestors, whilst the combined forces of all the powers are prepared to support you on it, and punish those evil usurpers who have sullied its lustre?

The danger would be much greater, if, in appearing to consent to the dissolution of the monarchy, you should appear to diminish your personal right to the assistance of all monarchs, and if you seemed to withdraw yourself from the cause of sovereigns, by consecrating a doctrine which they are obliged to proscribe. The danger would augment in proportion as you should show want of confidence in the means of protecting you; it would augment in proportion as the impression of that angust

gust character, which makes guilt shudder at the feet of royal majesty when worthily supported, would lose its force; it would augment, as the appearance of abandoning the interests of religion might excite the most dreadful ferment.— In fine, it would augment, if contenting yourself with the empty title of a king without power, you should appear in the opinion of the universe to abdicate the crown, the preservation of which every one knows is indispensably connected with those unalienable rights which are essentially inherent in it.

The most sacred of duties, sire, as well as the most ardent attachment, induce us to lay before your eyes all the dangerous consequences of the smallest appearance of weakness, at the same time that we present that mass of overbearing force, which ought to be the safeguard of your firmness.

We ought still to announce to you, and we even swear at your feet, that if motives which it is impossible for us to perceive, but which can originate only from the excess of that violence and constraint which is only more cruel by being disguised, should compel your hand to subscribe an acceptance which your heart rejects, which your own interest and that of your people condemn, and which your duty as king expressly prohibits; we will protest in the face of the whole world, and in the most solemn manner, against this illusive act, and all that may follow from it; we will show that it is null of itself, null by defect of liberty, null from the radical vice of all the operations of the usurping assembly, which, not being an assembly of the states-general, is no-

thing. We are supported by the rights of the whole nation in rejecting decrees diametrically opposite to their wishes, expressed by the unanimous tenor of instructions to their representatives; and we disavow, on behalf of the nation, those treacherous mandatories, who, in violating their orders, and departing from the mission entrusted to them, have ceased to be its representatives. We will maintain what is evident, that having acted contrary to their title, they have acted without power, and what they could not legally do cannot be validly accepted.

Our protest, signed in conjunction with us by all the princes of your blood who are connected with us, should be common to all the house of Bourbon, whose eventual claims to the throne impose on them the duty of defending the august deposit. We will protest for you, sire, in protesting for your people, for religion, for the fundamental maxims of monarchy, and for all the orders of the state.

We will protest for you, and in your name, against what can only bear its false impression. Your voice being stifled by oppression, we shall be its necessary organs, and we express your real sentiments, as they exist in the oath of your accession to the throne, as they have appeared in the actions of your whole life, as they have been displayed in the declaration which you made at the first moment that you believed yourself free. You neither can nor ought to have any other, and your will exists only in those, or where it breathes freely.

We will protest for your people, who in their delirium cannot perceive

ceive how destructive this phantom of a new constitution, which is made to dazzle their eyes, and before which they are vainly made to swear, must be unto them. When these people, neither knowing their lawful chief, nor their dearest interests, suffer themselves to be misguided to their destruction; when, blinded by deceitful promises, they see not those who excite them to destroy the pledges of their own security, the supporters of their repose, the principles of their subsistence, and all the ties of their civil association; it becomes necessary to claim for them the re-establishment of all these, it becomes necessary to save them from their own frenzy.

We will protest for the religion of our fathers, which is attacked in its dogmas and worship as well as its ministers; and in order to supply your want of power at present to discharge in your own person your duties as eldest son of the church, we will assume in your name the defence of its rights; we will oppose those invasions of its property which tend to degrade it; we will rise with indignation against acts which menace the kingdom with the horrors of schism; and we loudly profess our unalterable attachment to the ecclesiastical rules admitted in the state, whose observance you have sworn to maintain.

We will protest for the fundamental maxims of the monarchy, from which sire you are not permitted to depart; which the nation itself has declared inviolable; and which would be totally reversed by the decrees presented to you; especially by those which, in excluding the king from all exer-

cise of the legislative power, abolish royalty itself; by those which destroy all its supports, by suppressing all the intermediate ranks; by those which, in levelling all states, annihilate even the principle of obedience; by those which deprive monarchy of the functions most essential to the monarchical government, or which render it subordinate on those which remain; by those, in fine, which have armed the people, which have annulled the public force, and which, in confounding all powers, have introduced into France popular tyranny.

We will protest for all the orders of the state, because, independently of the intolerable and impossible suppression pronounced against the two first orders, all have been injured, harassed, despoiled; and we have all at once to reclaim the rights of the clergy, who have displayed a firm and generous resistance only to the interests of heaven, and the functions of the holy ministry; the rights of the noblesse, who, more sensible of the outrages committed on the throne, of which they are the support, than of the persecution which they experience, sacrifice every thing to display, by an illustrious zeal, that no object can prevent a French gentleman from remaining faithful to his king, his country, his honour; the rights of the magistracy, who regret much more than the privation of their state, to see themselves reduced to lament in silence the absence of justice, the impunity of crimes, and the violation of laws, of which they are essentially depositaries; in fine, the rights of all possessors, since in France there is no property which has been re-
spected

spected, no honest citizens who have not suffered.

How can you, sire, give a sincere and valid approbation to the pretended constitution which has produced so many evils? Depositary and possessor for life of the throne, which you have inherited from your ancestors, you can neither alienate its primordial rights, nor destroy the constitutive basis on which it is founded.

Born defender of the religion of your states, you can neither consent to what tends to its ruin, nor abandon its ministers to disgrace.

Owing to your subjects the discharge of justice, you cannot renounce the function, essentially royal, to cause it to be conducted by tribunals legally constituted, and yourself to superintend the administration.

Protector of the rights of all the orders, and of the possessions of all individuals, you cannot allow them to be violated and annihilated by the most arbitrary oppressions.

In fine, father of your people, you cannot abandon them to disorder and anarchy.

If the guilt which encompasses you, and the violence which binds your hands, do not permit you to fulfil these sacred duties, they are not less impressed on your heart in characters that cannot be effaced; and we will accomplish your real will, in supplying, as much as possible, the impossibility in which you now are of exercising it. Should you even prohibit us, and should you even be compelled to call yourself free in prohibiting us, these prohibitions, evidently contrary to your sentiments, as they would be to the first of your duties; these prohibitions issued from the bosom of your captivity,

which will not, in reality, cease till your people have returned to their duty, and your troops to their obedience; these prohibitions, which can have no more value than all that you have done before your departure, and which afterwards you disavowed; these prohibitions, in fine, which would partake of the same nullity with the act of approbation against which we shall be obliged to protest, cannot certainly induce us to betray our duty, to sacrifice your interests, and prove wanting in what France has a right to expect from us in such circumstances. We shall obey, sire, your real commands, in resisting extorted prohibitions, and we shall be secure of your approbation in following the laws of honour. Our perfect submission is too well known to you ever to appear doubtful. May we soon arrive at that happy moment, when, re-established in full liberty, you shall see us fly into your arms, there to renew the homage of our obedience, and set the example to all your subjects.

We are,

Sire, your brother and lord,

Your majesty's

Most humble and most obedient
brothers,

Servants and subjects,

LOUIS STANISLAS XAVIER,
CHARLES PHILLIPPE.

*At the Castle of Schonburnolust,
near Coblenz, Sept. 10, 1791.*

*Letter to Louis XVI. from the other
branches of his family accompanying the above.*

Sire,

YOUR august brothers having
been pleased to communicate to us
the

the letter addressed to your majesty, permit us personally to add, that we adhere to its contents with all our heart and soul; that we are impressed with the same sentiments, animated with the same views, unshaken in the same resolutions. The zeal of which they afford us the example, is inseparable from the blood which flows in our veins, from that blood always ready to be shed in the service of the state. Frenchmen and Bourbons, even to the bottom of our hearts, what ought to be our indignation, when we see a vile faction return your benefits only by crimes—insult the royal majesty—treat all sovereignty with contempt—trample under foot laws human and divine—and pretend to establish their monstrous system on the ruins of our ancient constitution.

All our steps, sire, are guided by the princes, whose wisdom equals their valour and sensibility. In following their steps, we are secure of firmly marching in the track of honour; and it is under their auspices that we renew in your hands, as princes of your blood, and French gentlemen, the oath to die faithful to your service. We will all perish rather than suffer the triumph of guilt, the degradation of the throne, and the overthrow of the monarchy.

We are,

With the most profound respect,
Sire,

Your majesty's
Most humble, most obedient, and
most faithful servants and subjects,
LOUIS JOSEPH DE BOURBON,
LOUIS-HENRI-JOSEPH DE
BOURBON,
LOUIS-ANTOINE-HENRI DE
BOURBON.

At Worms, the 11th of September.

Convention between his Majesty the Emperor and his Prussian Majesty.
(Said to be in the hands of the Prince.)

HIS majesty the emperor, and his majesty the king of Prussia, having heard the wishes and representations of monsieur (the French king's brother,) and the count d'Artois, do jointly declare, that they look upon the actual situation of his majesty the king of France as an object of common concern to all the sovereigns of Europe. They hope that this concern will, doubtless, be acknowledged by all the powers, from whom assistance is required; and that, in consequence, they will not refuse employing, in conjunction with their said majesties, the most efficacious means relative to their forces, in order to enable the king of France to consolidate, in the most perfect liberty, the basis of a monarchical government, suitable both to the rights of sovereigns, and the welfare of the French nation. Then, and in this case, their said majesties, the emperor and the king of Prussia, are determined to act speedily, with mutual concord, and with necessary forces, to obtain the proposed end in common.

Meanwhile they will give to their troops necessary orders that they may be ready for putting themselves in a state of activity.

Pilnitz, Aug. 21, 1791.

Letter from the King of the French to the National Assembly, announcing his resolution to accept the Constitution, Sept. 18, 1791.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE attentively examined the constitutional act, which you have offered for my acceptance.
I accept

I accept it, and will cause it to be executed. This declaration might be sufficient at another time; at present I owe it to the interest of the nation, I owe it to myself, to make known my motives.

From the commencement of my reign I have desired the reform of abuses; and in all acts of government have loved to take public opinion for a rule. Various causes, in the number of which should be placed the situation of the finances at my accession to the throne, and the immense expense of an honourable war, supported for a long time without increase of taxes, had established a considerable disproportion between the revenues and the expences of the state.

Struck with the magnitude of this evil, I did not only seek for means to apply a remedy to it; I also perceived the necessity of preventing its return. I formed a plan for insuring the happiness of the people upon a permanent basis, and for subjecting to invariable rules even the sovereign authority, of which I am the depositary. I called the nation around me to execute it.

During the events of the revolution, my intentions never varied. When, after having reformed the ancient institutions, you began to substitute the first essays of your labour, I did not wait to give my consent to them till the entire constitution should be made known to me; I favoured the establishment of its parts, even before it was possible to judge of the whole; and if the disorders which have accompanied almost all the periods of the revolution, too often occurred to afflict my heart, I hoped that the law would recover its force

under the hands of the new authorities; and that, as the period of your labours approached, every day would confer upon it that respect, without which the people can have neither liberty nor happiness.

I persisted long in this hope, and my resolution did not change till the moment when that abandoned me. Every one recollects the moment when I separated myself from Paris; the constitution was nearly finished, and notwithstanding, the authority of the laws seemed to weaken every day; opinion, far from becoming settled, subdivided itself into a number of parts. The most violent councils seemed alone to obtain favour; the licentiousness of the press was at its greatest height; no power was respected.

I could no longer recognize the character of the general will in the laws, which I saw were without force and without execution. I am free to say, that if you had then presented the constitution to me, I should not have believed that the interest of the people, the constant and only rule of my conduct, permitted me to accept it. I had but one sentiment; I formed but one plan; I wished to get at a distance from all parties, and to know what was the real wish of the nation.

The motives which would then have directed me do not now exist; since that time, the inconveniences and evils of which I complain, have appeared to you as well as to me; you have discovered a wish for the re-establishment of order; you have directed your attention to the want of discipline in the army; you have acknowledged the necessity of restraining the abuses

abuses of the press. A revision of your labours has placed in the number of regulatory laws several articles which have been presented to me as constitutional. You have established legal forms for the revision of those, which you have placed in the constitution. In short, the sentiments of the people no longer appear doubtful to me: I have seen them manifest themselves, at once by their adherence to your work, and by their attachment to the maintenance of a monarchical government.

I accept, then, the constitution; I accept the engagement to maintain it within the kingdom, to defend it against all attacks from without, and to cause it to be executed by all the means which it puts in my power.

I declare, that, being informed of the attachment of the great majority of the people to the constitution, I renounce the concurrence which I claimed in this work; and that being responsible only to the nation, no other, after my renunciation, has a right to complain.

I should, notwithstanding, fail in my attention to truth, if I said, that I perceived in the means of execution and of administration all the energy which will be necessary to give motion and preserve the unity of all parts of so vast an empire; but, since opinions are now divided upon these subjects, I consent that experience alone shall remain the judge. When I have put into action, with fidelity, all the means which have been entrusted to me, no reproach can be directed to me; and the nation, whose interest alone should be the rule, will explain itself by the

means which the constitution has reserved to it.

But, gentlemen, for the confirmation of liberty, for the stability of the constitution, for the individual happiness of all the French, there are interests upon which an imperious duty prescribes to us the re-union of all our efforts; these interests are, respect to the laws, the establishment of order, and the re-union of all the citizens.— Now that the constitution is definitively decreed, Frenchmen living under the same laws should know no enemies but those who break them.— Discord and anarchy— these are our common enemies.

I will combat them with all my power: it is necessary that you and your successors should assist me with energy, in order that, without desiring dominion over the mind, the law may equally protect all those who submit to it in their actions; that those whom the fear of persecutions and troubles has driven from their country, may be certain, upon returning to it, of finding security and tranquillity. In order to extinguish hatreds, and to soften the evils which a great revolution brings with it; that the law may from henceforward begin to receive its full execution, let us consent to forget what is past, that the accusations and prosecutions, which have originated only in the events of the revolution, may be abolished in a general reconciliation. I speak not of those who have been influenced only by their attachment to me;—can you think them culpable? As to those, who by excesses, in which I can perceive personal injuries, have drawn upon themselves:

selves the prosecution of the law, I shall prove, with respect to them, that I am the king of all the French.

(Signed) Louis.

Sept. 13, 1791.

P. S. I have thought, gentlemen, that it was in the place where the constitution has been formed, that I ought to pronounce the solemn acceptance of it. I shall, in consequence, repair to-morrow, at mid-day, to the national assembly.

Letter of Instructions from M. Montmorin Minister of France, for Foreign Affairs, sent by order of the King to all his Ministers at Foreign Courts, April 23, 1791.

Sir,

THE king has charged me to inform you of his earnest desire that you make known his sentiments respecting the revolution, and the French constitution, to the court at which you reside. The same orders are transmitted to the ambassadors and ministers of France at all the courts of Europe, to the end that no doubt may remain with regard to his majesty's intentions, his free acceptance of the new form of government, or his irrevocable oath to maintain it. His majesty convoked the states-general of his kingdom, and resolved in his council, that the commons should, in that assembly, have a number of deputies equal to those of the two other orders there existing. This act of provisional legislation, which the circumstances of the times did not allow to be more favourable, sufficiently an-

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nounced his majesty's wish to restore to the nation all its rights.

The states-general met, and took the title of the national assembly; and in a short space of time, a constitution fit to secure the happiness of France, and of the monarch, took place of the ancient order of things, under which the apparent power of the kingdom only served to conceal the real power of the abuses of certain aristocratic bodies.

The national assembly, the form of a representative government, conjoined with an hereditary monarchy, the legislative body, was declared to be permanent; the choice of the ministers of public worship, of magistrates, and judges was given to the people; the executive power was conferred on the king, the formation of laws on the legislative body, and the power of sanction on the monarch; the public force, both internal and external, was organized on the principles, and in conformity to the fundamental distinction of powers: such is the new constitution of the kingdom.

That which is called a revolution, is no more than the abrogation of numerous abuses, that have been accumulating for ages, through the errors of the people, or the power of the ministers, which was never the power of the king. Those abuses were no less prejudicial to the monarch than to the nation. Those abuses, authority, under happy reigns, had never ceased to attack, but without the power to destroy. They exist no longer. The nation, now the sovereign, has no citizens, but such as are equal in rights; no despot but the law; no ministers but public ministers, and of those mi-

O

nisters

nisters the king is the chief. Such is the French revolution.

This revolution must naturally have for its enemies all those who, in the first moment of error, regret, on account of their private interest, the abuses of the ancient government. Hence the apparent division in the kingdom, which is daily becoming less; hence perhaps some severe laws and circumstances which time will correct: but the king, whose true power can never be distinct from that of the nation, who has no aim but the happiness of the people, and no authority but that which is delegated to him; the king has adopted, without hesitation, a happy constitution, which will at once regenerate his authority, the nation, and the monarchy. All his powers are preserved to him, except the dreadful power of making laws. He remains charged with the power of negotiating with foreign powers, with the care of defending the kingdom, and repelling its enemies; but the French nation will in future have no external enemies but its aggressors, no internal enemies but those who, still flattering themselves with vain hopes, believe that the will of twenty-four millions of men, restored to their natural rights, after having organized the kingdom in such a manner as to leave only the memory of ancient forms and abuses, is not an immoveable and irrevocable constitution.

The most dangerous of those enemies are they who affect to disseminate doubts of the intentions of the monarch. They are much to blame, or much deceived. They suppose themselves the only friends of the king, and they are the only

enemies of royalty. They would have deprived the king of the love and the confidence of a great nation, if his principles and his probity had been less known. What has the king not done to shew that he considered both the revolution and the French constitution as his titles to glory? After having accepted and sanctioned all the laws, he has neglected no means of causing them to be executed. Since the month of February, of the year preceding, he has promised in the midst of the national assembly to maintain them. He has taken an oath to do so in the midst of the general federation of the kingdom. Dignified by the title of the Restorer of French liberty, he will transmit to his son more than a crown—he will transmit a constitutional royalty.

The enemies of the constitution are constantly repeating that the king is not happy; as if it were possible for a king to enjoy any happiness but the happiness of his people. They say that his authority is lessened, as if authority founded on force were not less powerful, and more precarious, than authority founded on law. They say that the king is not free—a calumny atrocious if they suppose that his will must be constrained: absurd, if they take for a want of freedom the consent repeatedly expressed by his majesty to remain among the citizens of Paris; a consent that was due to their patriotism, even to their fears, but above all to their love.

Those calumnies, however, have reached foreign courts; they have been repeated there by Frenchmen who are voluntary exiles from their country, instead of sharing its glory, and

who, if they were not enemies, have deserted their station as citizens. The king, sir, charges you to defeat their intrigues and their effects. The same calumnies, which they spread the falsest ideas respecting the French revolution, have rendered the intentions of each traveller suspected by several nations: and the king expressly orders you to protect and defend them. Represent the French constitution in the same light as that which the king views it: and be no doubt of his intention to maintain it to the utmost of his power. By securing the liberty and equality of the citizens, that constitution founds the national prosperity on the most immovable basis; confirms the royal authority by law; it prevents, by a glorious revolution, the revolution which the abuses of the old government would probably soon have effected by a dissolution of the empire; and finally, it will constitute the happiness of the king. To obey it, to defend it, and to conduct it as the rule of your conduct, will be your first and most important duty.

I have frequently before communicated to you his majesty's sentiments on this head; but, after the information he has received of the manner in which you have endeavoured to be established before foreign courts respecting what was going on in France, he has ordered me to make known the contents of this letter to the court at which you reside; and that it may be still more public his majesty has ordered it to be printed.

MONTMORIN.

April 23, 1791.

The King's Speech to the National Assembly on accepting the Constitution, Sept. 14.

Gentlemen,

I COME to consecrate, in this place, solemnly, the acceptance which I have given to the constitutional act: in consequence of which I swear to be faithful to the nation and the law; and to employ all the power that is delegated to me, to maintain the constitution decreed by the constituting national assembly. May this great and memorable epoch be that of the re-establishment of peace and union, and become the surety of the happiness of the people, and the prosperity of the empire.

The President's Answer.

ABUSES of long standing which had triumphed over the good intentions of the best of Kings, and had incessantly braved the authority of the throne, oppressed France. Depositary of the wishes, rights, and power of the people, the national assembly has established, by the destruction of all abuses, the solid basis of public prosperity. Sire, what this assembly has decreed, the national concurrence has ratified. The most complete execution of its decrees, in all parts of the empire, attests the general sentiment. It deranges the weak plans of those whom discontent has too long kept blind to their own interests. It promises to your majesty, that your wishes for the welfare of the French will no longer be vain.

The national assembly has nothing more to desire, on this ever-memorable day, in which you complete, in its bosom, by the most solemn

solemn engagement, the acceptance of constitutional royalty. It is the attachment of the French, it is their confidence, which confers upon you that pure and respectable title to the most desirable crown in the universe; and what secures it to you, sire, is the unperishable authority of a constitution freely decreed. It is the invincible force of a people who feel themselves worthy of liberty. It is the necessity which so great a nation will ever have for an hereditary monarchy.

When your majesty, waiting from experience the lights which are about to be spread by the practical result of the constitution, promises to maintain it at home, and to defend it from external attack, the nation, trusting to the justness of its rights, and to the consciousness of its force and courage, as well as to the loyalty of your co-operation, can entertain no apprehension of alarms from without, and is about to contribute, by its tranquil confidence, to the speedy success of its internal government.

What ought to be great in your eyes, sire, dear to our hearts, and what will appear with lustre in our history, is, the epoch of this regeneration; which gives to France, citizens—to the French, a country—to you, as king, a new title of grandeur and of glory—and to you again, as a man, a new source of enjoyment, and new sensations of happiness.

Proclamation of the King of the French, Sept. 28.

LOUIS,

By the Grace of God, and by the Constitutional Law of the State,

King of the French. To all citizens—Greeting:

I HAVE accepted the constitution—I will use all my endeavours to maintain it, and cause it to be executed.

The revolution is completed—It is time that the re-establishment of order should give to the constitution the support which is still most necessary; it is time to fix the opinion of Europe on the destiny of France, and to shew that the French are worthy to be free.

But my vigilance and my cares ought still to be seconded by the concurrence of all the friends of their country and of liberty: it is by submission to the laws; it is by abjuring the spirit of party, and all the passions which accompany it; it is by a happy union of sentiment, of wishes, and of endeavours, that the constitution will be confirmed, and that the nation will enjoy all the advantages which it secures.

Let every idea of intolerance then be abandoned for ever; let the rash desire of independence no longer be confounded with the love of liberty; let those pernicious qualifications, with which it has been attempted to inflame the people, be irrevocably banished; let religious opinions no longer be a source of persecution and animosity; let all who observe the laws be at liberty to adopt that form of worship to which they are attached; and let no party give offence to those who may follow opinions different from their own from motives of conscience. But it is not sufficient to shun those excesses to which you might be carried by a spirit of violence; you must likewise fulfil the obligations which are imposed by the

public interest. One of the one of the most essential, is payment of the contributions promised by your representatives for the observance of engagements, which national honour has rendered sacred; for the internal tranquillity of the state; for its external security; it is for the stability of the constitution itself that I and you of this indispensable

citizens armed for the maintenance of the law, National guards, forget that it is to protect the safety of persons and of property, the collection of public contributions, the circulation of grain of provisions, that the arms in your hands have been delivered to you; it belongs to you to feel that justice and mutual demand, that, between the citizens of the same empire, the same discipline should be applied to the same discipline; and that it is the duty of the public force to promote the advancement of commerce, as a means of remedying the intemperance of seasons, correcting the inequality of harvest, uniting together all the parts of the kingdom, establishing a community of the productions of their soil and industry.

And you, whom the people have chosen to watch over their interests; you also, on whom they have conferred the formidable power of determining on the prosperity, the honour, and the life of the nation; you too whom they have trusted to adjust their differences, members of the different administrative bodies, judges of tribunals, judges of peace, I recommend you to be impressed with the importance and dignity of your

functions; fulfil them with zeal, with courage, with impartiality; labour with me to restore peace and the government of laws; and by thus securing the happiness of the nation, prepare for the return of those whose absence has only proceeded from the fear of disorder and violence.

And all you who from different motives have quitted your country, your king invites you to return to your fellow-citizens; he invites you to yield to the public wish and the national interest. Return with confidence under the security of law; and this honourable return, at the moment when the constitution is definitively settled, will render more easy and more expeditious, the re-establishment of order and of tranquillity.

And you French people, a nation so illustrious for so many ages, shew yourselves magnanimous and generous, at the moment when your liberty is confirmed; resume your happy character; let your moderation and wisdom revive among you the security which the disturbances of the revolution had banished; and let your king henceforth enjoy, without inquietude and without molestation, those testimonies of attachment and fidelity which can alone secure his happiness.

Done at Paris, the 28th Sept. 1791.
(Signed) *LOUIS,*
(and underneath) *DE LESSART.*

The King's Speech to the National Assembly, the last Day of their Meeting, September 30.

Gentlemen,
YOU have terminated your labours: the constitution is finished.
I have

I have promised to maintain it, to cause it to be executed: it is proclaimed by my orders. This constitution, from which France expects prosperity, this fruit of your cares and watchings will be your recompence. France, made happy by your labours, will communicate her happiness to you.

Return to your homes, and tell your fellow-citizens, that the happiness of the French ever has been, and ever will be, the object of my wishes; that I neither have, nor can have, any interest but the general interest; that my prosperity consists only in the public prosperity; that I shall exert all the powers entrusted to me to give efficacy to the new system; that I shall communicate it to foreign courts; and shall, in every thing, prove that I can be happy only in the happiness of the people of France.

Tell them also, that the revolution has reached its period, and that the firmest support of the constitution is now the re-establishment of order. You, gentlemen, in your several departments, will undoubtedly second my vigilance and care with all your power; you will give the first example of submission to the laws you have framed; in the capacity of private citizens you will display the same character as in the capacity of public men; and the people, seeing their legislators exercise, in private life, those virtues which they have proclaimed in the national assembly, will imitate them, discharge with pleasure the obligations which the public interest imposes on them, and cheerfully pay the taxes decreed by their representatives. It is by this happy union of sentiments, of wishes, and exertions,

that the constitution will be confirmed, and that the nation will enjoy all the advantages which it guarantees.

The President's Answer.

Sire,

THE adherence of the nation ratifies the constitution decreed by the assembly of the representatives of the nation. Your majesty has accepted it, and the public joy is a sufficient testimony of the general assent. It promises that your majesty will no longer desire in vain the happiness of the French. On this memorable day the national assembly has nothing more to wish, and the nation, by its tranquil confidence, is ready to co-operate for the prompt success of its internal government.

Speech of the King of the French to the New National Assembly, October 7.

Gentlemen,

ASSEMBLED by virtue of the constitution to exercise the powers which it delegates to you, you will undoubtedly consider as among your first duties, to facilitate the operations of government; to confirm public credit; to add, if possible, to the security of the engagements of the nation; to show that liberty and peace are compatible; and, finally to attach the people to their new laws, by convincing them that those laws are for their good.

Your experience of the effects of the new order of things, in the several departments from which you come, will enable you to judge of what may be yet wanting to bring it to perfection, and make it easy

easy for you to devise the most proper means of giving the necessary force and activity to the administration.

For my own part, called by the constitution to examine, as first representative of the people, and for their interest, the laws presented for my sanction, and charged with causing them to be executed, it is also my duty to propose to you such objects as I think ought to be taken into consideration in the course of your session.

You will see the propriety of fixing your immediate attention on the state of the finances, and you will feel the importance of establishing an equilibrium between the receipt and the expenditure, of accelerating the assessment and the collection of taxes, of introducing an invariable order into all parts of this vast administration, and thus providing at once for the support of the state, and the relief of the people.

The civil laws will also demand your care, which you will have to render conformable to the principles of the constitution. You will also have to simplify the mode of proceeding in the courts of law, and render the attainment of justice more easy and more prompt.

You will perceive the necessity of establishing a system of national education, and of giving a solid basis to public spirit. You will encourage commerce and industry, the progress of which has so great an influence on the agriculture and the wealth of the kingdom; and you will endeavour to make permanent dispositions for affording work and relief to the indigent.

I shall make known my firm desire for the re-establishment of or-

der and discipline in the army; and I shall neglect no means that may contribute to restore confidence among all who compose it and to put it into a condition to secure the defence of the realm. If the laws in this respect are insufficient, I shall make known to you the measures that seem to me to be proper, and you will decide upon them.

I shall in the same manner communicate my sentiments respecting the navy, that important part of the public force, destined to protect trade and the colonies.

We shall not, I hope, be troubled with any attack from abroad. I have taken, from the moment that I accepted the constitution, and I still continue to take, the steps that appear to me the most proper to fix the opinion of foreign powers in our favour, and to maintain with them the good intelligence and harmony that ought to secure to us the continuance of peace. I expect the best effects from them. but this expectation does not prevent me from pursuing, with activity, those measures of precaution which prudence ought to dictate.

Gentlemen, in order that your important labours and your zeal may produce the effects expected from them, it is necessary that constant harmony and unalterable confidence should reign between the legislative body and the king. The enemies of our repose are but too studious to disunite us: the love of our country must therefore rally us, and the public interest render us inseparable. Thus the public force will be exerted without obstruction, the administration will not be harassed by vain alarms, the property and the religion of every man will be

be equally protected, and no pretext will be left for any person to live at a distance from a country where the laws are in vigour, and men's rights respected.

It is on this great basis of order that the stability of the constitution, the success of your labours, the safety of the empire, the source of all kinds of prosperity must depend. It is to this, gentlemen, that we all ought to turn our thoughts in this moment with the utmost possible vigour; and this is the object that I recommend the most particularly to your zeal and to your patriotism.

The President's Answer.

Sire,

YOUR presence in the midst of us is a new engagement which you take to the country. A constitution is established, and with it the liberty of Frenchmen. You are to cherish it as a citizen; as king you are to maintain and to defend it. Instead of violating, it ascertains your power; it has given you, as friends, all those who formerly called themselves only your subjects. You have reason to be beloved by Frenchmen. You said so, sire, some days ago, in this temple of the country, and we also have reason to love you. The constitution has made you the first monarch in the world. Your love for it places your majesty in the rank of the most favoured kings, and the welfare of the people will make you the most happy. May our mutual union make us speedily feel its happy influence, purify legislation, reconfirm public credit, overthrow anarchy. Such is our duty, such

are our wishes, such are yours sire. Such are our hopes, and the benediction of Frenchmen will be our reward.

Message from the National Assembly to the King, Nov. 29.

Sire,

SCARCE had the national assembly cast their eyes on the situation of the kingdom, when they perceived that the troubles which still agitate it have their source in the criminal preparations of the French emigrants.

Their audacity is supported by German princes, who misunderstand the treaties signed between them and France, and who affect to forget, that to the empire of France they are indebted for the treaty of Westphalia, which guarantees their rights and their safety.

Their hostile preparations, their menaces of invasion, call for armaments that absorb immense sums, which the nation would have joyfully paid to its creditors.

To you, sire, it belongs to put a stop to them: to hold to foreign powers the language that becomes the king of the French. Tell them that wherever preparations against France are permitted, France can see only enemies; that we will religiously observe the oath to make no conquests; that we offer them the good neighbourhood, the inviolable amity of a free and powerful people; that we will respect their laws, their customs, and their constitutions; but that we insist upon our own being respected. Tell them, that if the German princes continue to favour preparations directed against the French, we will carry

carry among them, not fire and sword, but liberty. It is for them to calculate what may be the consequences of the alarm of nations.

For two years that French patriots have been persecuted on the frontiers, and that rebels have there found succour, what ambassador has spoken in your name as he ought? Not one.

If the French who were driven from the country by the revocation of the edict of Nantes had assembled in arms on the frontiers, if they had been protected by the princes of Germany, sire, we appeal to you, what would have been the conduct of Louis the Fourteenth? Would he have suffered such assemblings?—Would he have permitted succours given by princes who, under the name of allies, act like enemies? What he would have done for his authority, let your majesty do for the safety of the empire, and the maintaining of the constitution.

Sire, your interest, your dignity, the insulted greatness of the nation, all dictate a language very different from that of your ambassadors. The nation expects from your energetic declarations to the circles of the Upper and the Lower Rhine, the electors of Treves and Mentz, and the bishop of Spire.

Let them be such as that the hordes of the emigrants may be instantly dispersed. Prescribe an early period beyond which no dilatory answer shall be received. Let your declaration be supported by movements of the forces entrusted to you, and let the nation know who are its friends and its enemies. In this splendid measure we shall recognize the defender of the constitution.

You will thus assure the tranquillity of the empire, inseparable from your own; and you will hasten those days of national prosperity, in which peace shall restore order, and the reign of the laws, in which your happiness shall be united with that of all the French.

ANSWER.

I WILL take the message of the national assembly into the most serious consideration. You know that I have omitted nothing to secure the public tranquillity at home, to maintain the constitution, and to make it respected abroad.

Speech of the King of the French to the National Assembly, Dec. 14.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE taken your message of the 29th of last month into deep consideration. In a case that involves the honour of the French people, and the safety of the empire, I thought it my duty to be myself the bearer of my answer. The nation cannot but applaud these communications between its elected and its hereditary representative.

You have invited me to take decisive measures to effect a cessation of those external assemblages which keep up a hateful disquiet and fermentation in the bosom of France, render necessary an oppressive augmentation of expense, and expose liberty to greater danger than an open and declared war. You desire me to cause declarations to be made to the neighbouring

bouring princes, who, contrary to the rules of good neighbourhood, and the principles of the law of nations, protect these assemblages, that the nation can no longer suffer this want of respect, and these sources of hostility. Finally, you have given me to understand, that one general sensation is felt by the nation, and that the cry of all the French is for war, in preference to a ruinous and degrading patience.

Gentlemen, I have long thought that our circumstances required great circumspection in our measures; that having scarcely yet weathered the agitations and storms of a revolution, and in the first essays of an infant constitution, no means ought to be neglected that could preserve France from the incalculable evils of war. These means I have always employed. On the one hand, I have done every thing to recal the French emigrants to the bosom of their country, and induce them to submit to the new laws which a great majority of the nation has adopted; on the other, I have employed amicable intimations; I have caused formal and precise requisitions to be made, to divert the neighbouring princes from giving them a support calculated to flatter their hopes, and encourage them in their rash designs.

The emperor has done all that was to be expected from a faithful ally, by forbidding and dispersing all assemblages within his states.

My measures at the courts of other princes have not been equally successful. Unaccommodating answers have been given to my requisitions.

These unjust refusals call for

resolutions of another kind. The nation has manifested its wishes. You have collected them, you have weighed the consequences, you have expressed them to me by your message. Gentlemen, you have not anticipated me. As the representative of the people, I felt the people's injuries; and I am now to inform you of the resolution I have taken to pursue demand.

I have caused a declaration to be made to the elector of Treves, that if, before the 15th of January, he do not put a stop, within his states, to all collecting of troops, and all hostile dispositions on the part of the French, who have taken refuge in them, I shall no longer consider him but as the enemy of France. I shall cause similar declarations to be made to all who favour assemblages contrary to the tranquillity of the kingdom; and by securing to foreigners all the protection which they ought to expect from our laws, I shall have a right to demand a speedy and complete reparation of all the injuries which Frenchmen may have received.

I have written to the emperor to engage him to continue his good offices, and, if necessary, to exert his authority as head of the empire, to avert the evils which the obstinacy of certain members of the Germanic body, if longer persisted in, cannot fail to occasion. Much may, undoubtedly be expected from his interposition, supported by the powerful influence of his example; but I am, at the same time, making the most proper military arrangements to render these declarations respected.

And if they shall not be attended to, then, gentlemen, it will only

only remain for me to propose war; war, which a people, who have solemnly renounced conquest, never make without necessity; but which a nation, happy and free, know how to undertake when their safety—when honour commands.

But in courageously abandoning ourselves to this resolution, let us hasten to employ the only means that can assure its success. Turn your attention, gentlemen, to the state of the finances; confirm the national credit; watch over the public fortune. Let your deliberations, ever governed by constitutional principles, take a grand, high-spirited, and authoritative course, the only one that befits the legislators of a great empire. Let the constituted powers respect themselves to be respected; let them give mutual and instead of mutual impediment; and finally, let it appear that they are distinct, but not enemies. It is time to shew to foreign nations that the French people, their representatives, and their king are but one.

It is to this union, and also, let us never forget it, to the respect we pay to the government of other states, that the safety, consequence and glory of the empire are attached.

For my part, gentlemen, it would be in vain to endeavour to surround with disgusts the exercise of the authority which is confided to me. In the face of all France I declare, that nothing shall weary my perseverance, or relax my efforts. It shall not be owing to me that the law does not become the protection of the citizen and the terror of the disturber (*shouts of vive le roi*). I shall faithfully pre-

serve the deposit of the constitution, and no consideration shall determine me to suffer it to be infringed (*applauded*). If men, who only wish for discord and trouble, take occasion, from this firmness, to calumniate my intentions, I will not stoop to repel by words the injurious suspicions they may choose to circulate. Those who watch the progress of government with an attentive, but unprejudiced eye, must see that I never depart from the constitutional line, and that I feel profoundly how glorious it is to be the king of a free people.

The President's Answer.

The assembly will take the propositions you have made into consideration, and communicate their determination by a message.

Address from the National Assembly to the King, Dec. 16.

Sire,

IN the language which your majesty held to them, the national assembly recognise the king of the French. They feel more than ever how truly valuable is harmony between the two branches of power and a frank communication, which is the desire, and will be the welfare of the empire.

Sire, the assembly will fix all their attention on the decisive measures which you announce, and if the order of events shall make these measures necessary, they promise to your majesty more true glory than was ever obtained by any of your ancestors.

They promise to Europe the new spectacle of a great people, outraged in its immutable love of liberty,

liberty, arming the hand in union with the heart.

Every where the French people will oppose themselves with vigour to their enemies, from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, from the Alps to the Ocean. All French shall be covered by the regards of a good king, and by soldiers intrepid and faithful.

Behold, sire, the family that deserve your heart these are your friends—these will never abandon you.

All the representatives of the French people—all true Frenchmen guarantee, on their heads, the defence of a constitution to which they have sworn, and of a beloved king whose throne they have established.

Protest of the Princes of the House of Bourbon against the King's Acceptance of the Constitution.

IT is in vain that an unfortunate Monarch, always captive, though free in appearance, has consented to the ruin of his faithful subjects—to the ruin of the monarchy—by accepting a pretended constitution of the empire: it is in vain that he has signed his own degradation; this sanction, which the king has given in fact to a monstrous code, is really no sanction in right. And who can be persuaded of the legality of such an assent, while every thing proclaims the contrary?

Can a prince left alone amidst usurpers, surrounded with the wrecks of his own throne, encompassed by fears and menaces, beset by intrigue, have freedom of choice? And without freedom of choice, is not every consent null?

Freedom consists in being able to chuse without danger, and without fear; it cannot exist without this condition, and consent is null; when refusal would hazard the safety and property of him who gives it. If the king had refused to accept the constitution, he would have been deprived of the crown; so had the usurping assembly decreed. And in rejecting with disdain a degraded crown, and presented by a seditious assembly, was the king master of the choice of his asylum? and would he not have exposed his person, and all that was still more dear to him, to outrage, and his faithful subjects to proscription, to murder, and to conflagration?

Without doubt, had Louis XVI. entertained the hope of dying at least with glory, if his blood could have saved France, the inheritor of the virtues of Henry IV. would have displayed his courage. Forced to obtain his inheritance by conquest, he would, like him, have been the victor and the father of his subjects; and, like him, would have compelled them to become happy. But what can courage do without support! Henry had an army, while Louis, alone, betrayed, abandoned, captive in the hands of his enemies, without troops, without auxiliaries, forced even to regret the happy obscurity of the meanest of his subjects, in the midst of an importunate crowd, who served rather to besiege than defend him, found not even one friend to share his sorrows and wipe away his tears.

The king then could form no other determination than that which he adopted, without hazarding the loss of his crown; and perhaps

haps of his life. His degradation, and even his death, would have been an useless sacrifice to honour; it would have cost France long and fruitless remorse, but could not have saved it.

The king then was not free, his sanction is therefore null; and in this case to disobey illusory orders is to give the strongest and most courageous proof of obedience and fidelity; it is to serve the real monarch, it is to serve God and our country.

Scarcely could this pretended assent be credited if the king had proclaimed it amidst his family, surrounded with his ancient and faithful servants, with all his military household; in fine, with all the splendor of his former power. Then the royal assent, though the occasion of so much ruin, would nevertheless have been recognised as just, at least reputed free; then we might have condemned the error of the prince, but should not have wept over his chains; then the fact would have been incontestible, we could only have disputed the right.

In fact, even if the king had enjoyed full possession of his liberty, would he have had the right to sanction laws contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom? Could he, from a mistaken generosity, and in the expectation of a deceitful calm, have sacrificed along with himself, his family, his successors, the true happiness of the people, generations present and to come? Could he give a valid approbation to the pretended constitution, which has occasioned so many misfortunes? Possessor for life of the throne, which he received from his ancestors, could the

king, in alienating his primordial rights, destroy the constitutive basis on which it is founded? Born defender of the religion of the state, could he consent to what tends to its ruin, and abandon its ministers to wretchedness and disgrace? Bound to administer justice to his subjects, could he renounce the function, essentially royal, of causing it to be administered by tribunals legally constituted, and of superintending himself the administration? Protector of the rights of all the orders, and of the possessions of individuals, could he sanction the invasion of the one, and the violation of the other? Father of his people, could he abandon them to disorder and anarchy? In fine, could he highly approve what reason and justice condemn, and eternize the misfortunes of France?

And what is this constitution, which they pretend to give us, but a monster destructive of laws human and divine; a work of offence and iniquity; null from the vice of the convocation of the members of the assembly styling themselves constituting; null from the combination of the deliberating body, a combination subversive of the first basis of the state, the distinction of orders; null from the principles which it establishes, since they overturn the throne and the altar, and tend to replunge men in barbarism by appearing to bring them back to nature; null from its consequences, dreadful consequences, of which experience already presents a too faithful catalogue in the disorder of the finances, in the scarcity of money, in the stagnation of commerce, in the want of discipline among the troops, in the

the inactivity of the tribunals, the silence of the laws, the tyranny of the factious, and the oppression of the rich; in one word, the triumph of licentiousness over true liberty?

It would be useless to accumulate reasoning: truth is too striking; and facts already speak so loudly, that the consequence cannot be denied, without a species of self-deception. The king then had no right to sanction such a constitution, of which his sanction, already null by the defect of freedom, is null likewise by the defect of right.

Ah! when, victorious over the Gauls, the first Franks, assembled in the Champ-de-Mars, raised Pharamond on the shield; when their warlike voices exclaimed—"Reign over us, and let your descendants reign over our children"—they were far from foreseeing, that at the end of fourteen ages a generation would come, whose madness would destroy the work of wisdom and of valour! When Philip the Fair, reviving the rights of the people, that had been disregarded under indolent monarchs, summoned to the states-general the deputies of the third estate, and placed them along with the peers of his realm, he did not suspect that one day this ungrateful order would overturn the two others, would deck ambitious tribunes with the spoils of the supreme power, and leave only the phantom of a king on the throne of Charlemagne.

No, it shall not be so:—No, the French monarchy shall not perish: and since motives which it is impossible for us to perceive, but which can originate only from the violence and constraint which, by being disguised, are only more cruel, force Louis XVI to subscribe

an acceptance which his heart rejects, which his own interest and that of his people condemn, and which his duty as king expressly prohibits;

We protest in the face of the whole world, and in the most solemn manner, against this illusive act, and all that may follow from it. We have shown that it is null of itself, null by defect of liberty, null from the radical vice of all the operations of the usurping assembly, which, not being an assembly of the states-general, is nothing. We are supported by the rights of the whole nation, in rejecting decrees diametrically opposite to their wishes, expressed by the unanimous tenor of instructions to their representatives; and we disavow, on behalf of the nation, those treacherous mandates, who, in violating their orders, and departing from the mission entrusted to them, ceased to be its representatives. We will maintain what is evident, that, having acted contrary to their title, they have acted without power, and what they could not legally do cannot be validly accepted.

We protest for the king, and in his name, against what can only bear its false impression. His voice being stifled by oppression, we will be its necessary organs; and we express his real sentiments, as they exist in the oath of his accession to the throne, as they have appeared in the actions of his whole life, as they have been displayed in the declaration which he made at the first moment when he believed himself free. He neither can nor ought to have any other, and his will exists only in those acts where it breathes freely.

We

We protest for the people, who, in their delirium, cannot perceive how destructive this phantom of a new constitution, which is made to dazzle their eyes, and before which they are vainly made to swear, must become to them. When these people, neither knowing their lawful chief nor their dearest interests, suffer themselves to be misguided to their destruction; when, blinded by deceitful promises, they see not those who excite them to destroy the pledges of their own security, the supporters of their repose, the principles of their subsistence, and all the ties of their civil association; it becomes necessary to claim for them the re-establishment of all these; it becomes necessary to save them from their own frenzy.

We protest for the religion of our fathers, which is attacked in its dogmas and worship, as well as its ministers; and in order to supply the monarch's want of power at present to discharge in his own person his duties as eldest son of the church, we assume in his name the defence of its rights; we oppose those invasions of its property which tend to degrade it; we rise with indignation against acts which menace the kingdom with the horrors of schism; and we loudly profess our unalterable attachment to the ecclesiastical rules admitted in the state, the observance of which he has sworn to maintain.

We protest for the fundamental maxims of the monarchy, from which the king is not permitted to depart; which the nation itself has declared to be inviolable; and which would be totally reversed by the decrees which abolish royalty

itself, by suppressing all the intermediate ranks; by those which deprive monarchy of the functions most essential to monarchical government.

In fine, we protest in the presence of the Supreme Being, and in the name of eternal justice, for all orders of the state, and for all Frenchmen.

This protest, signed along with us by all the princes of the blood who are connected with us, is common to all the house of Bourbon, on whom their eventual rights to the crown impose the duty of defending the august deposit.

(Signed)

LOUIS-STANISLAUS-XAVIER.

CHARLES-PHILLIPPE.

L. JOSEPH DE BOURBON.

L. HENRI JOS. DE BOURBON.

L. A. H. DE BOURBON.

Coblentz, Oct. 8, 1791.

Proclamation of the Brothers of the King of France, to dispel the suspicions which have arisen, of their intention to dethrone their Brother.

OUR honour induces us loudly to publish a profession of faith, to which we mean to adhere on the present and every future occasion. —To re-establish the respect due to the Christian religion and its ministers; to restore to the king his freedom and legal authority; to the different orders of the state their proper rights, founded on the laws of the monarchy; to every citizen, his property; to the kingdom, its ancient and immutable constitution; to all Frenchmen, and

and particularly to the inhabitants of country places, security, tranquillity, and the administration of justice, of which they have been deprived; such is the only end we propose, and for which, if it is necessary, we are ready even to spill the last drop of our blood. Never did any personal ambition sully the purity of these views!—We here declare it on the honour of gentlemen; and, at the same time, give the formal lie to every contrary allegation.

Answer of the French King's Brothers to his Majesty's Letter.

Sire,

WE have received the letter which your majesty has condescended to write to us.—We shall not examine whether, in effect, your majesty has accepted freely the constitution which has been presented to you; all Europe knows what to think of it. We shall not discuss this constitution, the principles of which are as erroneous as they are impolitic; and we shall content ourselves with observing, that it is the work of seditious persons, who have neither right nor delegation to make it. We must further request of your majesty, permission to remark to you, that you have only the usufructuary possession of your kingdom, that you must account for it with your successors, and that you are bound to transmit it to them such as you have received it from your ancestors.

In conformity to these reflections, sire, which will certainly be approved by every good Frenchman, we cannot conceal from you our determination to make use of all

the means which are in our power to re-establish your throne, which a factious band has shaken to its very foundations, and to restore to it its stability and lustre, that your majesty and your descendants may enjoy it as it has been enjoyed by the kings your predecessors.

We shall conclude, sire, by protesting to your majesty, that you have no subjects more faithful than ourselves, and that our veneration for your sacred person is equal to the boundless attachment which we have vowed to you, and which we shall preserve to the end of our lives.

(Signed)

LOUIS STANISLAUS XAVIER.
CHARLES PHILLIPPE.

Coblentz, Nov. 16, 1791.

Substance of a Partition treaty between the Courts in concert, said to be concluded and signed at Pavia, in the Month of July, 1791.

(The authenticity of this Treaty has, we think, on good foundation been called in question, but having given rise to much speculation, we should not have done our duty had we omitted it.)

HIS majesty the emperor will retake all that Louis XIV. conquered in the Austrian Netherlands; and uniting these provinces to the said Netherlands, will give them to his serene highness the elector Palatine, so that these new possessions added to the palatinate, may hereafter have the name of Austrasia.

His majesty the emperor will preserve

preserve for ever the property and possession of Bavaria, to make in future an indivisible mass with the domains and hereditary possessions of the house of Austria.

Her serene highness the Archduchess Maria Christina shall be, conjointly with his serene highness her nephew, the archduke Charles, put into hereditary possession of the duchy of Lorraine.

Alsace shall be restored to the empire, and the bishop of Strassburgh, as well as the chapter, shall recover their ancient privileges, and the ecclesiastical sovereigns of Germany shall do the same.

If the Swiss cantons consent and accede to the coalition, it may be proposed to them to annex to the Helvetic league the bishoprick of Potentrui, the defiles of Franche-Comté, and even those of Tyrol, with the neighbouring bailiwicks, as well as the territory of Versoy, which intersects the Pays de Vaud.

Should his majesty the king of Sardinia subscribe to the coalition, La Bresse, La Bugey, and the Pays de Gex usurped by France from Savoy, shall be restored to him.

In case his Sardinian majesty can make a grand diversion, he shall be suffered to take Dauphiny to belong to him for ever, as the nearest descendant of the ancient Dauphins.

His majesty the king of Spain shall have Rousillon and Bearn, with the island of Corsica, and he shall take possession of the French part of Saint-Domingo.

Her majesty the empress of all the Russias shall take upon herself the invasion of Poland, and at the same time retain Kamienieck, with that part of Padolia which borders on Moldavia.

His majesty the emperor shall oblige the Porte to give up Choczim, as well as the small forts of Servia, and those on the river Lurna.

His majesty the king of Prussia, by means of the above-mentioned invasion of the empress of all the Russias into Poland, shall make an acquisition of Thorn and Dantzic, and there unite the Palatinate on the east to the confines of Silesia.

His majesty the king of Prussia shall besides acquire Lusace, and his serene highness the elector of Saxony shall in exchange receive the rest of Poland, and occupy the throne as hereditary sovereign.

His majesty the present king of Poland shall abdicate the throne on receiving a suitable annuity.

His royal highness the elector of Saxony shall give his daughter in marriage to his serene highness, the youngest son of his royal highness the grand duke of all the Russias, who will be the father of the race of the hereditary kings of Poland and Lithuania.

(Signed)

“LEOPOLD.

“PRINCE NASSAU,

“COUNT FLOR. BLANCA,

“BISCHOFFSWERDER.”

The following are said to be the secret Articles of the Treaty signed personally at Pilnitz by the Emperor and King of Prussia, on the 27th of August, 1791. They may be found in the Leyden Gazette, towards the conclusion of that year, at which time they were in general circulation and credit on the Continent, though never avowed by the parties, and they never were officially promulgated.

I. **T**O undertake in concert effectual measures for the maintenance of treaties which exist with France, to give weight to the representations yet to be made to that nation, and to invite all Europe to concur therein, in case these friendly representations should be unproductive.

II. The two parties, as soon as possible, will endeavour to bring the court of Petersburg into their design of raising the house of Saxony to the succession of the crown of Poland.

III. They respectively reserve to themselves the power of changing, at their pleasure, any of their present or future acquisitions, observing in these changes the extent

of the revenue, and likewise the constitution of the Germanic body. And in consequence they will treat with whomsoever this exchange may concern.

IV. They will also treat respecting the diminution of their different armies, as soon as their concerns with foreign powers will admit.

V. His Prussian majesty promises to the archduke Francis his vote to be king of the Romans, and likewise that he will not oppose any thing that may be provided for any of the archdukes, upon condition that it does not infringe on the Germanic constitution.

VI. In return the emperor will employ his good offices with the court of Petersburg and the republic of Poland in favour of the king of Prussia's pretensions to the cities of Thorn and Dantzic; but again, in return, his imperial majesty expects that his Prussian majesty will exert himself with Britain and the states-general of the United Provinces in behalf of the wished-for modifications concluded in convention at the Hague on the subject of Belgic affairs.*

Agreement

* *The preceding articles gave great uneasiness to many of the German princes, and particularly to the elector of Bavaria, to quiet whose apprehensions the Prussian minister soon after declared, in a formal note, at Munich, "That his Prussian majesty was much concerned to hear that the report of a design to exchange Bavaria was the result of the convention concluded at Pilnitz between the emperor and the king of Prussia, and that it began to spread throughout the empire and to obtain credit; that his majesty thought it his duty formally to contradict this maliciously invented report, as he never would depart from the engagements entered into at the peace of Teschen, or the Germanic league. Finally, that he was certain that this report, and other falsehoods of the same nature, would die away of themselves as soon as the public should be satisfied that the connexions on the subject of which such unfounded alarms had taken place, had merely for conditions and object the maintenance of the Germanic constitution, and the care of the welfare of each individual member of the empire."*

Agreement entered into at Pilnitz between the Emperor and the King of Prussia 27th August 1791. (For this, see note to History of Europe, page 72.)

Manifesto of the French Nation, decreed by the National Assembly, December 29, 1791, and ordered to be delivered by the Ministers to all the Courts in Europe.

AT a moment when, for the first time since the epoch of their liberty, the French people may see themselves reduced to the necessity of exercising the terrible right of war, their representatives owe to Europe, to all mankind, an account of the motives which have guided their resolutions, and an exposition of the principles which direct their conduct. The French nation renounces the undertaking of the war with the view of making conquests, and will never employ her forces against the liberty of any state. Such is the text of their constitution; such is the sacred vow upon which they have connected their own happiness with the happiness of every other people, and they will be faithful to them.

But who can consider that a friendly territory, in which exists an army waiting only the prospect of success for the moment of attack?

Is it not equivalent to a declaration of war, to give places of strength not only to enemies who have already declared, but to conspirators who have long since commenced it? Every thing, therefore, imposes upon the powers established

by the constitution for maintaining the peace and the safety of the public, the imperious law of employing force against rebels, who from the bosom of a foreign land, threaten to tear their country in pieces.

The right of nations violated—the dignity of the French people insulted—the criminal abuse of the king's name employed by impostors to veil their disastrous projects—their distrust kept up by sinister rumours through the whole empire—the obstacles occasioned by this distrust to the execution of the laws, and the re-establishment of credit—the means of corruption exerted to delude and seduce the citizens—the disquiets which agitate the inhabitants of the frontiers—the evils to which attempts, the most vain and the most speedily repulsed, may expose them—the outrages, always unpunished, which they have experienced on the territories where the revolted French find an asylum—the necessity of not allowing the rebels time to complete their preparations, or raise up more dangerous against their country—such are our motives. Never did more just or more urgent exist. And in the picture which we have drawn, we have rather softened than over-charged our injuries. We have no occasion to rouse the indignation of citizens in order to inflame their courage.

The French nation, however, will never cease to consider as a friendly people, the inhabitants of the territory occupied by the rebels, and governed by princes who offer them protection. The peaceful citizens whose country armies may

occupy, shall not be treated by her as enemies, nor even as subjects. The public force of which she may become the depository, shall not be employed but to secure their tranquillity and maintain their laws. Proud of having regained the rights of nature, she will never outrage them in other men. Jealous of her independence, determined to bury herself in her own ruins, rather than suffer laws to be taken from her, or dictated to her, or even an insulting guaranty of those she has framed for herself, she will never infringe the independence of other nations. Her soldiers will conduct themselves on a foreign territory as they would on their own, if forced to combat on it. The involuntary evils which her troops may occasion shall be repaired. The asylum which she offers to strangers shall not be shut against the inhabitants of countries whose princes shall have forced her to attack them; they shall find a sure refuge in her bosom. Faithful to the engagements made in her name, she will fulfil them with a generous exactness; but no danger shall be capable of making her forget, that the soil of France belongs wholly to liberty, and that the laws of equality ought to be universal. She will present to the world the new spectacle of a nation truly free, submissive to the laws of justice amid the storms of war, and respecting every where, on every occasion, towards all men, the rights which are the same to all.

Peace, which imposture, intrigue, and treason, have banished, will never cease to be the first of our wishes. France will take up arms, compelled to do so, for her safety

and her internal peace, and she will be seen to lay them down with joy the moment she is assured that there is nothing to fear for that liberty, for that equality, which is now the only element in which Frenchmen can live. She dreads not war, but she loves peace; she feels that she has need of it; and she is too conscious of her strength to fear making the avowal. When, in requiring other nations to respect her repose, she took an eternal engagement not to trouble others, she might have thought that she deserved to be listened to, and that this solemn declaration, the pledge of tranquillity, and the happiness of other nations, might have merited the affection of the princes who govern them; but such of those princes as apprehend that France would endeavour to excite internal agitations in other countries, shall learn that the cruel right of reprisal, justified by usage, condemned by nature, will not make her resort to the means employed against her own repose; that she will be just to those who have not been so to her; that she will every where pay as much respect to peace as to liberty; and that the men who still presume to call themselves the masters of other men, will have nothing to dread from her but the influence of her example.

The French nation is free; and, what is more than to be free, she has the sentiment of freedom. She is free; she is armed; she can never be reduced to slavery. In vain are intestine discords counted on; she has passed the dangerous moment of the reformation of her political laws: and she is too wise to anticipate the lesson of experience;

ence; she wishes only to maintain her constitution, and to defend it.

The division of two powers proceeding from the same source, and directed to the same end, the last hope of our enemies, has vanished at the voice of our country in danger; and the king, by the solemnity of his proceedings, by the frankness of his measures, shows to Europe the French nation strong in her means of defence and prosperity.

Resigned to the evils which the enemies of the human race, united against her, may make her suffer, she will triumph over them by her patience and her courage; victorious, she will seek neither indemnification nor vengeance.

Such are the sentiments of a generous people, which their representatives do themselves honour in expressing. Such are the projects of the new political system which they have adopted—to repel force, to resist oppression, to forget all when they have nothing more to fear; and to adversaries, if vanquished, as brothers; if reconciled, as friends. These are the wishes of all the French, and this is the war which they declare against their enemies.

On the 14th of September, 1791, LOUIS XVI. *King of the French*, having, in the *National Assembly*, accepted the New Constitution, and taken the Oath to defend it, soon afterwards sent a Circular Letter to all Foreign Courts, notifying his acceptance. As the Dispositions of the different Powers in Europe were then manifested in their Answers,

we have thought proper to insert them here in the order they were read in the National Assembly.

Letter of the Emperor Leopold II. to the King of France, in Answer to the Notification of his acceptance of the Constitution, read in the National Assembly, on the 16th of November, 1791.

YOUR majesty's ambassador sent us the letters containing the notification of your acceptance of the new constitution, which was presented to you. The more closely we are united by the ties of blood, friendship, alliance, and neighbourhood, the more we have at heart the preservation of your majesty, and of the royal family; and likewise the dignity of your crown and the welfare of the French monarchy. We, therefore, sincerely wish that the part your majesty has thought proper to take in the present state of affairs, may have all the success that you expect, and may answer your views for the public felicity; and at the same time that the alarming apprehensions for the common cause of kings and princes may cease for the future, and prevent the necessity of taking serious precautions against their renewal.

The King of Sardinia.—I have received the letter which it pleased your majesty to write on the 25th of September. The justice it does to my sentiments, in not doubting of the interest which I have always at heart, in every thing which personally concerns you, or the happiness of your family and subjects, will ever give me the greatest satisfaction.

tisfaction. I request your majesty will be equally persuaded of my joy at the new assurances given of the continuation of your friendship. What I have professed to you shall never diminish or change, and nothing shall ever lessen my endeavours to convince you of it.

Answer of their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces, dated Oct. 4.

Sire,

WE have received the letter which your majesty did us the honour to write, under date the 19th ultimo, and by which your majesty informs us, you have determined to accept the constitutional code which had been decreed and presented to your majesty by the national assembly.

We are highly sensible of this new mark of friendship and goodwill, which your majesty has given by informing us of this event, and we hasten to return you our thanks for the same. We seize with alacrity this occasion, as on every other which present themselves, to testify to your majesty the lively interest we take in all which concerns your august person, as also the welfare and prosperity of the French monarchy.

We have also felt the greatest satisfaction in finding in the letter of your majesty, the assurance of your desire to render more and more unalterable the connections which subsist between your and our republic; and, as we are animated with the same sentiments, we shall, on our side, take every care to cultivate a mutual intercourse, and to

cement, more and more, the happy ties which unite the French nation to ours.

The following is the substance of the other Answers, divested of their formal Language:—

Great Britain—Testified a lively interest for the happiness of the king, his family, and his subjects.

Prussia—Declared, that the interest he felt in this event was perfectly conformable to the assurances of esteem given by the king of France.

Saxony—Declared his wishes to be for the constant felicity of the king and kingdom.

Deux-Ponts—Expressed his wishes for the safety of the king and royal family.

Muyence—Declined giving any answer.

Treves—Will always have the most lively interest in the welfare of the king and royal family; but as to any thing more, the present situation of the king prevented a further declaration.

Canton of Zurich—Received the notification with eagerness and joy.

Geneva—Always considered the prosperity of the nation and of the king, as their particular interest.

Spain.—The king of Spain cannot be persuaded that the king of France enjoys physical and moral liberty: that he will give no answer until he is convinced that the king is free; but at all times it was most foreign to his disposition to disturb the repose of France.

Sweden—Returned the dispatch to

to the minister, under pretence that the king was not free.

Denmark.—I have always applauded the measures which your majesty has taken for the good of the nation, and I trust you will do justice to the eagerness with which I shall return the friendship of which you give me new assurances.

Naples.—I have read the communication of the event which concerns your majesty in the present state of the French monarchy. Be assured of the sincere and zealous interest which I have taken, and shall always take, in whatever regards your person.

The Elector Palatine.—I have received the notification of your majesty's acceptance of the constitution, decreed by the French nation. Not only are my invariable attachment to your majesty, the proximity of the Palatinate to some of the provinces of your kingdom, and the good understanding that has hitherto subsisted between our respective subjects, sure pledges of the particular interest I take in this important event; but it excites a warm desire of participating in the perfect content and tranquillity of your majesty, and all your royal family, to the strengthening of the French monarchy, and the producing of a benign influence on the several states of Europe.

Arch-Governess of the Low Countries.—I earnestly wish that this new resolution may produce you a lasting satisfaction, and become a source of happiness to the monarchy and the nation.

The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel.—The respectful part which I take in all events which concern your majesty, equals my attachment to your august person. Accept my

thanks for the notification of your acceptance of the new constitution. I pray constantly for whatever may contribute to your majesty's glory and happiness, and the prosperity of your reign.

Duke of Wirtemberg Strelitz.—I pray, with all my heart, that the acceptance of the constitution, which was presented to you in the name of the nation, may bring your majesty all the satisfaction and happiness which you deserve on so many accounts.

Duke of Wirtemberg.—I have received your majesty's letter with respect and gratitude. Be assured of the interest I shall always take in whatever concerns your majesty's sacred person.

Landgrave of Baden.—Your majesty cannot doubt the attachment which I shall always preserve for your sacred person, and the prayers which I shall put up for your happiness.

Republic of Venice.—The gracious expressions of friendship contained in your majesty's letter, were received by the Senate with the greatest satisfaction, and the most lively gratitude. The republic, firm in its ancient usage of regarding the prosperity of the crown of France as its own, continues to form the most ardent wishes for your majesty's glory and the happiness of your reign.

Republic of Genoa.—We have received the letter intimating, that your majesty has accepted the constitutional act presented to you by the nation. We take this occasion of assuring your majesty, that we continue to take a lively interest in all that concerns your august person, and the prosperity of your reign. We repeat our requests for the

the preservation of our rights, agreeable to the treaties which unite the two nations in a perfect correspondence, and which we shall always consider it as our glory to maintain.

Republic of Valais.—Your majesty having communicated to us your acceptance of the constitution presented to you by the French nation, we have the honour to assure you that we take the most lively interest in whatever can contribute to the honour and glory of your majesty and the nation, and the strengthening of our alliance. We form the most sincere and ardent vows for the preservation of your majesty's sacred person, and all the royal family.

King of Poland.—Joins to his thanks his wishes for the prosperity of the king and of the French nation; he implores for them both the assistance of that God who governs over kings, and by whom legislators extend the voice of justice over empires.

The City of Dantzic.—We thank your majesty for communicating a copy of the new constitution: be happy in the prosperity of a free nation; and continue your august protection towards us.

Copy of an Order of the Court of Brussels to the Magistrates of Ostend, dated October, 1791.

Dearly and well beloved,

HIS majesty, the emperor, having, on the demand of the ambassador of his most Christian majesty, resolved to acknowledge

the French national flag throughout his dominions, we send you these presents to inform you of his sovereign intentions, according to which the officers of the police and of navigation are to regulate their conduct.

(Signed) **MARIE ALBERT,**
(Countersigned) **VAN DE VELDE.**

Copy of a Circular Dispatch of the Aulic and State Chancellor, Prince de Kaunitz, to the Ambassadors and Ministers of his Imperial and Royal Majesty at the several foreign Courts, dated Vienna, Nov. 1, 1791.

Sir,

THE state of detention in which the king and royal family of France were, having ceased, the emperor has not hesitated to grant to the French ambassador at this court the audience he asked from him on his return from Prague. He received from his hand the annexed letter, by which he informed him of the king's acceptance of the new French constitution. His imperial majesty orders you, Sir, to communicate it to the court where you reside, and also his answer to this annexed letter; and as he thinks he ought to expose, without restraint, to his majesty what he thinks of the new state of things, and the relations which the court of France actually offers, and the decision of his most Christian majesty, he orders you to accompany these communications with the following overtures.

The

The emperor proposed a declaration and common measures for preventing the fatal consequences of the French revolution; imminent dangers were threatening the liberty, honour, and safety of the king and royal family, as well as the preservation of the monarchical government in France, attacked in its essential principles by the progress of a popular anarchy which became dangerous to all the governments of Europe.

These perils are no longer pressing; the late events give hopes of better times.

It seems that the greater part of the French nation, struck with the misfortunes she was preparing for herself, returns back to more moderate principles; she acknowledges the necessity of maintaining the only form of government fit for a great state, and endeavours to restore to the throne the dignity and influence upon which depends the essence of a monarchic government. It appears, in short, that the king yields with confidence to this prospect; and that his acceptance, grounded upon this confidence, has been voluntary.

On the other hand, it cannot be concealed that such new appearances, even imperfect ones in many respects, cannot sufficiently tranquillize on the solidity and continuance of the events which they announce, and entirely dispel apprehensions which the violence and extremity of preceding events do justify but too much.

The emperor does not dissemble that, in the uncertainty which proceeds from this opposition of hope and fear, he cannot yet form a definitive advice on the question, whether or not the situation of the king and the kingdom of France

will continue to be the object of a common cause for the other powers; but what seems to his Imperial majesty evidently to result from this uncertainty itself, is, that, as long as it shall subsist, all the powers will have a common concern, that the present good appearances, the failure of which would immediately re-produce the necessity and the rights of a common interference, should be realized and consolidated.

The emperor has thought it useful not to disguise this manner of thinking, in his answer to the letter of his most Christian majesty; and he is persuaded that, if the other powers were to express similar sentiments, this would only contribute in an advantageous manner to the encouragement and to the success of the moderate party which at present prevails in France; and his Imperial majesty proposes to his majesty to authorize his ministers to occasional intimations of this kind.

Circular Note sent by the Emperor to the different Powers in Europe, on the Subject of the French King's Acceptance of the Constitution.

HIS Imperial majesty announces to all the Courts to which he has sent his first circular letter, dated Padua, 6th of July, 1791, and also to the governments of Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Portugal, that the situation of the king of France, which was the cause of that letter, being changed, he thinks it proper to express to the said powers his present opinions. His majesty thinks they ought to look upon the king of France as free,

To succeed in their designs, it was necessary they should take the audacious measure of depriving us both of a right, which their own decrees gave us, to the regency. Sufficient time has elapsed to judge of the effect which this new crime has produced upon the sovereigns of Europe, and more especially upon your majesty; but if they can be persuaded of your indifference, or of the prevalence of a dilatory system, which is equally dangerous, they will hasten to consummate their crimes; they will annihilate the phantom of royalty which they now suffer to exist; they will make an attempt on the life of the queen; and they will elect a thief, by bestowing the regency upon the duke of Orleans.

We do not advance any thing of which we are not certain; and your majesty may be persuaded, that we speak not the language of exaggeration.

But, sire, by a single word, by a single action, which will prove the firmness of your resolutions, not only will your majesty disconcert all the projects of our enemies; but the change of opinions is such, the discredit of the assembly so great, that at one and the same instant an insurrection will take place in all parts of the kingdom, and more especially in the heart of the capital, where the people are kept in subjection by the audacity of the rebels alone.

What we now demand of your majesty is, that you will be pleased to make a public declaration on purpose to assure the French princes of your protection, and also the other French, whose zeal, and the purity of whose principles,

have obliged them to leave the kingdom.

There is nothing *personal* in our conduct; we act only for honour, which is our sole recompence; nothing can deprive us of it.

But it is left for your majesty to consider whether you will guarantee the life of the king and of the queen, and produce the best and greatest effects by a measure which will not any way affect you; or whether you chuse to leave the dearest and most precious claims to the chance of events, and the audacity of crimes.

We are,
With the most respectful sentiments, &c.

Note of the Spanish Minister at the Court of Vienna, delivered the 30th of November, 1791, to the Imperial Minister.

IN consequence of the orders of his court, the undersigned envoy extraordinary has the honour, in the name of the king his master, officially to declare to the imperial minister, that his majesty participates with the empress of Russia and his Catholic majesty the same sentiments for the re-establishment of the French monarchy, and with them the king regards his most Christian majesty as in a state of captivity, notwithstanding the acceptance that he has made of the constitution; that, agreeing in the principles and conduct of the empress of Russia, he has sent the baron Oxenstern to the French princes as an envoy; and that he

ments, guided by the sentiments of his heart, and enlightened by his own proper interests; now wishes, and always will wish, to succour his ally, deliver his sister, and guarantee his own states by destroying the germ of contagion.

A great occasion has at length presented; never could a more favourable opportunity be offered. It is our duty to submit to your majesty what can be done in favour of France. It is for you to determine.

We do not here recall to your memory the present state of Europe. The North and the South have published their intentions.

Prussia and your majesty have but one opinion. We are desirous to speak of the internal situation of France.

The new assembly has fallen into disrepute; the frightful disorder of the finances announcing an ap-

proaching bankruptcy; no power, no order, any longer exists in the state; our enemies are acquainted with their danger; they perceive their ruin inevitable, but they still persevere in the audaciousness of their crimes; and we dare to say, to a sovereign who loves truth, that the seeming conduct of your majesty sustains their hopes, and emboldens them in their sanguinary projects.

The decree which they passed against monsieur and the emigrants sufficiently developes their designs. They know that the brothers of the unfortunate Louis XVI. despise their menaces; they know that the nobility of France are attached only to honour; but directed at present by the duke of Orleans and the republican party, they wish to profit by the silence of Europe, and to seek their safety in the excess of their crimes.

To

of the feudal rights of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine, though the subject of much controversy, and a pretended reason for hostility, was certainly not the real cause of the war between the emperor and France; nor is it imagined that any person will maintain it to have been so, since, in the most important papers which passed between the cabinets of Vienna and Paris on the eve of the rupture, it is either but slightly noticed or wholly disregarded. It may not however be improper to state, on this question, that the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were ceded to France by the treaty of Munster, signed in 1648, to be held with the privileges, rights, &c. of the house of Austria. But stipulations were made by the 88th article, notwithstanding the sovereignty thus transferred, for the privileges of the nobles, &c. in those provinces, and also for their immediate, which may be translated, their dependance upon, or right of protection from the German empire. Upon the construction of these jarring articles, disputes arose in the negotiations at Nimeguen in 1678, which, however, terminated without any decision; and the treaty of Rhyswick in 1697, though it settled some other points relative to the treaty of Westphalia, passed over this matter in silence. it was therefore inferred, by many able writers, that by that silence the German empire had relinquished her claims contained in the 88th article above mentioned. But the national assembly having abolished the feudal system throughout all the French dominions, and this abolition depriving the bishops of Metz, Treves, Spire, and Bale, of a metropolitan and diocesan jurisdiction exercised by them in Alsace and Lorraine, they complained in a diet of the German empire, which resolved, that all things, both temporal and spiritual, must be put upon their ancient footing, agreeable to treaties and conventions. France refused to comply with that resolution, and on this subject a very long correspondence took place.

neral repose, not to desire ardently the prevention of this extremity, and the infallible consequences which it will produce, as well on the part of the chief and the states of the German empire, as of other sovereigns, who have united in concert to maintain the public tranquillity, and for the safety and honour of crowns; and it is in consequence of this latter that the chancellor prince Kaunitz is ordered to be open and unreserved to the ambassador of France, to whom he has the honour of repeating his assurances of having the most distinguished consideration.

Dated Vienna, Dec. 21, 1791.

Letter from the King to the National Assembly, brought by a Message, December 31.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE charged the minister for foreign affairs to communicate to you the official note which the emperor has caused to be delivered to the ambassador from France at Vienna. This notice, I must say, has caused me the greatest astonishment. I had a right to reckon on the sentiments of the emperor, and of his desire of preserving with France the good intelligence and all the connexions that ought to subsist between two allies. I cannot yet think that his dispositions are changed: I wish to persuade myself that he has been deceived respecting the true state of facts; that he has supposed that the elector of Treves had fulfilled the duties of justice and good neighbour-

hood; and that, nevertheless, this prince had cause to fear that his states might be exposed to violences, or particular incursions.

In the answer which I have given to the emperor, I repeat to him, that I have demanded nothing but what is just from the elector of Treves, and nothing but what the emperor himself had given an example of. I remind him of the care the French nation took immediately to prevent the assembling of the Brabanders, when they attempted it in the neighbourhood of the Austrian Pays Bas. Finally, I renew to him the wish of France for the preservation of peace; but at the same time I declare, that if, after the epoch which I have fixed, the elector of Treves has not really and effectually dispersed the assemblages which exist in his states, nothing shall prevent me from proposing to the national assembly, as I have already announced, to employ force of arms to constrain it.

If this declaration does not produce the effect which I have a right to hope; if the destiny of France, is, to have to fight with her children and her allies, I shall make known to Europe the justice of our cause. The French people will support it by their courage; and the nation will see that I have no interest but her's; and that I shall ever maintain her dignity and her safety, as the most essential of my duties.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

(Underneath)

DELESSART.

The

*The Speech of George Washington,
President of the United States
of America, to both Houses of
Congress, Oct. 25th, 1791.*

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate,
and of the House of Represen-
tatives.

I MEET you, upon the present oc-
casion, with the feelings which
are naturally inspired by a strong
impression of the prosperous situ-
ation of our common country, and
by a persuasion equally strong, that
the labours of the session, which
has just commenced, will, under
the guidance of a spirit no less pru-
dent than patriotic, issue in mea-
sures conducive to the stability and
increase of national property.

Numerous as are the providen-
tial blessings which demand our
grateful acknowledgments, the
abundance with which another year
has again rewarded the industry of
the husbandman is too important
to escape recollection.

Your own observations in your
respective situations will have satis-
fied you of the progressive state of
agriculture, manufactures, com-
merce, and navigation. In tracing
their causes, you will have remarked
with particular pleasure the happy
effects of that revival of confidence,
public, as well as private, to which
the constitution and laws of the
United States have so eminently
contributed; and you will observe,
with no less interest, new and deci-
sive proofs of the increasing reputa-
tion and credit of the nation. But
you, nevertheless, cannot fail to de-
rive satisfaction from the confirma-
tion of these circumstances, which
will be disclosed in the several of-
ficial communications that will be

made to you in the course of our
deliberations.

The rapid subscriptions to the
bank of the United States, which
completed the sum allowed to be
subscribed in a single day, is among
the striking and pleasing evidences
which present themselves, not
only of confidence in the govern-
ment, but of resource in the com-
munity.

In the interval of your recess
due attention has been paid to the
execution of the different objects
which were especially provided for
by the laws and resolutions of the
last session.

Among the most important of
these is the defence and security of
the western frontiers. To accom-
plish it on the most humane prin-
ciples, was a primary wish.

Accordingly, at the same time
that treaties have been provisionally
concluded, and other proper means
used to attach the wavering, and to
confirm in their friendship the well-
disposed tribes of Indians—effec-
tual measures have been adopted to
make those of a hostile description
sensible, that a pacification was de-
sired upon terms of moderation
and justice.

These measures having proved
unsuccessful, it became necessary to
convince the refractory of the power
of the United States to punish their
depredations; offensive operations
have therefore been directed—to
be conducted, however, as consist-
ently as possible with the dictates
of humanity. Some of these have
been crowned with full success, and
others are yet depending. The ex-
peditions which have been comple-
ted were carried on under the au-
thority, and at the expence of the
United States, by the militia of
Kentucky

Kentucky, whose enterprise, intrepidity, and good conduct, are entitled to peculiar commendation.

Overtures of peace are still continued to the deluded tribes, and considerable numbers of individuals belonging to them have lately renounced all further opposition, removed from their former situations, and placed themselves under the immediate protection of the United States.

It is sincerely to be desired, that all need of coercion in future may cease, and that an intimate intercourse may succeed, calculated to advance the happiness of the Indians, and to attach them firmly to the United States.

In order to this, it seems necessary—

That they should experience the benefits of an impartial dispensation of justice.

That the mode of alienating their lands, the main source of discontent and war, should be so defined and regulated as to obviate imposition, and, as far as may be practicable, controversy concerning the reality and extent of the alienations which are made.

That commerce with them should be permitted under regulations tending to secure an equitable deportment towards them, and that such rational experiments should be made for imparting to them the blessings of civilization as may from time to time suit their condition.

That the executive power of the United States should be enabled to employ the means to which the Indians have been long accustomed, for uniting their immediate interests with the preservation of peace. And,

That efficacious provision should be made for inflicting adequate penalties upon all those who, by violating their rights, shall infringe the treaties and endanger the peace of the union.

A system corresponding with the mild principles of religion and philanthropy toward an unenlightened race of men, whose happiness materially depends on the conduct of the United States, would be as honourable to the national character, as conformable to the dictates of sound policy.

The powers specially vested in me by the act laying certain duties on distilled spirits, which respect the sub-divisions of the districts into surveys, the appointment of officers, and the assignment of compensations, have likewise been carried into effect. In a matter, in which both materials and experience were wanting to guide the calculation, it will be readily conceived that there must have been difficulty in such an adjustment of the rates of compensation, as would conciliate a reasonable competency with a proper regard to the limits prescribed by the law. It is hoped, that the circumspection which has been used, will be found in the result to have secured the last of the two objects: but it is probable, that with a view to the first, in some instances, a revision of the provision will be found advisable.

The impressions with which this law has been received by the community have been, upon the whole; such as were to be expected among enlightened and well disposed citizens, from the propriety and necessity of the measure. The novelty, however, of the tax, in a considerable

able part of the United States, and a misconception of some of its provisions, have given occasion, in particular places, to some degree of discontent. But it is satisfactory to know, that this disposition yields to proper explanations and more just apprehensions of the true nature of the law. And I entertain a full confidence that it will, in all, give way to motives which arise out of a just sense of duty, and a virtuous regard to the public welfare.

If there are any circumstances in the law, which consistently with its main design, may be so varied as to remove any well-intentioned objections that may happen to exist, it will consist with a wise moderation to make the proper variations. It is desirable, on all occasions, to unite, with a steady and firm adherence to constitutional and necessary acts of government, the fullest evidence of a disposition, as far as may be practicable, to consult the wishes of every part of the community, and to lay the foundation of the public administration in the affections of the people.

Pursuant to the authority contained in the several acts on that subject, a district of ten miles square, for the permanent seat of the government of the United States, has been fixed and announced by proclamation; which district will comprehend lands on both sides of the river Potowmac, and the towns of Alexandria and George-town. A city has also been laid out, agreeable to a plan which will be placed before Congress: and as there is a prospect, favoured by the rate of sales which have already taken place, of ample funds for carrying on the necessary buildings, there is every expectation of their due progress.

The completion of the census of
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the inhabitants, for which provision was made by law, has been duly notified (excepting in one instance, in which the return has been informal; and another, in which it has been omitted or miscarried); and the returns of the officers who were charged with this duty, which will be laid before you, will give you the pleasing assurance, that the present population of the United States borders on four millions of persons.

It is proper also to inform you, that a further loan of two millions and a half of florins has been completed in Holland, the terms of which are similar to those of the one last announced, except as to a small reduction of charges. Another, on like terms, for six millions of florins, had been set on foot, under circumstances, that assured immediate completion.

Gentlemen of the senate,

Two treaties, which have been provisionally concluded with the Cherokees, and six nations of Indians, will be laid before you for your consideration and ratification.

Gentlemen of the house of representatives,

In entering upon the discharge of your legislative trust, you must anticipate, with pleasure, that many of the difficulties, necessarily incident to the first arrangement of a new government for an extensive country, have been happily surmounted by the zealous and judicious exertions of your predecessors, in co-operation with the other branch of the legislature. The important objects which remain to be accomplished, will, I am persuaded,
Q be

be conducted upon principles equally comprehensive, and equally well calculated for the advancement of the general weal.

The time limited for receiving subscriptions to the loans proposed by the act, making provision for the debt of the United States, having expired, statements from the proper department will, as soon as possible, apprise you of the exact result. Enough, however, is already known, to afford an assurance that the views of that act have been substantially fulfilled. The subscription in the domestic debt of the United States has embraced by far the greatest proportion of that debt; affording, at the same time, proof of the general satisfaction of the public creditors with the system which has been proposed to their acceptance, and of the spirit of accommodation to the convenience of the government with which they are actuated. The subscriptions in the debts of the respective States, as far as the provisions of the law have permitted, may be said to be yet more general. The part of the debt of the United States which remains unsubscribed will naturally engage your further deliberations.

It is particularly pleasing to me to be able to announce to you, that the revenues which have been established promise to be adequate to their objects, and may be permitted, if no unforeseen exigency occurs, to supersede, for the present, the necessity of any new burthens upon our constituents.

An object which will claim your early attention, is a provision for the current services of the ensuing year, together with such ascertained demands upon the treasury as require to be immediately discharged,

and such casualties as may have arisen in the execution of the public business, for which no specific appropriation may have yet been made; of all which a proper estimate will be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the senate and of the house of representatives,

I shall content myself with a general reference to former communications for several objects, upon which the urgency of other affairs has hitherto postponed any definitive resolution: their importance will recal them to your attention; and I trust that the progress already made in the most arduous arrangements of the government will afford you leisure to resume them with advantage.

There are, however, some of them, of which I cannot forbear a more particular mention—the militia—the post-offices and post-roads—the mint—weights and measures—a provision for the sale of the vacant lands of the United States.

The first is certainly an object of primary importance, whether viewed in reference to the national security, to the satisfaction of the community, or to the preservation of order. In connexion with this, the establishment of competent magazines and arsenals, and the fortification of such places as are peculiarly important and vulnerable, naturally present themselves to consideration. The safety of the United States, under divine protection, ought to rest on the basis of systematic and solid arrangement, exposed as little as possible to the hazards of fortuitous circumstances.

The importance of the post-office and post-roads, on a plan sufficiently

ficiently liberal and comprehensive, as they respect the expedition, safety, and facility of communication, is increased by the instrumentality in diffusing a knowledge of the laws and proceedings of the government, which, while it contributes to the security of the people, serves, also, to guard them against the effects of misrepresentation and misconception. The establishment of additional cross-posts, especially to some of the important points in the western and northern parts of the union, cannot fail to be of material utility.

The disorders in the existing currency, and especially the scarcity of small change, a scarcity so peculiarly distressing to the poorer classes, strongly recommend the carrying into immediate effect the resolution already entered into concerning the establishment of a mint. Measures have been taken pursuant to that resolution for procuring some of the most necessary articles, together with the requisite apparatus.

An uniformity in the weights and measures of the country is among the important objects submitted to you by the constitution; and if it can be derived from a standard at once invariable and universal, must be no less honourable to the public councils than conducive to the public convenience.

A provision for the sale of the vacant lands of the United States is particularly urged, among other reasons, by the important considerations, that they are pledged as a fund for reimbursing the public debt; that, if timely and judiciously applied, they may save the necessity of burthening our citizens with new taxes, for the extinguishment

of the principal; and that, being free to discharge the principal but in a limited proportion, no opportunity ought to be lost for availing the public of its rights.

G. WASHINGTON.

Letter from the empress of Russia, to the marshal de Broglie.

St. Petersburg, Oct. 29, 1791.

MARSHAL DE BROGLIE,

I Address myself to you, to make known to the French nobility, banished and persecuted, but still unshaken in their fidelity and attachment to their sovereign, how sensibly I have felt the sentiments which they profess to me in their letter of the 20th Sept. The most illustrious of your kings gloried in calling themselves the first gentlemen of their kingdom. Henry IV. was particularly desirous of bearing this title. It was not an empty compliment that he paid to your ancestors; but he thus taught them, that without nobility there could be no monarchy, and that their interest to defend and maintain it was inseparable from his. They understood the lesson, and lavished their blood and their efforts to establish the rights of their masters and their own. Do you, their worthy descendants, to whom the unhappy circumstances of your country open the same career, continue to tread in their steps, and let the spirit which animated them, and which you appear to inherit, be displayed in your actions.

Elizabeth succoured Henry IV. who triumphed over the league at the head of your ancestors. The ex-

ample of that queen is worthy being imitated by posterity; and I shall deserve to be compared to her by my perseverance in my sentiments for the descendant of the same hero, to whom I have as yet only shown my wishes and my good intentions. In espousing the common cause of kings, in that of your monarch, I do no more than the duty of the rank which I hold on earth: I listen only to the pure dictates of a sincere and disinterested friendship for your princes, the king's brothers, and the desire of affording a constant support to every faithful servant of your sovereign.

Such are the dispositions of which I have charged count Romanzow to assure those princes. As no cause was ever more grand, more just, more noble, or more deserving to excite the zeal and the courage of all who have devoted themselves to defend it and to fight for it, I cannot but augur success the most fortunate and analogous to the wishes I have formed; and I pray God to have you and all the French nobility who participate your sentiments, and adhere to your principles in his most holy keeping.

(Signed) CATHARINE.

Translation of a memorial, presented by the deputies of the Greek islands to the empress of Russia, offering the imperial Grecian throne to her second grandson, Constantine.

Madam,

IT was not until we had long solicited in vain your imperial majesty's ministers for an answer to the memorial which we had the honour of presenting to them; it was not until driven to the utmost

despair by the reflection of the dreadful evils which this delay might produce to our countrymen, who (invited by the manifestoes of your imperial majesty) have taken arms against the enemy of the Christian name, and deputed us to lay the offer of their lives and their fortunes at the foot of your imperial throne; it was not till we had lost all hopes of otherwise obtaining a speedy answer to stop those streams of the blood of our brethren, which doubtless flow already through this delay, that we have at length dared to prostrate ourselves at *your* feet, and to present our humble memorial to your imperial majesty in person.

Another duty equally sacred, and which was a principal object of our mission, induced us to take this daring step: it was to undeceive Y. I. M. whom (as well as your ministers) there have been people audacious enough to mislead. We have learned with indignation, that the cavalier Psaro now erects himself into a chief and conductor of our people; a man abhorred by our nation, out of the dregs of which he rose, and where he would have remained, if he had not with an unheard-of audaciousness deceived your imperial majesty's ministers, and assumed a reputation by attributing to himself exploits he never performed. If no ill consequences would ensue but to himself, we should patiently await his appearance in our country, a boast however which he never will perform but in his writings. How he has acted towards us, Y. I. M. will see in our memorial. We hear that he has received immense sums, which he pretends to have expended for us. We assure Y. I. M. that neither he, nor any of your officers

officers sent to us, ever paid us a single rouble. The flotilla, and the other armaments of Lambro, were equipped at our own expense. One of us (deputies) abandoning his peaceful home, fitted out two vessels at his own expense, and expended in armaments 12,000 zechins, whilst the Turks massacred his mother and his brother, levelled with the ground his possessions, and desolated his lands.

We never asked for your treasures; we do not ask for them now; we only ask for powder and balls (which we cannot purchase) and to be led to battle. We are come to *offer* our lives and fortunes, not to *ask* for your treasures.

Deign, O great empress! glory of the Greek faith! deign to read our memorial. Heaven has reserved our deliverance for the glorious reign of Y. I. M. It is under your auspices that we hope to deliver, from the hands of barbarous Mahomedans, our empire, which they have usurped, and our patriarchat and our holy religion, which they have insulted; to free the descendants of Athens and Lacedemon from the tyrannic yoke of ignorant savages, under which groans a nation whose genius is not extinguished; a nation which glows with the love of liberty; which the iron yoke of barbarism has not vili-

fied; which has constantly before its eyes the images of its ancient heroes, and whose example animates its warriors even to this day.

Our superb ruins speak to our eyes, and tell us of our ancient grandeur; our innumerable ports, our beautiful country, the heavens which smile on us all the year, the ardour of our youth, and even of our decrepid elders, tell us that nature is not less propitious to us than it was to our fore-fathers. Give us for a sovereign your grandson Constantine; it is the wish of our nation (the family of our emperors is extinct) and we shall become what our ancestors were.

We are not persons who have dared to impose on the *most magnanimous of sovereigns*: we are the deputies of the people of Greece, furnished with full powers and other documents, and as such prostrated before the throne of **HER**, whom, next to God, we look on as our saviour; we declare that we shall be till our latest breath,

Your imperial majesty's

Most faithful and most

devoted servants,

(L. S.) PANO KIRI.

(L. S.) CHRISTO LAZOTTI.

(L. S.) NICCOLO PANGOLO.

St. Petersburg, April, 1790.

CHARACTERS.

*Life of the late celebrated Chemist,
Charles René de Fourcroy.*

(From the European Magazine.)

CHARLES René de Fourcroy, marechal de camp, grand cross of the order of St. Louis, director of the royal corps of engineers, member of the council at war and of the naval council, and free associate of the academy of sciences, was born, at Paris, Jan. 19, 1715. He was the son of Charles de Fourcroy, an eminent counsellor at law, and Elizabeth l'Heritier. Destined to the bar as a hereditary profession, his inclination impelled him into the paths of science, and accident led him into the corps of engineers. An officer of that corps was involved in an important law-suit, which he chose M. de Fourcroy to conduct. M. de Fourcroy directed his son to converse with the officer for the purpose of procuring every information necessary to the success of his cause; but the youth, whose thirst of science was already conspicuous, showed less attention to the particulars of the law-suit, than desire to be acquainted with what concerned the service of an engineer. He found no difficulty in disposing the officer to gratify his inclinations, and being informed of the preliminary studies requisite to an admission into that body, he immediately began to pursue them with ardour and perseverance, and

was soon enabled to offer himself for examination.

In 1736 he was admitted into the corps, and was employed under marshal d'Asfield. His activity, zeal, and knowledge, above his years, procured him the confidence of his commander; but, remarking an error in a project which the marshal communicated to him, he informed him of it. For this at first he received thanks; but unfortunately he was imprudent enough to intrust this little secret of his vanity to his mother, and her maternal tenderness was equally indiscreet. The marshal had not greatness of mind enough to be indulgent, or ability enough not to be afraid of avowing that he was liable to mistake; and it was long evident that he had not forgiven M. de Fourcroy, both from the commissions which he gave him, and his general regulations, which always tended to prevent his promotion. But obstacles of this kind depress only moderate talents and moderate resolution. From these M. de Fourcroy learnt at an early period to expect nothing but from his services; and he was destined to prove by his example, that virtue is one of the roads to fortune, and perhaps not the least secure.

Engaged in every campaign of the war of 1740, he was charged, though young, with some important commissions; and his application during

during the peace procured him employment in the succeeding war. He made three campaigns in Germany, and in 1761 was commander of the engineers on the coast of Brittany when the English took Belleisle. In 1762, he made a campaign in Portugal, where he was present at the siege of Almeyda.

Peace is not a time of idleness to an engineer. By meditation, by the examination of fortified places, by reading the fruits of experience and military talents, he prepares himself for exercising the art of attacking and defending towns, learns how to improve their construction, studies the consequence of places to each other, enables himself to discern the strength or weakness of a system of fortresses destined to cover a frontier, the necessity of strengthening parts which would leave an incursion easy, and of suppressing places of defence uselessly multiplied. He calculates how long a place may hold out, and forms a judgement of the influence it may have on the event of a war: he foresees what will be the fruit of a victory in an enemy's territory, and the danger of a defeat on each frontier of the country he is to defend. Thus all the great circumstances of war are connected with the science of the engineer, and he can with certainty calculate its chances by means of an art, which is far from confined to the trifling merit of constructing, according to given rules, a single fortress.

Every day M. de Fourcroy worked fourteen hours in his closet, when the duties of the service did not compel him to quit it. An irresistible propensity to the study of natural philosophy would have led him far, had he not been incessantly

called from it to the duties of his station. From these he sometimes stole time for making observations; but, guarding against the illusions of self-love, he communicated most of his researches to men of learning, who have inserted them in their works. The microscopical observations in the *Treatise on the Heart*, which does so much honour to Mr. Senac, are almost all by M. de Fourcroy. Many of his remarks and observations make a part of M. Duhamel's *Treatise on Fishing*, in which we find the first traces of Spallanzani's experiments on hybridous fish. M. de Fourcroy had seen these experiments in a fish-pond in Germany, and gave an account of them to M. Duhamel. To him M. Duhamel was indebted also for some experiments with which he has enriched his *Treatise on Forests*. M. de la Lande, too, has acknowledged, that he owes him many facts and reflections, of which he has availed himself in his work on *Tides*. Amongst the *Essays* that M. de Fourcroy published separately, is one, in which he examines how we may judge of the height to which certain birds of passage raise themselves, by knowing that of the point at which they cease to be visible. He published the *Art of Brick-making*, which forms a part of the *Collection of the Academy*, to which he also sent several essays that were approved and inserted in their works. The margin of his *Collection of the Academy*, relative to the Arts, he has filled with notes, as it was his practice when he read it to examine the calculations, and correct them if they were not accurate.

M. de Fourcroy was employed successively in various parts of the kingdom;

kingdom; principally, indeed, at Calais, at Rousillon, and in Corsica. Everywhere he served with diligence, and everywhere he acquired esteem and veneration. Of this conduct he received the reward, in the most flattering manner. M. de St. Germain being appointed minister at war, wished to avail himself, in his office, of the abilities of some superior officer in the corps of engineers. On this he consulted the directors of that corps, then assembled at Versailles. All, with an unanimous voice, pointed out M. de Fourcroy, as the most capable of fulfilling the intentions of the minister. M. de St. Germain, who was scarcely acquainted with M. de Fourcroy, wrote to him to come to Perpignan, where he resided. When the minister told this gentleman, that he had sent for him, without knowing him, to fill a post near himself, and that he was recommended by the officers of his corps, his astonishment may easily be conceived. Of the opinion given of him he shewed himself worthy; and his conduct, both public and private, made him honoured and respected.

A life thus busy, was rendered more happy by a sentiment, which, born at an early period, expired but with his life. The daughter of M. Le Maistre, the neighbour and friend of his father, and like him famous at the bar, was the companion of his youthful sports, and insensibly chosen by him as the partner of his future days. While M. de Fourcroy was studying under able masters, to render himself useful to his country, by his talents and acquirements, Miss Le Maistre learned, from a pious and charitable mother, to succour and console the sufferings of her fellow-

creatures. The vacations of each year brought together the two young friends, whose minds were so attuned to each other, as if they had never been separated. At that age, when the heart experiences the want of a more lively sentiment, the tender friendship which united them, left them at liberty for no other choice. Both without fortune, they contented themselves with loving each other always, and seeing each other sometimes, till prudence should permit them a closer union. Both sure of themselves, as of the objects of their affection, fourteen years passed without any inquietude but what absence occasioned. After marriage, enjoyment weakened not their passion, as the sacrifice they had made of it to reason had not disturbed their tranquillity. Similar in opinion, their thoughts and their sentiments were common. Separated from the world, equally by the simplicity of their tastes, and the purity of their principles, they reciprocally found, in the esteem of each other, the sole support, the sole reward, of which their virtue had need. Every day they tasted the pleasure of that intimate union of souls, which every day saw renewed. The difference of their characters, which offered the striking contrast of gentleness and inflexibility, served only to show them the power of the sympathy of their heart. Different from most, both in their love and in their virtues, time, which almost always seems to approach us to happiness, only to carry us the farther from it afterwards, seemed to have fixed it with them. Perhaps we have not another instance of a passion continuing seventy years, always tender, always the

the chief (nay, the sole, since that they bore for an only daughter constituted a part of it), which lasted uniformly from infancy to old age, not weakened, not once obscured by the least cloud, not once disturbed by the slightest coldness or negligence.

Employed to his last moment in his country's service, M. de Fourcroy died, January 12, 1791, regretted by his family, his friends, and his corps.

Treatment, mode of life, habits, and comforts, of the negro slaves in the British West-India Islands; from Attwood's History of the Island of Dominica.

THE negro slaves in Dominica are, in general, comfortably situated, and well treated, especially on the plantations, where, if they are industrious, they have the means of living in a manner very different from that deplorable state, which some people in England have been at the pains to represent, as the case in general of slaves in the British islands. They have there as much land as they choose to cultivate for their own use, are capable of raising great quantities of all manner of ground provisions, garden stuff, and other things, with which they actually supply the markets every Sunday, and some of them to a considerable amount.

They likewise breed hogs, rabbits, fowls, and other small stock for themselves; and many of them, who are careful in raising such provisions, acquire a very comfortable living, exclusive of what is allowed them by their owners. They have, moreover, many opportunities on

the plantations to procure other things to sell, or make use of themselves, which are not to be had in many other islands, as plenty of fish in the rivers, crapaux, wild yams, and other articles in the woods; by which, those who are industrious, in their leisure hours, often make tolerable sums of money.

However, not intending to confine myself to observations on the treatment of negro slaves of this island in particular, in order to avoid being singular in that respect, I shall extend my remarks on that subject to the usage, manners, and customs, relative to them in the English West Indies in general.

The slaves, then, in all the British West-India settlements, are by no means treated in that harsh, cruel, and barbarous manner, which some have described, to impress the minds, and impose upon the judgment of this nation. For, on the contrary, the treatment they receive from their owners, is, as nearly as can be, that of a parent to his children.

Every family has a good comfortable house to reside in, which is built at the expense of their masters; who also furnish them with such clothes as is necessary for them, with a doctor, medicines, and all things needful, when sick; and have nothing to expect from them, in return, but good behaviour, and a necessary degree of labour for the service of his plantation.

He, moreover, gives them a weekly allowance of provisions, consisting of biscuit, Indian corn, beans, salt-fish, mackrel, or herrings; which, together with what they are able, if industrious, to supply themselves with from their own gardens,

gardens, and the produce of their own stock, they are enabled to live in a manner which is by no means unenviable, and preferable to the situation of thousands of people in Great Britain, with all the accompaniments of their fancied liberties.

The labour of the negroes on the plantations is by no means burthensome, or difficult; the digging cane-holes, and cutting down canes, being the chief part of their business, at either of which a labouring white man, even there, will do nearly double the work of a negro in a day. Exclusive of these, the labour of the slaves is mostly confined to carrying dung in small baskets, planting, and weeding the canes. The making sugar, rum, and other articles, is the employment of such negroes only, as have been taught those businesses, and for which they have good encouragement to be industrious, by extra provisions, clothes, and other things, given them while employed.

The field-negroes, when digging cane-holes, have usually, in the afternoon, half a pint of rum and water, sweetened with molasses, given to each of them, which is a great refreshment in that labour, and causes them to work with cheerfulness. It is pleasing to see them at this work, they being all together in one row, like a regiment of soldiers, and all their hoes moving together; the women singing some ludicrous songs of their own composing, which are answered in the same manner by the men, and each striving to outdo the other. This has a good effect in softening their labour, and is much promoted by giving them their rum and water, which they have also sometimes in their other work, especially after having been in the rain.

The proportion of the working field-negroes on each plantation is, commonly, from one-third to two-fifths of the whole number belonging to each estate; the remainder include tradesmen, watchmen, stock-keepers, invalids, house-servants, nurses, and young children.

They have generally one day in every week, out of crop-time, or the Saturday afternoon, allowed them, for the purpose of working their own gardens, exclusive of their leisure hours, which are from twelve till two o'clock in the afternoon of every day, and Sundays. But was the custom to be general, of allowing them one day in every week out of crop-time, the necessity for their working their gardens on Sundays might be prevented, and that day wholly appropriated by them to religious duties, which might probably be the means of promoting good order amongst those people, and securing their future welfare.

The French planters, in all settlements belonging to that nation, have their negroes baptized, and taught some prayers, which they repeat on their knees, every morning before they go to work, and every evening after finishing it. This has a good effect on their conduct, attaches them to the interests of their masters, cements their union with each other, and is productive of many advantages to the French planters, who, notwithstanding their being actually more rigid to their negroes than the English, yet have better and more faithful slaves.

Once a year, the following articles of clothing are distributed among the slaves on every English plantation, viz. a good warm jacket, frock, trowsers, and hat, for each man and boy; a jacket, wrapper, petticoat,

petticoat, and hat, for each woman and girl. These are furnished them at the expense of their masters, and are generally given to them at Christmas ; at which time they are allowed three days holidays, viz. Christmas day, and two days after; during which time they do no work, but spend it in dancing, singing, and making merry.

This they are enabled to do, by having also given them, at this time, four or five pounds of meat, the same quantity of flour or rice, with some rum and sugar to each negro, besides taking from their own stock, kids, pigs, or fowls; with which they feast one another during the holidays. At this time especially, they dress themselves out in their best clothes; many of them in good linen, silk handkerchiefs, bracelets, and ear-rings of gold and silver, to no inconsiderable amount, in which they visit or receive their acquaintances from the neighbouring estates.

At this time, too, they perform their offerings of victuals, on the graves of their deceased relations and friends; a piece of superstition which all negroes are addicted to, and which, were they to neglect doing, they firmly believe they would be punished by the spirits of the deceased persons. This offering consists of meat, whole kids, pigs, or fowls, with broth, liquors, and other matters, and is performed in the following manner; A man or woman, accustomed to the ceremony, takes of each meat laid in dishes round the grave, and, pulling some of it in pieces, throws the same on the grave, calling out the name of the dead person, as if alive, saying, " Here is a piece of such a thing for

you to eat; why did you leave your father, mother, wife, children, and friends? Did you go away angry with us? When shall we see you again? Make our provisions to grow, and stock to breed; don't let any body do us harm, and we will give you the same next year;" with the like expressions to everything they throw on the grave. After which, taking a little of the rum, or other liquors, they sprinkle it thereon, crying out in the same manner, " Here is a little rum to comfort your heart, good bye to you, God bless you;" and drinking some of it themselves to the welfare of the deceased, they set up a dismal cry and howling, but immediately after begin to dance and sing round the grave. The ceremony is then concluded, by every one scrambling for the remainder of the offering left in the dishes, the dogs devouring that on the grave; and the company bidding their dead friends adieu for that time; they all depart to their houses, and continue their merriment the whole day after. This practice is truly laughable to white people who see it; but it is a plain indication, that negroes have some notion of the immortality of the soul.

The slaves belonging to people in the towns of the English islands, are composed of house-servants, tradesmen, and porters. The first live much in the same manner as the common servants in England, but do not half as much work, and are subject only to a moderate manual correction, instead of being discharged for their faults, and left a burthen on the public, or to support themselves, driven to the necessity of using such means, as to
forfeit

forfeit their lives to the laws ; the case too often of servants in England.

The domestic negroes are fed, clothed, and provided with every necessary by their owners, have generally a good apartment in the yard of their masters, to retire and to sleep in ; and they are in general well treated. They make tolerable good cooks, washers, and attendants ; but it is best not to trust them, without check, as stewards, butlers, or in the like offices. They will seldom do the duty, or assist one another in their several departments, without being obliged to it by their masters, whom, however, they seldom scruple to disobey.

The negro slaves, tradesmen, are chiefly carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, or masons ; some of whom make tolerable good workmen, if under proper directions ; but they are not very skilful in laying out work themselves, or contriving. They, in general, live very comfortable, are well treated, and many of them make tolerable sums of money by jobs they do for others in their own leisure hours.

The negro porters are in general a very idle, insolent, and thievish set of people, and are often guilty of much imposition, especially to strangers, on their arrival in the islands. They are commonly the stoutest and worst disposed negroes belonging to white people, or to free people of colour in the towns, and pay their owners a certain sum daily ; but many of them will game away the whole of their earnings, or spend it in liquor, to the great injury of their masters.

The characters of negroes are not so various as one would imagine they would be, from the difference

of the country they are brought from to the West Indies ; as very few of them, on their arrival in the islands, have the least appearance of having been civilized, or possessed of any endowments, but such as are merely natural. For the generality of them, on their first introduction, appear as wild as the brute beasts ; are indolent and stupid to a degree, so that they hardly know the use of the most common utensil of husbandry, much less the methods of cultivating the ground.

Every thing appears to them as entirely new, as to the infant just come to a moderate degree of vision ; but, at the same time, they seem to be so very unconcerned at the sight of the most novel objects, that the bare recollection is not a moment in their minds. They appear insensible to every thing but hunger and thirst, which, however, to satisfy, they have no more nicety than a hog ; as any thing, either raw or dressed, is equally acceptable when given to them.

This stupidity of theirs continues a length of time after their arrival in the islands, before most of them can be brought to any degree of proper comprehension ; and, with many of them, it is entirely unconquerable.

The creole negroes, that is to say, those who are born in the West-Indies, having been brought up among white people, and paid some attention to from their infancy, lose much of that uncommon stupidity so conspicuous in their new negro parents ; and are, in general, tolerably sensible, sharp, and sagacious. But there is actually something so very unaccountable in the genius of all negroes, so very different from that of white people in general, that there

there is not to be produced an instance in the West Indies, of any of them ever arriving to any degree of perfection in the liberal arts or sciences, notwithstanding the greatest pains taken with them; and the only thing they are remarkable for attaining to any degree of perfection, is music.

Account of an interview with a prince of Morocco, and a visit to his Harem; from Lempriere's Tour from Gibraltar to Tangier, &c.

UPON my arrival at Tarudant, without being allowed time to dismount, I was immediately carried to the residence of the prince, which is situated about half a mile to the south of the town. At a short distance, the house, which is small, and was built by the prince, has a great appearance of neatness; but that want of taste and convenience which is universally the characteristic of the Moorish buildings, is presently discernible when it is narrowly inspected. It is composed of tabby,* and is surrounded with a high square wall, which also encloses two tolerably neat gardens, planned by an European, and now under the care of a Spanish renegado. The apartments, which are all on the ground-floor, are square and lofty, opening into a court, in the centre of which is a fountain. The entrance is through a small arched door-way which leads into a court-yard, where on one side are

a few out-houses; on the other, the space allotted for the horses of the prince. As the climate is open and fine, there are few or no stables in this country, but the horses are kept out in an open yard, and held by pins fixed in the ground.

There was not much of magnificence, it must be confessed, in our introduction, nor did any thing occur to counteract the unfavourable impression, previous to our entering the apartment of the prince. The chamber into which I was conducted, I found a small room with seats in the walls; and there it is customary for all persons to wait till their names are announced. I observed a number of singular-looking persons attending here; and, as I was not much disposed to make one of their company, instead of sitting, I amused myself, as other Europeans do, with walking about the room. In this exercise, however, I was a solitary performer; for the Moors, whatever be their object, whether business, conversation, or amusement, are generally seated; and indeed so novel to them was my deportment in this respect, that they concluded I was either distracted in my intellect, or saying my prayers.

After being detained in this disagreeable situation for about an hour, orders were brought from the prince for my immediate introduction, with my interpreter. From the chamber where we had been waiting, we passed through a long and dark entry, which at its termination introduced us to a square court-

* The manner of preparing *tabby*, of which all their best edifices are formed, is, I believe, the only remains of their ancient knowledge at present existing. It consists of a mixture of mortar and very small stones, beaten tight in a wooden case, and suffered to dry, when it forms a cement equal to the solid rock.

court-yard, floored with chequered tiling, into which the prince's room opened, by means of large folding doors. These were curiously painted of various colours, in the form of chequers. The immediate entrance to the room was neat; it was a very large arched door-way, curiously ornamented with chequered tiling, and forming a small porch, or anti-chamber. The room was lofty, square, and floored with chequered tiling; the walls stuccoed, and the cieling painted of various colours. Much of the beauty of the room was lost for want of windows, which is a defect observable in most Moorish houses.

I found the prince sitting cross-legged, on a mattrass covered with fine white linen, and placed on the floor; this, with a narrow and long piece of carpeting that fronted him, on which were seated his Moorish friends, was the only furniture in the room. Upon my first entrance, and delivering the consul's letter of introduction, which, according to the custom of the country, was presented in a silk handkerchief, I was addressed by the prince with the salutation, *bono tibib, bono Anglaise*; which is a mixture of Arabic and Spanish, meaning, "You are a good doctor; the English are good;" and was ordered with my interpreter to sit down on the floor, between the prince and his visitors; when I was immediately interrogated by every one present, each having a question to put to me, and that of the most insignificant kind.

The prince expressed great pleasure at my arrival, wished to know whether I came voluntarily or not, and whether the English physicians were in high repute. To the first

question I replied, that I was sent by order of the governor of Gibraltar; to the second, I felt it a duty which I owed to truth and to my country, to answer in the affirmative. He then desired me immediately to feel his pulse, and to examine his eyes, one of which was darkened by a cataract, and the other affected with a spasmodic complaint; and requested me to inform him, whether I would undertake to cure him; and how soon? My answer was, that I wished to consider his case maturely before I gave my opinion; and in a day or two I should be a better judge.

One of his particular friends observed to him, from seeing me without a beard, for I had shaven in the morning, I was too young to be an able physician. Another remarked that I had put powder in my hair on purpose to disguise my age; and a third insisted, that it was not my own hair. But what seemed to produce the greatest astonishment among them, was my dress, which from its closeness, the Moorish dress being quite loose, they were certain must occasion pain, and be disagreeably warm.

The reader may be assured, that a part of this conversation was not very entertaining to me; and, indeed, after the great fatigue which I had undergone, I could well have dispensed with most of their interrogatories; but instead of dismissal and the repose which I wished and expected, my patience was exhausted by the absurd curiosity of the whole court, who one after another intreated me to favour them with my opinion, and inform them of the state of their health, merely by feeling the pulse. Having acquitted

quitted myself to the best of my ability in this curious inquiry, the prince informed me, he had prepared for my reception a good house, whither he desired me to retire, and visit him the following morning early, when I was to examine his case more particularly.

The good house promised me by the prince, proved to be a miserable room in the Jewdry, that is, the part of the suburb inhabited by the Jews, situated about a quarter of a mile from the town. It was, however, the habitation of the prince's principal Jew, and the best in the place. This apartment, which was on the ground floor, was narrow and dirty, having no windows to it, but opening by means of large folding-doors into a court, where three Jewish families, who lived all in the same house, threw the whole of their rubbish and dirt. I suppose my feelings might be rendered more acute by the disappointment; for, on being introduced into this wretched hovel, I was so struck with horror and disgust, that I was on the point of mounting my horse for the purpose of asking the prince for another apartment; but upon being told it was the best in the town, and reflecting that I had voluntarily entered upon these difficulties, I determined to struggle through them as well as I could, and consented for the present to acquiesce in this indifferent fare.

I took, however, the first opportunity of representing my disagreeable situation to the prince, who gave orders for apartments to be fitted up for me in his garden; but from the slowness of the masons, they were not finished in time for me to occupy them before I left Tarudant. The prince's Jew had

directions to supply me with every thing that was necessary; and while at Tarudant I had no reason whatever to complain of any inattention on the part of the prince.

Upon my visiting the prince the following day, and examining into the nature of his complaint, I found it to be of the most desperate kind; but as I had travelled near five hundred miles to see him, I could not be satisfied to return back without attempting something. I therefore gave a formal opinion to the prince in writing, stating, that I could by no means absolutely undertake to cure him; that I could not even flatter him with very great hopes of success; but that if he chose to give my plan of treatment a trial for a couple of months, we could then judge whether the disease was likely to be removed. This plan was approved of, and he immediately began his course of medicines.

I have already intimated, that the prince had totally lost the use of one eye by a cataract; and I may add, that he had nearly lost that of the other by a spasm, which threatened to end in a gutta serena, and which had drawn the eye so much towards the nose, as sometimes to exclude the appearance of the pupil. The only remains of sight left, were merely sufficient to enable him to see large bodies, without distinguishing any of them particularly. The spasm was the disease which I was ordered to cure.

But these were by no means the limits of the prince's complaints. For, in truth, his whole frame was so enervated by a course of debauchery, that I found it necessary to put him under a strict regimen; to enforce the observance of which I committed from time to time my directions

directions to writing. They were translated into Arabic, and one copy delivered to the prince, and the other to his confidential friend, who undertook, at my request, to see them carried into execution.

As I administered internal as well as topical remedies, I made a point of giving them to my patient with my own hand. The prince made no difficulty of swallowing the medicine, however nauseous; but it was a long time before I could make him comprehend how a medicine introduced into the stomach could afford any relief to the eye. I must, however, do him the justice to say, that I found him a more apt disciple than any of his attendants. Many of them could not be made at all to understand the action of medicines, and in consequence were full of prejudices against my mode of treatment.

Upon receiving the prince's orders to attend his ladies, one of his friends was immediately dispatched with me to the gate of the Harem; with directions to the Alcaide of the eunuchs to admit myself and interpreter whenever I thought it necessary.

The eunuchs, who have entire charge of the women, and who in fact live always among them, are the children of negro slaves. They are generally either very short and fat; or else tall, deformed, and lame. Their voices have that particular tone which is observable in youths who are just arrived at manhood; and their persons altogether afford a disgusting image of weakness and effeminacy. From the trust reposed in them by their masters, and the consequence which it gives them, the eunuchs exceed in insolence and pride every other class of peo-

ple in the country. They displayed indeed so much of it towards me, that I was obliged, in my own defence, to complain of them once or twice, and have them punished.

Attended by one of these people, after passing the gate of the Harem, which is always locked, and under the care of a guard of eunuchs, we entered a narrow and dark passage, which soon brought us to the court, into which the women's chambers open. We here saw numbers of both black and white women and children; some concubines, some slaves, and others hired domestics.

Upon their observing the unusual figure of an European, the whole multitude in a body surrounded me, and expressed the utmost astonishment at my dress and appearance. Some stood motionless, with their hands lifted up, their eyes fixed, and their mouths open, in the usual attitude of wonder and surprize. Some burst into immoderate fits of laughter; while others again came up, and, with uncommon attention, eyed me from head to foot. The parts of my dress which seemed most to attract their notice were my buckles, buttons, and stockings; for neither men nor women in this country wear any thing of the kind. With respect to the club of my hair, they seemed utterly at a loss in what view to consider it: but the powder that I wore they conceived to be employed for the purpose of destroying vermin. Most of the children when they saw me ran away in the most perfect consternation: and on the whole I appeared as singular an animal, and I dare say had the honour of exciting as much curiosity and attention, as a lion, or a man-tiger, just imported from abroad, and introduced into a country town in England.

land on a market day: Every time I visited the Harem I was surrounded and laughed at by this curious mob, who, on my entering the gate, followed me close to the very chamber to which I was proceeding, and on my return universally escorted me out.

The greatest part of the women were uncommonly fat and unwieldy; had black and full eyes, round faces, with small noses. They were of different complexions: some very fair, some sallow, and others again perfect negroes.

One of my new patients being ready to receive me, I was desired to walk into her room; where, to my great surprise, I saw nothing but a curtain drawn quite across the apartment, similar to that of a theatre which separates the stage from the audience. A female domestic brought a very low stool, placed it near the curtain, and told me I was to sit down there, and feel her mistress's pulse.

The lady, who had by this time summoned up courage to speak, introduced her hand from the bottom of the curtain, and desired me to inform her of all her complaints, which she conceived I might perfectly perceive by merely feeling the pulse. It was in vain to ask her where her pain was seated, whether in her stomach, head, or back; the only answer I could procure, was a request to feel the pulse of the other hand, and then point out the seat of the disease, and the nature of the pain.

Having neither satisfied my curiosity by exhibiting her face, nor made me acquainted with the nature of her complaint, I was under the necessity of informing her in positive terms, that to understand the disease

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it was absolutely necessary to see the tongue, as well as to feel the pulse; and that without it I could do nothing for her. My eloquence, or rather that of my Jewish interpreter, was, however, for a long time exerted in vain; and I am persuaded she would have dismissed me without any further enquiry, had not her invention supplied her with a happy expedient to remove her embarrassment. She contrived at last to cut a hole through the curtain, through which she extruded her tongue, and thus complied with my injunction as far as it was necessary in a medical view, but most effectually disappointed my curiosity.

Audience of the emperor of Morocco; from the same.

THE Moor who introduced me, upon appearing in sight of the emperor, prostrated himself on the earth, kissed it, and in a very humble manner exclaimed in Arabic, "May God preserve the king!" The emperor then ordered him to approach, and deliver what he had to say. He informed his majesty, that in compliance with his order he had brought before him the English doctor; after which, having made a very low bow, he retired, and the emperor immediately desired me and my interpreter to advance towards him; but as soon as we had got within ten yards of the emperor, two soldiers came up pulled us by the coat, and acquainted us that we must not presume to approach any further.

I found the sovereign seated in an European post-chaise, placed in one
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of his open courts, and drawn by one mule in shafts, having a man on each side to guide it. Behind the carriage were foot soldiers, some negroes and other Moors, in two divisions, forming together a half moon. Some of these soldiers were only armed with large clubs, while others had muskets which they held close to their bodies, and pointed perpendicularly.

The emperor, after surveying me minutely and with the greatest attention, accompanied with no small share of *hauteur*, demanded from my interpreter, in a very stern manner, if I was the Christian doctor who had been attending Muley Absulem? I desired him to answer that I was.—“How came you into the country, and were you sent by order of your own king, or by whom?” To render my visit of more importance, I answered, “By order of government.”—“Where did you learn your profession, and what is the name of the person who taught it you?” I informed his majesty.—“What is the reason that the French surgeons are better than the English; and which do you think are best?” I answered, “The French surgeons are very good, but it must certainly be allowed that the English are in general superior, being more scientifically educated.”—The emperor then observed, that a French surgeon had come into the country, and in the course of his practice had killed several persons.

His majesty next asked, in a very austere manner, “What was the reason I had forbidden Muley Absulem the use of tea? My reply was “Muley Absulem has very weak nerves, and tea is injurious to the nervous system.”—“If tea is so un-

wholesome,” replied his majesty, “why do the English drink so much?” I answered, “It is true they drink it twice a day; but then they do not make it so strong as the Moors, and they generally use milk with it, which lessens its pernicious effects. But the Moors, when once they begin to use it, make it very strong, drink a great deal, and very frequently without milk.”—“You are right,” said the emperor; “and I know it sometimes makes their hands shake.” After this conversation, about a dozen distilled waters, prepared from different herbs, were brought for me to taste, and inform the emperor what they were; which were hot, and which were cold, &c.

His majesty now condescended to become more familiar and easy in his remarks, and desired me to observe the snow on Mount Atlas, which his carriage immediately fronted, wishing to know if we had the same in my country. I answered, that we frequently had a great deal in the winter season, and that England was a much colder climate than Morocco. The emperor observed, that if any person attempted to go to the top of the mountain, he would die from excess of cold. He then informed me, that on the other side of the mountain was a very fine plain and fertile country, which was named Tafilet.

Observing that the emperor was now in a good humour, I embraced the opportunity of mentioning to him, how much my feelings had been hurt by the malicious reports which had been for some time past circulating to my prejudice; that they were of such a nature as to make me very desirous of having my character

character cleared up, by a proper examination into the present state of the prince's health, as well as into the nature of the medicines which I had been administering to him. The emperor in reply said, that he had already ordered his Moorish physician to examine very particularly my medicines; who had declared that he could find nothing improper in them. It is very clear, however, that some suspicion must have taken place in the breast of the emperor, to have induced him to send privately for these medicines, for the purpose of having them nicely examined; from which circumstances I could not help feeling it as a very fortunate event for myself, that the prince's health was in so favourable a state.

After a conversation of some length, the heads of which I have endeavoured briefly to state, the evening being far advanced, the emperor commanded one of his attendants to conduct me home to his Jew, and desire him to take great care of me: adding, that I was a good man, I was Muley Absulem's physician, and that he would send me home to my entire satisfaction. He then ordered his carriage to drive on.

Short history of the constitution Unigenitus; from Des Carriers's History of France, vol. ii.

FOR want of amusement, Lewis's confessor engaged him in a religious war, by his scheme of the constitution *Unigenitus*, so called because it begins with that word.

This constitution, worthy at best to exercise indolent schools, became

a state affair, which agitated France more than half a century, and having begun with intrigue, was continued by fanaticism, and finished, as it should do, in contempt.

Although details of this nature be very wearisome, yet as they afford intelligence of facts, it is in some measure unavoidable to give them, as also to trace back the origin of this theological quarrel, the better to shew by what means the Jesuits obtained their extensive dominion; and in what manner, by abusing those means, they at length provoked the destruction of their order, and, by a natural consequence, the annihilation of the French king's despotism.

Socrates, Plato, Seneca, and many stoics, treated morality in a philosophical way, establishing duties and inspiring the love of virtue, with a force of reason and sentiment worthy the dignity of the subject. The apostles and their immediate successors treated it like true pastors of souls, unfolding the maxims of the Gospel, and teaching all that is necessary to the true Christian life. At the revival of learning, Theologians treated morality in a scholastic manner, subtilizing, sophisticating, and disputing concerning every thing; substituting words for things, entangling simple ideas; obscuring primitive truths by false applications. Then private confession became more frequent, and all sorts of trifling details were entered into. Swarms of casuists, without consulting the Gospel, or even universal conscience, formed to themselves arbitrary codes, wherein cases of conscience were decided according to caprice and ignorance. Sins were distinguished into venial and mortal; the latter which bring condemnation,

damnation, the former which do not; and the result of their doctrine was, that one might sin every day, provided one confessed every day. In short, all these pretended judges of consciences produced voluminous medleys, which all together are not worth Tully's Offices.

The Jesuits, as zealous theologians, as crafty politicians, signalized themselves above all in this dangerous career. With them arose new troubles, which were to last as long as themselves.

In the sixteenth century, a theological war was kindled concerning grace. This, however, was not a new question; it may be traced back to the remotest antiquity. Free-will, and the distinction of the voluntary, occupied philosophers before the birth of Christianity; but divines, thinking themselves superior to philosophers, wished to treat it in their own way. What is the nature of grace? How does it affect the will of men? How does it produce good sentiments and actions of men? Divines pretended to discover it, although these secrets are known to God alone. The Thomists, or Dominicans, contrived a *physical promotion*; the Scotists, or Franciscans, a *predefinition*; and with these high sounding words, pretending to explain the mystery, but rendered it still more incomprehensible. Molina, a Spanish Jesuit, in order to explain how man preserves his free-will, imagined an *intermediate knowledge*, by which God knows the conditional future, and directs himself in the dispensation of his graces, in a manner that their efficacy supposes a foreseen consent of the human will. "If ever," said one of Molina's brethren, "such a doctrine should be maintained by powerful

and cunning men, who belong to some religious order, it will put the church in a perilous state." And, in effect, how many tempests, how many cabals, has it occasioned! How many virtuous persons have been sacrificed through false zeal! How many excesses represented as duties!

Without dwelling on all that is scandalous in this doctrine, it will suffice to observe, in general, that it has for its basis dissimulation, duplicity, bad faith, and perjury: since, according to the principles of its author, we are not bound to fulfil the engagements against which we have internally protested, when we contracted them!—which amounts to this, that the heart may contradict what the mouth pronounces;—hence the word Jesuitical and deceitful are become synonymous. When such principles have been imbibed in youth, they leave in maturer age, notwithstanding the efforts made to overcome them, a leaven which influences the rest of life, and the effects of which are so much the more dangerous, when a man, who is infected by them, is besides endowed with great talents and eminent qualities.

The Jesuits, all-powerful at Rome, caused, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, this doctrine to be approved, of which they expected to avail themselves in a very advantageous manner. A Flemish bishop, named Jansenius, refuted it in a large book which he composed, in order to explain the sentiments of St. Augustin upon grace. His work was only known to a few doctors; the Jesuits, by their attacks, gave it great celebrity. The foundation of his doctrine was

was, that the grace of God is necessary, even to the just, to fulfil his commandments, and that we can never resist grace.

The Jesuits did not find this doctrine orthodox, because it opposed theirs, which was more accommodating, and they had it condemned by Innocent X. in 1653. On the other side, against these relaxed doctors, who flattered the passions, arose rigorists, who, in some respects, destroyed nature. Their sour misanthropy, by over-stretching Christian perfection, changed the most innocent things into crimes. They condemned lawful and innocent amusements; they combated sentiments and customs, without which the commerce of civil life would soon fall; in fine, they were as ready to condemn as the others to absolve. This severe morality was called *Jansenism*, and those who professed it *Jansenists*; for the same reason the Jesuits and their partisans were called *Molinists*, and their doctrine *Molinism*.

The most celebrated advocates for Jansenism dwelt in the abbey of the Port Royal des Champs,—the nursery of sound philosophy and true literature. Learned logicians, eloquent, bitter, or pleasant, according to the occasion, they possessed a severity of manners very common to a persecuted party, and which gains, if not imitators, at least admirers, disciples, and adherents. The Jesuits, supple, cunning, insinuating, indulgent in morality, as regular in their conduct as their opponents, might appear less so, from their being more distributed in the world, and at court, when they directed consciences. They fixed upon this house of Port Royal for the field of battle, and made no

scruple to change primitive notions, in order to overthrow their adversaries. They described them at court not only as heretics, but also as republicans, enemies to royal authority. It was under this double appearance that Tellier caused Lewis XIV. to regard them. The chief religion of this prince was to believe in royal authority. Besides, being ignorant in matters of doctrine, superstitious in his devotion, he prosecuted a real or imaginary heresy as an act of disobedience, and thought to expiate his faults by persecution. However, he still hesitated; the great number of celebrated men formed at Port Royal, combated in his mind for that house. He at length yielded to the pressing solicitations of his confessor; and this retreat, the asylum for morals, virtue, and knowledge, was utterly destroyed, and razed to the ground.

One of the principal supporters of Jansenism was an *Oratorian* named Quesnel, author of a book entitled: *Moral Reflections on the New Testament*. This work was the edification of the church for a number of years, and even of the pope himself, Clement XI. whom the Jesuits, nevertheless, forced to condemn it. This step was a decisive stroke for them;—Tellier intrigued so as to gain his point. He sought in Quesnel's book for the propositions which he could make the subject of the constitution; and as he had advanced to the king that there were more than a hundred condemnable propositions, he stopped when he had found a hundred and one. He took care to choose those that were contrary to the Molinistical doctrine; but as they were conformable to that of St. Paul, St. Augustin, and St. Thomas, one of his workmen

men represented to him what danger there was in so attacking the pillars of Christianity. "St. Paul and St. Augustin" said the fiery Jesuit, "were warm heads that we should now send to the Bastile; with regard to St. Thomas, you may guess what value I set upon a Dominican, when I care so little for an apostle."

In order to render his work agreeable to the pope, he did not fail, in his project of a bull, to favour the Italian maxims; and the whole was sent to Rome, to people of whom he was secure. The bull being thus dressed, his emissaries communicated it to the pope. However rapidly it was read, the holy father thought he heard a manifesto against the Scriptures and the fathers. He shuddered; but the Jesuits, in the end, decided him. He yielded with remorse upon the matter, and fear concerning its consequences.

At Rome it excited a general discontent; the cardinals loudly exclaimed, that the doctrine of the church was overthrown. The holy father shed tears; but for things once done in this court there is no remedy. However, the Jesuits at last succeeded in converting the sacred college; in a few days the ignorant believed the bull, and the politicians supported it.

In France it at first met with the same reception as at Rome. The king supported it,—that was his own work; but the acceptance and registering of it, became a state affair. In the end, partly by fair and partly by rough means, the court party, that is, the Jesuits, got the better.

As soon as the constitution *Unigenitus* was translated into French,

and in every one's hand, each society became a school of theology; all conversations were infected with the fury of dogmatizing, and the national character loses not its rights, a dogmatical dissertation was mingled with a ballad. Nevertheless this affair was for a long time a subject of discord. Ecclesiastical dignities, and even subaltern stations were not conferred but on those who previously had accepted this bull, which thereby nearly became in France what the Test-Act is in England. Calm was not perfectly re-established, till the end of the following reign, after the Jesuits had been expelled.

Account of the Theosophists and Rosacrusians; from Enfield's History of Philosophy.

BESIDES the Scripturalists, there is another class of philosophers who profess to derive their knowledge of nature from divine revelation, namely, the Theosophists. These men neither contented with the natural light of human reason, nor with the simple doctrines of Scripture, understood in their literal sense, have recourse to an internal supernatural light, superior to all other illuminations, from which they profess to derive a mysterious and divine philosophy, manifested only to the chosen favourites of heaven. They boast that, by means of this celestial light, they are not only admitted to the intimate knowledge of God, and of all divine truth, but have access to the most sublime secrets of nature. They ascribe it to the singular manifestation of divine benevolence, that they are able to make such an use of the element of fire,

fire, in the chymical art, as enables them to discover the essential principles of bodies, and to disclose stupendous mysteries in the physical world. They even pretend to an acquaintance with those celestial beings, which form the medium of intercourse between God and man, and to a power of obtaining from them, by the aid of magic, astrology, and other similar arts, various kinds of information and assistance. This they affirm to have been the ancient secret wisdom, first revealed to the Jews under the name of the Cabala, and transmitted by tradition to posterity. Philosophers of this class have no common system; but every one follows the impulse of his own imagination, and constructs an edifice of fanaticism for himself. The only thing in which they are agreed is, to abandon human reason, and pretend to divine illumination. The reader will easily perceive, that it must be a difficult task to decypher the systems of such philosophers, and will not be disappointed if he finds us unable to illuminate this region of obscurity. In pursuit of our plan, we shall enumerate a few of the principal Theosophists.

Many traces of the spirit of Theosophism may be found through the whole history of philosophy; in which nothing is more frequent, than fanatical and hypocritical pretensions to divine illumination.

Among moderns, the first name which appears with distinction in this class of philosophers is Phillipus Aureolus Theophrastus Paracelsus, a man of a strange and paradoxical genius. He was born at Einsidlen, near Zurich, in the year 1493. His family name, which was Bombastus, he afterwards changed, after the custom of the age, into Paracelsus.

He was instructed by his father, who was a physician, in languages and medicine. So earnestly desirous was he of penetrating into the mysteries of nature, that, neglecting books, he undertook long and hazardous journies through Germany, Italy, Spain, Denmark, Hungary, and Muscovy, and probably several parts of Asia, and Africa. He not only visited literary and learned men, but frequented the workshops of mechanics, descended into mines, and thought no place mean or hazardous, if it afforded him an opportunity of increasing his knowledge of nature. He consulted all persons who pretended to be possessed of any secret art, particularly such as were skilled in metallurgy. Being in this manner a self-taught philosopher and physician, he despised the medical writings of the ancients, and boasted that the whole contents of his library would not amount to six folios.

Rejecting the tedious method of the Galenic school, Paracelsus had recourse to new and secret medicines, procured from metallic substances by the chymical art. And his bold empirical practice was in many cases attended with such wonderful success, that he rose to the summit of popular fame, and even obtained the medical chair in the city of Basil. Among other nostrums, he administered a medicine, to which he gave the name of Azoth, which, he boasted, was the philosopher's stone, the medical *panacea*, and which his disciples extol as the Tincture of Life, given through the divine favour to man in these last days. His irregular practice, and the virulence with which he censured the ignorance and indolence

dolence of other physicians, created him many enemies. The rewards which he received for the cures he performed were by no means adequate to the expectations of his vanity and ambition. After meeting with many disappointments and mortifications, an incident occurred which determined him to leave Basil. A wealthy canon of Lichfield, who happened to fall sick at Basil, offered Paracelsus a hundred florins to cure his disease. This Paracelsus easily effected with three pills of *his laudanum*, one of his most powerful medicines. The canon, restored to health so soon, and as appeared to him, by such slight means, refused to stand to his engagement. Paracelsus brought the matter before the magistrate, who decreed him only the usual fee. Inflamed with violent indignation at the contempt which was, by this decision, thrown upon his art, after inveighing bitterly against the canon, the magistrate, and the whole city, he left Basil, and withdrew into Alsace, whither his medical fame and success followed him. After two years, during which time he practised medicine in the principal families of the country, about the year 1530, he removed to Switzerland, where he conversed with Bullenger and other divines. From this time, he seems for many years to have roved through various parts of Germany and Bohemia. At last, in the year 1541, he finished his days in the hospital of St. Sebastian, in Saltsburgh.

Different, and even contradictory, judgements have been formed by the learned concerning Paracelsus. His admirers and followers have celebrated him as a perfect master of all

philosophical and medical mysteries. Some, on account of the reformation which he produced in medicine, have called him the medical Luther. Many have maintained, as indeed he himself boasted, that he was possessed of the grand secret of converting inferior metals into gold. On the contrary, others have charged his whole medical practice with ignorance, imposture, and impudence. J. Crato, in an epistle to Zwinger, attests, that in Bohemia his medicines, even when they performed an apparent cure, left his patients in such a state, that they soon after died of palsies or epilepsies. Erastus, who was for two years one of his pupils, wrote an entire book to detect his impostures. He is said to have been not only unacquainted with the Greek language, but so bad a Latin scholar, that he dared not speak a word of Latin in the presence of learned men. It is even asserted, that he was so imperfect a master of his vernacular tongue, that he was obliged to have his German writings corrected by another hand. His adversaries also charge him with the most contemptible arrogance, the most vulgar scurrility, the grossest intemperance, and the most detestable impiety. The truth seems to be, that Paracelsus's merit chiefly consisted in improving the art of chymistry, and in inventing or bringing to light, several chymical medicines, which to this day hold their place in the *Pharmacopæia*. Without either learning, or urbanity, or even decency of manners, by the mere help of physical knowledge and the chymical arts, he obtained an uncommon share of medical fame; and to support his credit with

with the ignorant, he pretended to an intercourse with invisible spirits, and to divine illumination.

Paracelsus wrote, or rather dictated to his amanuensis, many treatises; but they are so entirely void of elegance, so immethodical and obscure, that one may almost credit the assertion of his chymical assistant, Oponinus, that he dictated most of his books in the night, when he was intoxicated. They treat of an immense variety of subjects, medical, magical, and philosophical. His *philosophia sagax*, "Subtle philosophy," is a most obscure and confused treatise on astrology, necromancy, chiromancy, physiognomy, and other divining arts, calculated for no other purpose than to promote vulgar superstition. Several of his pieces treat of philosophical subjects, such as "The Production and Fruit of the Four Elements;" "The Secrets of Nature, their Origin, Causes, Character, and Properties," and the like; but they are such a confused mass of words, that it would be an Herculean labour to draw out from them anything which would have the least appearance of a consistent philosophical system.

The chymical, or Paracelsic school, produced many eminent men, whose memoirs rather belong to the history of medicine than of philosophy. Many of these took great pains to digest the incoherent dogmas of their master into a methodical system. A summary of his doctrine may be seen in the preface to the *Basilica Chymica* of Crollius; which, after all, is nothing better than a mere jargon of words, with which it is wholly unnecessary to trouble the reader.

What Paracelsus was in the sixteenth century, Robert Fludd, an

English physician, attempted to become in the seventeenth. He was born in the year 1574, at Milgate, in Kent, and became a student in the university of Oxford in 1591. After he had finished his studies, he spent six years in travelling, in order to observe and collect what was curious in nature, mysterious in the arts, or profound in science. Returning to England, he was admitted into the college of physicians in London, where he obtained great admiration for his singular piety, and the profundity of his chymical, philosophical, and theological knowledge. After a long course of extensive practice, he died in the year 1637.

So peculiar was this philosopher's turn of mind, that there was nothing which ancient or modern times could afford, under the notion of occult wisdom, which he did not eagerly gather into his magazine of science. All the mysterious and incomprehensible dreams of the Cabalists and Paracelsians, he compounded into a new mass of absurdity. In hopes of improving the medical and chymical arts, he devised a new system of physics, loaded with wonderful hypothesis, and mystical fictions. He supposed two Universal Principles, the Northern or condensing power, and the Southern, or rarefying power. Over these he placed innumerable intelligencies and geniuses, and called together whole troops of spirits from the four winds, to whom he committed the charge of diseases. He applied this thermometer to discover the harmony between the macrocosm and the microcosm, or the world of nature and of man; he introduced many marvellous fictions into natural philosophy and medicine; he attempted to explain the Mosaic

Mosaic cosmogony, in a work entitled *Philosophia Mosaica*, wherein he speaks of the three first principles, *darkness*, as the first matter; *water*, as the second matter; and the *divine light*, as the most central essence, creating, informing, vivifying all things; of secondary principles, two active, cold and heat; and two passive, moisture and dryness; and describes the whole mystery of production and corruption, of regeneration and resurrection, with such vague conceptions and obscure language, as leave the subject involved in impenetrable darkness. Some of his ideas, such as they were, appear to have been borrowed from the Cabalists and Alexandrian Platonists. The reader will easily judge what kind of light may be expected from the writings of Robert Fludd, when he is informed that he ascribes the magnetic virtue to the irradiation of angels. His philosophical works are, *Utriusque Cosmi Historia; Veritatis Proscenium; Monochordium Mundi symphonicum; Clavis Philosophiæ et Alchymicæ; Meteorologia cosmica*, &c. His extravagancies were reprobated by several writers, particularly Kepler and Mersenus. In reply, he wrote an allegoric piece, under the title of "The Contest of Wisdom with Folly." Mersenus, who did not choose to continue the controversy, engaged Gassendi to chastise him, in his *Examen Philosophiæ Fluddianæ*; "Examination of the Fluddian Philosophy;" a work which should be read by those who wish to form an accurate judgment of Fludd and other Theosophists.

One of the most dazzling luminaries in the constellation of Theosophists was Jacob Boehmen, a famous German philosopher, born

near Gorlitz, in Upper Lusatia, in the year 1575. He was brought up a shoe-maker, and, at twenty years of age, married a butcher's daughter, with whom he lived happily thirty years. Though he never entirely forsook his occupation, his singular genius soon carried him *ultra crepidam*, "beyond his last." The theological controversies which were at this time spreading through Germany, made their way among the lowest classes of the people; and Boehmen, much disturbed in his mind upon many articles of faith, prayed earnestly for divine illumination. The consequence, according to his own account, was, that, rapt beyond himself for seven days together, he experienced a sacred sabbatic silence, and was admitted to the intuitive vision of God. Soon afterwards, he had a second ecstasy, in which, as he relates, whilst he was observing the rays which were reflected from a bright pewter vessel, he found himself, on a sudden, surrounded with celestial irradiations; his spirit was carried to the inmost world of nature, and enabled, from the external forms, lineaments, and colours of bodies, to penetrate into the recess of their essences. In a third vision of the same kind, other still more sublime mysteries were revealed to him, concerning the origin of nature, and the formation of all things, and even concerning divine principles, and intelligent natures. These wonderful communications, in the year 1612, Boehmen committed to writing, and produced his first treatise, entitled *Aurora*; of which, however, the principles, the ideas, and the language, are so new and mysterious, that we find it wholly impracticable to attempt an

an abridgement. Indeed, the author himself declares these mysteries incomprehensible to flesh and blood; and says, that though the words be read, their meaning will lie concealed, till the reader has, by prayer, obtained illumination from that heavenly Spirit, which is in God, and in all nature, and from which all things proceed.

The *Aurora* falling into the hands of the minister of Gorlitz, he severely reprimanded the author from the pulpit, and procured an order from the senate of the city, for repressing the work, in which Boehmen was required to discontinue his attempts to enlighten the world by his writings. Boehmen payed so much regard to this order, which must be confessed to have been as injudicious as it was oppressive, as to refrain from writing for seven years. His projected work, however, found its way to the press, at Amsterdam, in the year 1619; and the author was encouraged, by this circumstance, to resume his pen; and from that time sent forth frequent publications. It is said, but upon uncertain authority, that he was summoned to the supreme ecclesiastical court at Dresden, and there underwent an examination before a body of Theologians, in which he pleaded his cause so successfully, that he was dismissed without censure. Boehmen died in the communion of the Lutheran church, 1624.

It will be easily perceived, from the particulars which have been related, that, in Jacob Boehmen, a warm imagination, united with a gloomy temper, and unrestrained by solid judgement, produced that kind of enthusiasm, which, in its paroxysm, disturbs the natural faculties

of perception and understanding, and produces a preternatural agitation of the nervous system, during which the mind is filled with wild and wonderful conceptions, which pass for visions and revelations. Every page of his writings, and even the hieroglyphic figures prefixed to his works, speak a disordered imagination; and it is in vain to attempt to derive his theosophics from any other source; unless, indeed, we were inclined to believe the account which he gives of himself, when, boasting that he was neither indebted to human learning, nor was he to be ranked among ordinary philosophers, he says, that he wrote, "Not from an external view of nature, but from the dictates of the spirit; and that what he delivered, concerning the nature of things, and concerning the works and creatures of God, had been laid open before his mind by God himself." The conceptions of this enthusiast, in themselves sufficiently obscure, are often rendered still more so, by being clothed under allegorical symbols derived from the chymical art. As he frequently uses the same terms with Paracelsus, it is probable that he was conversant with his writings; but he certainly followed no other guide than his own eccentric genius and enthusiastic imagination: and every attempt which has been made by his followers, to explain and illustrate his system, has been only raising a fresh *ignis fatuus*, to lead the bewildered traveller still further astray.

We honestly confess it to be wholly beyond our power to give any summary of the Boehmian system. This mystic makes God the essence of essences, and supposes a long series of spiritual natures, and even mat-
ter

ter itself, to have flowed from the fountain of the divine nature. His language, upon these subjects, nearly resembles that of the Jewish Cabala. The whole divine Trinity, says he, sending forth bodily forms, produces an image of itself, *velut deum quendam parvum*, "as a God in miniature." If any one name the heavens, the earth, or the stars, the elements, and whatever is beneath or above the heavens, he herein names the whole deity, who, by a power proceeding from himself, thus makes his own essence corporeal.

The elements of Boehmen's theosophy, may be read in his *Aurora* and his treatise, *De tribus divinæ essentiae Principiis*, "On the Three Principles of the Divine Essence." That Jacob Boehmen had many followers, will not be thought surprising, by those who have observed the universal propensity of weak and vulgar minds, to be delighted with whatever is mysterious and marvellous, especially when it is clothed in obscure and allegorical language.

AmorescientificTheosophistthan Jacob Boehmen, we find in John Baptista Van Helmont, a celebrated physician, born at Brussels, in 1577. He made such early proficiency in the studies proper to his profession, that, at seventeen years of age, he was appointed lecturer in surgery, in the academy of Louvain. But he soon discovered, that he had undertaken this office inconsiderately, and had presumed to teach, what he himself did not understand. He found, that, though he had read many books, and made large common-place collections, he had not yet acquired true and substantial knowledge; and he lamented, that credulous and simple youth are so often deceived by the arrogant pretensions of professors. He now applied,

with unwearied industry, to the study of mathematics, geometric, logistic and algebraic, and of astronomy. But, even in these branches of science, he did not find the satisfaction he expected. Still complaining of his ignorance, he refused the title of master of arts, and said, that he had hitherto learned no single art in reality, but in appearance only. Under all this seeming modesty, Van Helmont concealed a fastidious contempt of all knowledge but his own, and even of all the learning which had hitherto appeared in the world, and a fond conceit that he was raised up by God, to overturn former systems, and to introduce a new method of philosophising. Induced, as he relates, by the pious writings of Thomas a Kempis, to pray to God, that he would enable him to love and pursue the truth, he was instructed by a dream to renounce all Pagan philosophy, and particularly Stoicism, to which he had been inclined, and to wait for divine illuminations. Dissatisfied with the knowledge of the nature and virtues of plants, which he derived from the writings of Matthiolus and Dioscorides, and with the principles of medicine which he found in Galen or Avicenna, he concluded, that medical knowledge was not to be obtained from the writings of men, or from human industry. He had again recourse to prayers, and was again admonished, by a dream, to give himself up to the pursuit of divine wisdom. About this time, he learned, from an illiterate chymist, the practical operations of the chymical art, and devoted himself, with great zeal and perseverance, to this pursuit, in hopes of finding, in a chymical laboratory, that knowledge which he had in vain sought for from books. The medical skill, which he by

by this means acquired, he entirely employed in the service of the poor. He administered medicines *gratis* for several years, and obtained a high reputation both for humanity and medical skill. A cold, which he caught in visiting a poor patient in the night, put an end to his life, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

Van Helmont certainly possessed ready talents, read much, and by the help of experiment, improved both the chymical and medical art; but his vanity led him into empirical pretensions. He boasted that he was possessed of a fluid, which he called alcahest, of pure salt, which was the first material principle in nature, and was capable of penetrating into bodies, and producing an entire separation and transmutation of their component parts. But this wonderful fluid was never shewn to any person whatever, not even to his son, who also practised chymistry. The contempt which this philosopher entertained for all former systems led him to frame one of his own, which was a strange compound of theological, medical, and philosophical paradoxes, and in which theosophic mysticism is united with scholastic subtleties. Although he professes to erect the structure of his system upon the foundation of experiment, it is, in truth, nothing more than a baseless fabric, raised in dreams and extacies, by a luxuriant and disordered imagination. Ambitious of novelty, Van Helmont framed abstractions which never existed, but in his own feverish brain, and after giving these imaginary entities barbarous names, boasted of them as wonderful inventions. His writings, if we except a few things in practical chymistry and medicine, are, in fact, wholly destitute of that

kind of information, which would satisfy a rational enquirer after truth, or an accurate investigator of nature.

The footsteps of this philosopher were closely followed by his son, Francis Helmont, who industriously increased the stock of philosophical fictions which he inherited from his father, by incorporating with them the dreams of the Jewish Cabala. His "*Paradoxical Dissertations*," are a mass of philosophical, medical, and theological, paradoxes, scarcely to be paralleled in the history of letters.

The most elegant and philosophical of all the Theosophists, was Peter Poiret, born at Metz, in 1646, and educated in the academy of Basil. Being interrupted in his attendance upon the schools, by ill health, he employed himself, during a long confinement, in the study of the Cartesian philosophy. In the year 1668, he became a student in the university of Heidelburgh, in order to qualify himself for the clerical profession; and, in 1672, he assumed the character of an ecclesiastic in the principality of Deux Points. Here, after a severe illness, he wrote his *Cogitationes Rationales de Deo, Anima, et Malo*, "*Rational Thoughts concerning God, the Soul, and Evil*," in which he, for the most part, followed the principles of Des Cartes; a work which engaged much attention among the philosophers and which he afterwards defended against the censures of Bayle. The public tumults obliged him to leave his clerical cure, and he withdrew to Holland, and afterwards to Hamburgh, where he met the celebrated French mystic Madame Bourignon, and was so captivated with her opinions, that he became her zealous disciple

disciple. Converted from a Cartesian philosopher into a mystical divine, he determined henceforth to seek for that illumination from divine contemplation and prayer, which he could not obtain by the exercise of his rational faculties. From this time, Poiret became a violent enemy to the Cartesian philosophy, and took great pains to detect its errors and defects. At the same time, fascinated with Bourignonian mysticism he rejected the light of reason, as useless and dangerous, and inveighed against every kind of philosophy which was not the effect of divine illuminations. Towards the close of his life, Poiret settled at Reinsburg, in Holland, and employed the remainder of his days in writing mystical books. He died in the year 1719. His treatises, *De Oeconomia Divina*, "On the Divine Economy;" and *De Eruditione Triplici* "On Three Kinds of Learning;" and the last edition of his *Cogitationes Rationales*, though in a great measure free from that obscurity which distinguishes the writings of the Theosophists already mentioned, certainly rank him among the class of mystics. Some of his mystical notions, as they may be gathered from the preliminary dissertation prefixed to his works, are as follows :

It hath pleased God, in order that he may enjoy a vivid and delightful contemplation of himself, beyond that solitude which belongs to the divine essence, to create external beings, in whom he may produce an image of himself. The essence of the human mind is thought capable and desirous of light, and joyful complacency; the properties, in which it bears a resemblance of the divine essence. Nothing is more in-

timate, or essential to the mind, than this desire; by which it is borne always towards the true and infinite Good. In order to satisfy this desire, the illumination of faith is necessary; by means of which, the mind, conscious of its weakness and impotence, disclaims all the fictions of human reason, and directs itself towards God with an intense and ineffable ardour, till by the silent contemplation of him, it is filled with tranquillifying light, and joyful complacency; although, whilst oppressed with the load of mortality, it cannot behold his unveiled face. From this divine illumination, proceeds the most pacific serenity of mind, the most ardent love of God, and the most intimate union with him.

Can there be any doubt concerning the propriety of ranking among fanatics, writers who renounce the light of reason, and seek all wisdom and happiness, in submitting the mind, in silence and tranquillity, to the impressions of divine illumination?

To the class of theosophists, has been commonly referred the entire society of Rosacrusians, which, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, made so much noise in the ecclesiastical and literary world. The history of this society, which is attended with some obscurity, seems to be as follows: its origin is referred to a certain German, whose name was Rosencreuz, who, in the fourteenth century, visited the holy sepulchre, and, in travelling through Asia and Africa, made himself acquainted with many oriental secrets; and who, after his return, instituted a small fraternity, to whom he communicated the mysteries he had learned, under an oath of

of inviolable secrecy. This society remained concealed till the beginning of the seventeenth century, when two books were published, the one entitled, *Fama Fraternitatis laudabilis Ordinis Rosæcrusius*; "The Report of the laudable Fraternity of Rosacrusians;" the other, *Confessio Fraternitatis*; "The Confession of the Fraternity." In these books, the world was informed, that this fraternity was enabled, by divine revelation, to explain the most important secrets, both of nature and grace; that they were appointed to correct the errors of the learned world, particularly in philosophy and medicine; that they were possessed of the philosopher's stone, and understood both the art of transmuting metals, and of prolonging human life; and, in fine, that, by their means, the golden age would return. As soon as these grand secrets were divulged, the whole tribe of the Paracelsists, Theosophists, and Chymists, flocked to the Rosacrusian standard, and every new and unheard of mystery was referred to this fraternity. It is impossible to relate, how much noise this wonderful discovery made, or what different opinions were formed concerning it. After all, though the laws and statutes of the society had appeared, no one could tell where the society itself was to be found, or who really belonged to it. It was imagined by some sagacious observers, that a certain important meaning was concealed under the story of Rosacrusian fraternity, though they were wholly unable to say what it was. One conjectured that some chymical mystery lay hid behind the allegorical tale; another supposed, that it foretold some great ecclesiastical revolution. At last, Michael Breler, in the year 1620, had the

courage publicly to declare, that he certainly knew the whole story to have been the contrivance of some ingenious persons, who chose to amuse themselves, by imposing upon the public credulity. This declaration raised a general suspicion against the whole story; and, as no one undertook to contradict it, this wonderful society daily vanished, and the rumours which had been spread concerning it ceased. The whole was probably a contrivance to ridicule the pretenders to secret wisdom, and wonderful power, particularly the chymists, who boasted that they were possessed of the philosopher's stone. It has been conjectured, and the satirical turn of his writings, and several particular passages in his works, favour the conjecture, that this farce was invented and performed, in part at least, by John Valentine Andrea, a divine of Wartenburgh.

The preceding detail may suffice to shew, in what light the sect of the Theosophists is to be considered. Although the eccentricities of this sect are too various to be reduced into a regular system, they are all to be traced back to one common source, the renunciation of human reason. The whole dependence of these philosophers is upon internal inspiration in which, whilst the intellect remains quiescent and passive, they wait in sacred stillness and silence of the soul, for divine illuminations; and whatever, in these profound reveries, is suggested to them by a heated imagination, they receive as divine instruction. They do not, indeed, openly condemn the authority of the sacred writings: but they reject their natural meaning, and, by the help of childish allegories, convert the words
of

of Scripture to whatever signification they please. With no other guide, in the search of truth, than their own disturbed fancies, they admit the wildest dreams of a feverish brain as sacred truths, and obtrude them upon the world with insufferable arrogance, as oracular decisions not to be controverted.

These enthusiasts seem to be agreed in acknowledging, that all things flow from God, and will return to him, and particularly, that this is the case with the human soul which must derive its chief felicity from the contemplation of God; and that divine illumination is only to be expected in that submissive state of the soul, in which it is deprived of all activity, and remains the silent subject of divine impressions. They have, moreover, fancied, that God has not only stamped his image upon man, but upon all visible objects; and that this image of God, being discovered by certain signs, the hidden nature of things may be understood, the influence of the superior world upon the inferior may be known, and great and wonderful effects may be produced. They have imagined, that, by the help of the arts of astrology and chemistry, the mysteries of nature may be so far laid open, that a universal remedy for diseases, and a method of converting inferior metals into gold, or the philosopher's stone, might be discovered.

Little needs be said to prove, that the system of Theosophism is founded in delusion, and that it is productive of mischief, both to philosophy and religion. These supposed illuminations are to be ascribed either to fanaticism, or to imposture. The fastidious contempt, with which these pretenders to divine

wisdom have treated those who are contented to follow the plain dictates of common sense, and the simple doctrine of Scriptures, has unquestionably imposed upon the credulous vulgar, and produced an indifference to rational enquiry, which has obstructed the progress of knowledge. And their example has encouraged others to traduce philosophy and theology in general, by representing them as resting upon no better foundation, than enthusiasm and absurdity. It is to be charitably presumed, that these deluded visionaries have not been themselves aware of the injury which they have been doing to the interests of science and religion. Nevertheless, it must be regretted, both on their own account, and on account of the multitude they have misled, that whilst they have thought themselves following a bright and steady luminary, they have been led astray by wandering meteors.

The life of Christopher Smart; extracted from the new edition of this author's works.

MR. Christopher Smart was born at Shipbourne, in Kent, the 11th of April, 1722.

His father was possessed of an estate of about 300*l.* a year, in that neighbourhood; and, having been originally intended for holy orders had a better taste for literature than is commonly found in country gentlemen; a taste which he transmitted to his son.

In the beginning of his life our author was of a very delicate constitution, having been born earlier than the natural period; and his body being too feeble to permit his indulging

dulging freely in childish amusements, his mind had leisure to exercise and expand its powers. He discovered a very early taste for poetry; and proved, when he was only four years old, by an extempore effusion, that even then he had a relish for verse, and an ear for numbers. He was educated at Maidstone till he was eleven years old. On the death of his father, which happened at that time, his mother, Mrs. Winifred Smart, determined to send him to Durham, where he would have the advantages of a good school, change of air to strengthen a weakly frame, and the notice and protection of his father's relations. The family had been long established in that country. An ancestor of his, Mr. Peter Smart, had been a prebendary of Durham, in the reign of Charles I. and for resisting innovations in the church worship, suffered considerably both in person and in property: of this he published an interesting narrative in a pamphlet, of which few copies now remain. Mr. Smart's grandfather married a Miss Gilpin, of the family of the celebrated Bernard Gilpin, rector of Houghton-le-Spring. The enumeration of ancestors remarkable only for rank or fortune is idle ostentation; but to mention the brave and the good is a tribute due to merit, and a favour to mankind.

As our author's father had been steward of the estates in Kent of lord Barnard, afterwards earl of Darlington, the son was very cordially received at Raby-castle, when absent, during the holidays, from school. In this noble family he had the honour of making an acquaintance with the late duchess of Cleveland, who discerned and patronized

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his talents. She allowed him forty pounds a-year till her death. In the Ode to lord Barnard, he alludes beautifully to his literary habits, and to the splendor of his connexions at this early period of his life.

Mr. Smart did not continue without distinction at Durham school; and a very learned and eminent divine, now living, has expressed obligations to our author for his own first successful essays in Latin versification. The master of the school at that time was the Rev. Mr. Dongworth, an Etonian, and so eminent a scholar, that, in the judgement of one who was himself in that station, he would have obtained the mastership of that celebrated seminary, had it been accessible to simple merit.

Mr. Smart was removed from this place to the university of Cambridge when he was seventeen; being admitted of Pembroke-Hall, October 30, 1739.

Though the favourite studies of this seat of learning were not congenial with his mind, yet his classical attainments and poetical powers were so eminent, as to attract the notice of persons not very strongly prejudiced in favour of such accomplishments. Such was the force of his genius, and such the vivacity of his disposition, that his company was very earnestly solicited; and to suppress or withhold our talents, when the display of them is repaid by admiration, is commonly too great an effort for human prudence. He was therefore quickly involved in habits and expenses, of which he felt the consequences during the rest of his life. His allowance from home was scanty; for, as his father had died suddenly, and in embarrassed circumstances,

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stances, his widowed mother had been compelled to sell the largest portion of the estate at considerable loss. Our author's chief dependence was the assistance he derived from his college, and from the duchess of Cleveland's bounty. Many distinguished characters now living were, notwithstanding, of his intimate acquaintance; and it appears, by the Latin invitation of a friend to supper, preserved among his works, that he knew how to relish the Feast of Reason.

In the early part of his residence at Cambridge, he wrote the *Tripods** Poems in the collection of his works. These verses have more system and design than is generally found in the compositions of young academics; and it is some argument of their being well approved, that they were all thought worthy of a translation into English. He was encouraged by the commendations of his friends to offer himself a candidate for a university scholarship. The yearly value of these appointments is barely 20*l.* but the election is open to the whole university under the degree of master of arts; and as the electors are of approved learning, and fix their choice after the strictest scrutiny, the honour of obtaining these scholarships is considerable. It has been said, that upon this occasion he translated Mr. Pope's Ode on St. Cecilia's Day; but I do not find any sufficient authority for such a conjecture, which is rendered improbable by the length and labour of the composition. But that a scholar equal to such a work, in an impartial classical examination,

should surpass his competitors, is no matter of surprise. His extraordinary success in this poem induced him to turn his mind to other translations from that favourite bard; and he seems to have written to Mr. Pope for his approbation. He received from that gentleman the following letter:

*“ Twickenham, Nov. 18*th*.*

“ Sir,

“ I thank you for the favour of yours. I would not give you the trouble of translating the whole Essay you mention; the two first Epistles are already well done; and, if you try, I could wish it were the last, which is less abstracted, and more easily falls into poetry and common-place. A few lines at the beginning and the conclusion, will be sufficient for a trial, whether you yourself can like the task or not. I believe the Essay on Criticism will in general be the more agreeable, both to a young writer, and to the majority of readers. What made me wish the other well done was, the want of a right understanding of the subject which appears in the foreign versions, in two Italian, two French, and one German. There is one indeed in Latin verse, printed at Wertemberg, very faithful, but inelegant; and another in French prose; but in these the spirit of poetry is as much lost, as the sense and system itself in the others. I ought to take this opportunity of acknowledging the Latin translation of my Ode, which you sent me, and in which I could see little or nothing to

* The Verses so called are compositions published every year, when the bachelors of arts have completed their degrees. Young men of poetical talents are appointed to this employment; and on one side of their paper the names are printed of those students who, at the public examination, on the occasion just mentioned, have succeeded the best.

to alter, it is so exact. Believe me, sir, equally desirous of doing you any service, and afraid of engaging you in an art so little profitable, though so well deserving, as good poetry.

“ I am, your most obliged
and sincere humble servant,
A. POPE.”

I do not find that he bestowed any further notice on our author, excepting that he received him once very civilly at his house; and Mr. Smart seems to have been induced by his suggestion to undertake and

finish the Latin translation of the *Essay on Criticism*, with much praise from the learned, but without either profit or popularity. He was admitted to the degree of bachelor of arts in 1743, and was elected fellow of Pembroke Hall, July 3, 1745.

About this time he wrote a Comedy, of which no remains have yet been found, but a few of the songs, and the soliloquy of the princess Perriwinkle, preserved in the *Old Woman's Magazine*, which is inserted below.* He took the degree of master of arts in 1747, and became

* The princess Perriwinkle, sola, attended by fourteen maids of great honour.

Sure such a wretch as I was never born,
By all the world deserted and forlorn;
This bitter-sweet, this honey gall to prove,
And all the oil and vinegar of love.
Pride, Love and Reason, will not let me rest,
But make a devilish bustle in my breast.
To wed with Fizzig, *Pride, Pride, Pride* denies;
Put on a Spanish padlock, *Reason* cries:
But tender gentle *Love* with every wish complies.
Pride, Love, and Reason, fight till they are cloy'd,
And each by each in mutual wounds destroy'd.
Thus when a barber and a collier fight,
The barber beats the luckless collier—white;
The dusty collier heaves his pond'rous sack,
And, big with vengeance, beats the barber—black;
In comes the brickdust man, with grime o'erspread,
And beats the collier and the barber—red.
Black, red, and white, in various clouds are tost,
And in the dust they raise the combatants are lost.

The following account of the plot and *Dramatis Personæ*, in the words of an eminent person who was an actor in it, may not be unacceptable to our readers. It was called, “ *A Trip to Cambridge; or The Grateful Fair*,” The business of the drama was laid in bringing up an old country baronet to admit his nephew a fellow commoner at one of the colleges; in which expedition a daughter or niece attended. In their approach to the seat of the muses, the waters, from a heavy rain, happened to be out at Fenstanton, which gave a young student of Emmanuel an opportunity of shewing his gallantry as he was riding out, by jumping from his horse, and plunging into the flood, to rescue the distressed damsel, who was near perishing in the stream into which she had fallen from her poney, as the party travelled on horseback. The swain being lucky enough to effect his purpose, of course gained an interest in the lady's heart, and an acquaintance with the rest of the family, which he did not fail to cultivate, on their arrival at Cambridge, with success, as far as the fair one was concerned. To bring about the consent of the father (or guardian, for my memory is not accurate), it was contrived to have a play acted,

became a candidate for Mr. Seaton's prize, and for five years, four of which were in succession, obtained the laurel. Though these are confessedly, excepting the short poems, the most finished of his works,

acted, of which entertainment he was highly fond, and the Norwich company luckily came to Cambridge just at the time. Only one of the actors had been detained on the road, and they could not perform the play that night, unless the baronet would consent to take a part, which, rather than be disappointed of his favourite amusement, he was prevailed upon to do, especially as he was assured that it would amount to nothing more than sitting at a great table, and signing an instrument as a justice of peace might sign a warrant; and having been some years of the quorum, he felt himself quite equal to the undertaking. The under play to be acted by the Norwich company on this occasion was, "The Bloody War of the King of Diamonds with the King of Spades;" and the actors in it came on with their respective emblems on their shoulders, taken from the suits of the cards they represented. The baronet was the king of one of the parties, and in signing a declaration of war signed his consent to the marriage of his niece or daughter, and a surrender of all her fortune.

After many disappointments in attempting to get an old play-house at Hunnibin's, the coach-maker's, and afterwards the Free-school, in Free-school-lane, it was acted, in Pembroke-College-hall, the parlour of which made the green-room. The *Dramatis Personæ*, as far as I recollect them, were

Sir Taleful Tedious—Mr. Smart, the author.

Stiff-Rump, his nephew—Mr. Grimston, of Trinity-Hall.

Damme-blood, fellow commoner, of Clare-Hall—Mr. now Dr. Cooper, precentor and archdeacon of Durham.

Giles Fitz-Gorgin, B. A. of St. John's—Mr. now Dr. Gordon, precentor of Lincoln.

Goodman, of Emmanuel—Mr. now Dr. Madan, precentor of Peterborough.

Jerry, servant to Sir Taleful—Mr. now Dr. Randall, organist of King's college.

Patch, a cobbler—Mr. Bailey, of Emmanuel.

Twist (I think), a barber—Mr. late Dr. G. Nailor, of Offord.

FEMALES.

The Gentle Fair—Mr. R. Forester, late rector of Passenham.

Jenny, her maid—Mr. R. Halford, then B. A. of Pembroke.

Prompter—R. Stonhewer, esq.

The characters of the mock play by those of the drama; Music in the Orchestra by gentlemen of the university; time of acting, 1747.*

* The Prologue is here subjoined;

In ancient days, as jovial Horace sings,
When laurell'd bards were lawgivers and kings,
Bold was the comic muse, without restraint
To name the vicious. and the vice to paint;
Th' enliven'd picture from the canvas flew,
And the strong likeness crowded in the view.
Our author practises more general rules,
He is no niggard of his knaves and fools;
Both small and great, both pert and dull, his muse
Displays, that every one may pick and chuse;
The rules dramatic though he scarcely knows
Of time and place, and all the piteous prose
That pedant Frenchmen snuffle through the nose.

ks, yet even here confidence in
ius, and aversion to the labour
correction, sometimes prevailed
r better considerations. One of
se Essays, that On the Divine
odness, which was written in
idon, he so long delayed to un-
take, that there was barely op-
tunity to write it upon paper,
to send it to Cambridge by the
it expeditious conveyance, with-
ie time limited for receiving the
positions. That he waited for
moments propitious to invention,
ill not plead as his apology ;
igh I cannot agree with our
it critic,* that such moments
by the wise be never expected.
orks of mere mechanical exer-
, or where only the understand-
is employed, all seasons to the
astrious will be favourable alike ;
in those in which we must call
ie imagination for her assistance,
may not be always a willing

help-mate. Submit she must, when
resolutely summoned, to the lawful
and resistless power of reason, and
obeys her superior with a good
grace ; but she must be sought with
assiduity, and soothed with kind-
ness, by such as would obtain her
most enchanting smiles. Long prac-
tice produces facility, and some
poets have written well who have
written for bread ; but haste is com-
monly inconsistent with correctness,
and praise may easily be overlooked
by him whose chief pursuit is profit.
By exercise and by rest, by leisure
and by employment, from every
object, in every pursuit, the poet
and the painter supply themselves
with materials ; extracting sweets
alike from the flowers of the par-
terre, and from the wild and simple
plants of the field and forest. Such
seem to have been the sentiments
of Mr. Smart, who has been fre-
quently known to rise suddenly from
his

Fools, who prescribe what Homer shou'd have done,
Like tattling watches, they correct the sun.
Critics, like posts, undoubtedly may show
The way to Pindus, but they cannot go.
Whene'er immortal *Shakespeare's* works are read,
He wins the heart before he strikes the head ;
Swift to the soul the piercing image flies
Swifter than *Harriot's* wit or *Harriot's* eyes ;
Swifter than some romantic trav'lers thought,
Swifter than British fire when William fought.
Fancy precedes, and conquers all the mind,
Deliberating judgement slowly comes behind
Comes to the field with blunderbuss and gun,
Like heavy *Falstaff*, when the work is done ;
Fights when the battle's o'er, with wond'rous pain,
By Shrewsbury's clock, and nobly slays the slain.
The critic's censures are beneath our care,
We strive to please the generous and the fair ;
To their decision we submit our claim,
We write not, speak not, breathe not, but for them.

He (Mr. Gray) had a notion, not very peculiar, that he could not write but at
n times, or at happy moments: a fantastic foppery to which my kindness for a
of learning and of virtue wishes him to have been superior."

Johnson's Life of Gray.

his bed, that he might fix by writing those delightful ideas which floated before his fancy in the visions of the night.*

In 1753 he quitted college, on his marriage with Miss Anna Maria Carnan, the daughter, by a former husband, of Mary, the wife of the late Mr. John Newbery. He was introduced to this gentleman's acquaintance by Dr. Burney, the celebrated and learned author of the *General History of Music*, who set for Mr. Smart several songs, and has enriched the present collection with some original compositions.

Mr. Smart had relinquished his fellowship without engaging in any of the professions, he seems to have trusted for his future maintenance to his powers as an author. But he had either over-rated his own abilities and perseverance, or the favour of the public. Though Mr. Newbery, to whom he was now allied, was himself a man of genius, and a liberal patron of genius in others; yet the difficulties that had perplexed Mr. Smart at Cambridge pursued him to London; to which the expence of a family was super-added. Yet such was his thoughtlessness, that he has often, as his widow relates, invited company to dinner, when no means appeared of providing a meal for themselves. About this time he wrote for *The Student; or Oxford and Cambridge Miscellany*, a periodical work of considerable reputation, in which many of the

wits of both the universities displayed their talents. To *The Old Woman's Magazine*, published at the same period, Mr. Newbery and himself were the chief, if not the only contributors. He translated also the works of Horace into English prose, a task which he has very ably executed; but of that kind which never will be praised in proportion to the labour. By few and apposite terms Smart has expressed the sentiments of Horace, in an idiom not placed very near the Roman in the table of grammatical affinities. Of an author not among the least difficult, he is at once an accurate and an elegant translator; and though he engaged in the undertaking when a very young man, he shews the humblest attention to the language of the original, and an absolute command over his own.

He enjoyed, while thus engaged in the metropolis, the familiar acquaintance of Dr. Johnson, Dr. James, Dr. Goldsmith, and Mr. Garrick; and, indeed, of most who were then celebrated for genius or for learning. Of Mr. Garrick's extreme parsimony much has been told, in an occupation where economy is not usually ranked among the virtues. To this opinion may be opposed the fact of his offering to Mr. Smart, when under the pressure of severe distress the profits of a free benefit at Drury-lane theatre; an offer which his friends did not permit him to refuse. Upon this occasion, Mr Garrick introduced on

* I am happy in confirming these sentiments by the opinion at one period of Dr. Johnson himself: "It does not always happen that the success of a poet is proportionate to his labour. The same observation may be extended to all works of imagination, which are often influenced by causes wholly out of the performer's power, by hints of which he perceives not the origin, by sudden elevations of mind which he cannot produce in himself, and which sometimes rise when he expects them least."

Remarks on Mr. Pope's Epitaphs.

on the stage, for the first time, the short drama of "The Guardian;" and performed in it himself the principal character.*

Among the noble friends of Mr. Smart may be reckoned the present lord Delaval, to whom he was private tutor in college, and who shewed him upon various occasions particular instances of regard. It was at the request of this nobleman that he wrote a prologue and epilogue to the tragedy of Othello, acted at Drury-Lane theatre by several persons of quality; the parts of Othello and Iago being filled by sir Francis Delaval and his lordship.

Though the fortune as well as constitution of Mr. Smart required the utmost care, he was equally negligent in the management of both, and his various and repeated embarrassments acting upon an imagination uncommonly fervid, produced temporary alienations of mind: which at last were attended with paroxysms so violent, and continued, as to render confinement necessary. In this melancholy state his family, for he had now two children, must have been much embarrassed in their circumstances, but for the kind friendship and assistance of Mr. Newbery. Many

other of Mr. Smart's acquaintances were likewise forward in their services; and particularly Dr. Samuel Johnson, who, on the first approach of Mr. Smart's malady, wrote several papers for a periodical publication in which that gentleman was concerned, to secure his claim to a share in the profits of it. Mrs. Smart also received from Dr. Johnson several letters. One of these, addressed to her at Dublin, is still preserved; and as every effusion from that celebrated pen is now become interesting, it is here presented to the reader.

"Madam,

"To enumerate the causes that have hindered me from answering your letter would be of no use; be assured that disrespect had no part in the delay. I have been always glad to hear of you, and have not neglected to inquire after you. I am not surprised to hear that you are not much delighted with Ireland. To one that has passed so many years in the pleasures and opulence of London, there are few places that can give much delight; but we can never unite all conveniences in any sphere, and must only consider which has the most good in the whole; or more properly, which has the least evil. You have gone

* This benefit took place on 3d Feb. 1759. The play was *MENOPHE*. A few days before, the following lines, by Mr. William Woty, were printed in the public papers.

On hearing that the Tragedy of MENOPHE was to be acted for the Benefit of Mr. SMART.

Unhappy Bard! whose elevated soul
From earth took flight, and reach'd the starry pole;
Whose harp celestial lies in broken state,
Affecting emblem of its master's fate!
Ah me! no more, I fear, its tuneful strings,
Touch'd by his hand, will praise the King of Kings.
Oh SMART, to me, to all, for ever dear,
Thy friend he drops a sympathetic tear;
Nor doubts but Britons on that night will mourn
Thy genius blasted, and thy laurels torn.

EDITOR.

gone at the worst time ; the splendor of Dublin is only to be seen in a parliament winter, and even then matters will be but little mended. I think, Madam, you may look upon your expedition as a proper preparative to the voyage which we have often talked of. Dublin, though a place much worse than London, is not so bad as Iceland. You will now be hardened to all from the sight of poverty, and will be qualified to lead us forward, when we shrink at rueful spectacles of smoky cottages and ragged inhabitants. One advantage is always to be gained from the sight of poor countries : we learn to know the comforts of our own. I wish, however, it was in my power to make Ireland please you better ; and whatever is in my power you may always command. I shall be glad to hear from you the history of your management ; whether you have a house or a shop, and what companions you have found : let me know every good and every evil that befalls you. I must insist that you don't use me as I have used you, for we must not copy the faults of our friends ; for my part I intend to mend mine, and for the future to tell you more frequently that I am, &c.

“SAM. JOHNSON.”

After an interval of little more than two years, Mr. Smart appeared to be pretty well restored, and was accordingly set at liberty ; but his mind had received a shock from which it never entirely recovered. He took a pleasant lodging in the neighbourhood of the Park, conducting his affairs for some time with sufficient prudence. He was maintained partly by his literary occupations, and partly by the ge-

nerosity of his friends, receiving among other benefactions fifty pounds a-year from the Treasury ; but by whose interest, as I do not certainly know, I will not hazard a conjecture. Of the state of his mind and of his modes of life at this period, some idea may be formed by the following letter from Dr. Hawkesworth to Mrs. Hunter, one of his sisters.

“Dear Madam,

“I am afraid that you have before, now secretly accused me, and I confess that appearances are against me: I did not, however, delay to call upon Mr. Smart, but I was unfortunate enough twice to miss him. I was, the third day of my being in town, seized with a fever that was then epidemic, from which I am but just recovered. I have, since my being in town this second time, called on my old friend, and seen him. He received me with an ardour of kindness natural to the sensibility of his temper, and we were soon seated together by his fire-side; I perceived upon his table a quarto book, in which he had been writing, a prayer-book, and a Horace. After the first compliments, I said I had been at Margate, and seen his mother and his sister, who expressed great kindness for him, and made me a promise to come and see him. To this he made no reply, nor did he make any inquiry after those I mentioned: he did not even mention the place nor ask me any questions about it, or what carried me thither. After some pause and some indifferent chat, I returned to the subject, and said, that Mr. Hunter and you would be very glad to see him in Kent; to this he replied
very

very quick, 'I cannot afford to be idle.' I said he might employ his mind as well in the country as in town, at which he only shook his head, and I entirely changed the subject. Upon my asking him when we should see the Psalms, he said they were going to press immediately. As to his other undertakings, I found he had completed a translation of Phædrus in verse, for Dodsley, at a certain price, and that he is now busy in translating all Horace into verse, which he sometimes thinks of publishing on his own account, and sometimes of contracting for it with a bookseller. I advised him to the latter, and he then told me he was in treaty about it, and believed it would be a bargain: he told me his principal motive for translating Horace into verse was, to supersede the prose translation which he did for Newbery, which he said would hurt his memory. He intends, however, to review that translation, and print it at the foot of the page in his poetical version, which he proposes to print in quarto with the Latin, both in verse and prose on the opposite page. He told me, he once had thoughts of printing it by subscription; but as he had troubled his friends already, he was unwilling to do it again, and had been persuaded to publish it in numbers, which, though I rather dissuaded him, seemed at last to be the prevailing bent of his mind. He read me some of it; it is very close, and his own poetical fire sparkles in it very frequently: yet, upon the whole, will scarcely take place of Francis's, and therefore, if it is not adopted as a school-book, which perhaps may be the case, it will turn to little account. Upon mentioning his prose translation I

saw his countenance kindle, and, snatching up the book, "What" says he, 'do you think I had for this?' I said I could not tell, 'Why,' says he, with great indignation, 'thirteen pounds.' I expressed very great astonishment, which he seemed to think he should increase by adding, 'But, Sir, I gave a receipt for a hundred.' My astonishment, however, was now over, and I found that he received only thirteen pounds, because the rest had been advanced for his family. This was a tender point, and I found means immediately to divert him from it.

"He is with very decent people, in a house most delightfully situated, with a terrace that overlooks St. James's Park, and a door into it. He was going to dine with an old friend of my own, Mr. Richard Dalton, who has an appointment in the king's library; and if I had not been particularly engaged, I would have dined with him. He had lately received a very genteel letter from Dr. Lowth, and is by no means considered in any light that makes his company as a gentleman, a scholar, and a genius, less desirable. I have been very particular, dear madam, in relating all the particulars of this conference, that you may draw any inference that I could draw from it, yourself.

"I should incur my own censure, which is less tolerable than all others, if I did not express my sense of the civilities I received from you and Mr. Hunter, while I was at Margate: I have Mrs. Hawkesworth's express request, in a letter now before me, to do the same on her part; if you, or any of the family, come into our part of the country, we shall be very glad to accommodate you

you with a table and a bed; you will find a chearful fire-side, and a hearty welcome. If in the mean time I can do you any service or pleasure here, you will the more oblige, as you the more freely command me.

“ Our best compliments attend you, Mr. Hunter, your young gentleman, and Mrs. Smart: not forgetting the ladies we met at your house, particularly one who, I think, is daughter to Mrs. Holmes.

“ I am, Madam,

“ Your obedient humble servant,

“ JOHN HAWKESWORTH,

“ *London, Oct. 1764.*”

In the course of a few years Mr. Smart's economy forsook him, and he was confined for debt in the King's-Bench prison, the rules of which he afterwards obtained by the kindness of his brother-in-law, Mr. Thomas Carnan. He died, after a short illness, the 18th of May, 1770, of a disorder in his liver, leaving behind him two daughters, who, with his widow, are settled at Reading, in Berkshire, and, by their prudent management of a business, transferred to them by the late Mr. John Newbery, are in good circumstances.

His character, compounded, like that of all human beings, of good qualities and of defects, may easily be collected from this account of his life. A few of his peculiarities remain to be mentioned.

Though he was a very diligent student while at Cambridge, he was also extremely fond of exercise, and of walking in particular; at which times it was his custom to pursue his meditations. A fellow-student remembers a path worn by his constant treading on the pavement

under the cloisters of his college.

His piety was exemplary and fervent. It may not be uninteresting to the reader to be told, that Mr. Smart, in composing the religious poems, was frequently so impressed with the sentiment of devotion, as to write particular passages on his knees.

He was friendly, affectionate, and liberal to excess; so as often to give that to others, of which he was in the utmost want himself: he was also particularly engaging in conversation, when his first shyness was worn away; which he had in common with literary men, but in a very remarkable degree. Having undertaken to introduce his wife to my lord Darlington with whom he was well acquainted, he had no sooner mentioned her name to his lordship, than he retreated suddenly, as if stricken with a panic, from the room, and from the house, leaving her to follow overwhelmed with confusion.

As an instance of the wit of his conversation the following extemporary spondiac, descriptive of the three bedels of the university, who were at that time all very fat men, is still remembered by his academical acquaintance:

Pinguis tergeminorum abdomina bedellorum.

This line he afterwards inserted in one of his poems for the *Tripod*.

During the far greater part of his life he was wholly inattentive to economy; and by this negligence lost first his fortune and then his credit. The civilities shewn him by persons greatly his superiors in rank and character, either induced him to expect mines of wealth^e from

from the exertion of his talents, or encouraged him to think himself exempted from attention to common obligations. The engagement into which he entered with a bookseller, to furnish papers monthly in conjunction with Mr. Rolt for "the Universal Visitor," is a memorable example of thoughtless imprudence. It was settled between the publisher and the poets, that these last should divide between them one-third of the profits of the work, and they engaged themselves moreover by a bond, not to write for ninety-nine years to come in any other publication,

But his chief fault, from which most of his other faults proceeded, was his deviation from the rules of sobriety; of which the early use of cordials in the infirmities of his childhood and his youth might perhaps be one cause, and is the only extenuation.

Practical character of St Evremond; from the Curiosities of Literature.

A French critic has observed of this writer, that he had great wit, and frequently has written well; but there is a strange inequality throughout his works.

The comparisons which he has formed betwixt some of the illustrious ancients, are excellent; the criticisms which he has given on several authors, are valuable; but, in the greater part of his works he sinks to mediocrity. His poetry is insipid, and not the composition of genius, but study. His prosaic style is too full of points: the antithesis was his favourite figure, and he is continually employing it.

This last censure, I am fearful,

may reach the present character which he has given of himself: but still it is ingenious, and offers a lively picture to the imagination—

I am a philosopher, as far removed from superstition as from impiety; a voluptuary, who has not less abhorrence for debauchery than inclination for pleasure; a man, who has never known want nor abundance. I occupy that station of life which is despised by those who possess every thing; envied by those who have nothing, and only relished by those who make their felicity to consist in the exercise of their reason. Young, I hated dissipation; convinced that a man must possess wealth to provide for the comforts of a long life: old, I disliked economy; as I believed that we need not greatly dread want, when we have but a short time to be miserable. I am satisfied with what Nature has done for me; nor do I repine at Fortune. I do not seek in men what they have of evil, that I may censure; I only find out what they have ridiculous, that I may be amused. I feel a pleasure in detecting their follies; I should feel a greater in communicating my discoveries, did not my prudence restrain me. Life is too short, according to my ideas, to read all kinds of books, and to load our memory with an infinite number of things, at the cost of our judgement. I do not attach myself to the sentiments of scientific men, to acquire science; but to the most rational, that I may strengthen my reason. Sometimes I seek for the more delicate minds, that my taste may imbibe their delicacy; sometimes, for the gayer, that I may enrich my genius with their gaiety; and although I constantly read, I make it less my occupation than my pleasure. In religion, and in friendship, I have

I have only to paint myself such as I am—in friendship, more tender than a philosopher ; and, in religion, as constant and as sincere as a youth who has more simplicity than experience. My piety is composed more of justice and charity than of penitence, I rest my confidence on God, and hope every thing from his benevolence. In the bosom of Providence I find my repose and my felicity.

*Anecdotes respecting the death of Mirabeau; * from the Gentleman's Magazine.*

HE died in the 42d year of his age, leaving many of his intended plans unfinished, but at a time when his reputation had attained an height which it probably would not have exceeded. From the first appearance of his indisposition it was known to be dangerous, and *bulletins*, announcing his situation, were published hourly; notwithstanding which, the populace waited at his gate in great numbers, anxious, through affection and curiosity, to obtain the earliest intelligence of his fate. The buzz of the crowd, and even the voices of the hawkers who cried these *bulletins*, were audible in his chamber. A few hours before his death, one of his friends remarked to him this instance of the estimation in which he was held by his countrymen. “ Ah! (said he) I perceive that it must be acceptable to die for them.” In the beginning of his disorder his hope of recovery was great; but his courage, in the subsequent stages of it was not less. He deliberately

made his will, and, recollecting that a law relating to testaments was then before the national assembly, he said to the abbé de Tallyrand, the *ci-devant* bishop of Autun, “ The national assembly is now engaged upon a law relating to testaments and they will not think it unsuitable that a man, who has just made one, should offer them his opinion upon the question as his last homage. I intrust this paper to your care, to be read to the Assembly.”—When his death was reported to the national assembly, M. Barrere, after a short eulogium, rose to move, “ That the general sorrow for the loss should be noticed in the *Proces Verbal*; and that the president should, in the name of the country, invite every member to assist at his funeral.” The motion was agreed to; and his memoir upon wills was read at the requests of several members. The Directory of Paris decreed a public mourning of eight days for his death; and the municipal body appointed a deputation of twelve members to be present at his funeral. All the places of public amusement in Paris were shut on the day of his death. During his illness, the king of France sent every day to enquire how he was. His conduct, a short time before his death, was very remarkable. His voice having failed him, he made signs for pen, ink, and paper, and wrote “ Would you think that the sensation of death so painful?”

The physician not appearing to understand the expression, he took the paper again, and added a word, so that the sentence then ran “ *proves so painful?*” He next wrote on as follows: “ When the opium could

* Mirabeau was an early sufferer in the cause of freedom of opinion; see our Annual Register for 1761 Vol. iv for an account of his book intituled “ The theory of the finances.”

could not have been given without accelerating a destruction as yet uncertain, it would have been highly criminal to have administered it. But, when Nature has abandoned a wretched victim, when only a miracle can bring back life, when the opium itself could not prove an obstacle against this miracle (granting that it were possible for it to intervene), how can you barbarously suffer your friend to expire upon the wheel?" The physician read the paper, and remained silent. Mirabeau, starting suddenly from the bed, seized the paper again, and folding it up, with great agitation, wrote on the outside "sleep! sleep!" At the moment when he presented, jestingly, the paper to his physician, his speech returned. With that richness and pomp of expression which characterized his eloquence, he said to M. Cabanis, "my pains are insupportable—I have yet an age of strength, but not a moment of courage." He spoke for nearly ten minutes, in so affecting and energetic a style, that tears fell from every eye. A convulsion stopped him; it was followed by a violent scream, and he expired. The populace have effaced the name of the street in which he resided. It was called *Le Chasseur d'Antin*; they have written in its place, *Rue de Mirabeau*, (Mirabeau's Street).—On the day preceding his death, he seemed to take pleasure in conversing with one of the house-maids, who had insisted on sitting up with him, as a nurse every night during his illness. "Why art thou constantly weeping Fanny?" said he; "thou wast very poor when I took thee, and will be rich after my death, for I have left thee wherewith to live at thy ease. My glory can be of no great consequence to thee; and if the news-crier, at

night, bawling out in the streets; *Grande motion de Mirabeau*, has often startled thy ears, thou must own he has never affected thy heart. Be cheerful, my good girl; continue to take all the care thou canst of me, I shall not want thy assistance long." A few hours before he died he deplored the fate of the French empire, exposed as it is at present to factions and intrigues of every kind. "I leave this world," emphatically exclaimed the dying orator, "with a heart full of sorrow for the shocks monarchy has received. Alas! I fear the factious chiefs will tear it to pieces, and divide the spoils amongst them!" When he found his stomach unable to retain the least thing he swallowed, he uttered these words "When the chief is grown quite inactive, the constitution must certainly perish." On examining his body, his brains were found perfectly sound. The pericardium, the heart, and the diaphragm, were alone the seat of his fatal disorder. The following are the reflexions of a physician on the cause of Mirabeau's death: "The surgeons, after examining the body, have declared that there were not the least signs of poison. They say that they had found the lungs adherent, the pericardium full of a liquor not unlike a lymph, rather yellowish; the duodenum's and stomach's outward and inward membranes inflamed, with black and livid spots of gangrene; the liver affected, and one of the kidneys not in its natural state. Different signs are found in the bodies of those who die of poison: How can it be so positively asserted, that Mirabeau did not die of it? there are disorders, no doubt, that affect the viscera and the entrails in the manner described as above, but what the ma-
lady

lady does sometimes, the poison always effects. These signs, so very remarkable, and in some measure decisive, added to the exquisite sufferings he endured, from the very beginning of his illness, together with the suspicious and unaccountable behaviour of his secretary, who endeavoured to make away with himself, ought to have determined the assisting physicians and surgeons to analyse, by chemistry, the contents of his entrails. One cannot say that Mirabeau has been poisoned, it is true; but one may undoubtedly say, that all who die of poison die like him."—He has left most of his fortune to his sister's son, M. du Sailant; to each of whose daughters he has bequeathed an annual income of 2,800 livres (116l. 13s 4d.). To his natural son, and secretary, M. Comba, the sum of 24,000 livres each. To his servants, as many years' wages as they had served him. All his political writings he leaves to M. Cabanis, his physician. To the new bishop of Lyons, and to Madame Le Jay (a bookseller's wife), he remits whatever they may owe him. After having dictated, and read himself, the above dispositions before M. de la Marck, his executor, he expressed some doubts of the sufficiency of satisfying them all. M. de la Marck, impelled by the generosity of his heart, instantly replied, "I'll answer for them all." The Rector of the parish had no conference with Mirabeau; but the bishop of Lyons was a long time with him, and no doubt prepared him for a future state.—His funeral was performed in the evening of the 4th of April, 1791, attended by a vast concourse of people. Early in the morning the different companies as-

sembled, in order to form the retinue. The very ministers attended; and it was the first time the keeper of the seals was seen following a hearse. Its awful pomp and solemn music were really beyond description. The procession was preceded by a numerous band of cavalry and detachments of the national guard. The invalids next followed; and the *cent Suisses* (the court guard) marched hand-in-hand with the grenadiers. The justices of the peace and other magistrates of the districts, appeared in their robes, and preceded the bier, carried by twelve serjeants of the national guard, six commandants of battalion bearing the pall. The vessel that contained his heart was decorated with the civic crown, the emblem of all the colours majestically waving in the air. After his relations, were seen, slowly moving, the members of the national assembly, the departments, the municipality, the judges, the society of the friends of the constitution, the ministers, and an incredible number of citizens and strangers. The six divisions of the Parisian army closed the procession. The concourse was immense; the very trees of the Boulevards, along which the body passed, in its way to St. Eustache, were full of people. The windows of the streets Montmartre, Coquillere, St. Nouvré, &c. &c. were full of spectators, and added to the interest and majesty of the doleful spectacle. The populace, who on such occasions are very pressing, let the procession pass with a proper decorum, of their own accord, no guards being appointed to keep them off. The hearse, after being presented at St. Eustache's church (Mirabeau's parish), was conveyed to St. Etienne du Mont, adjoining
to

to St. Geneviève, where the body was interred till the new church (now building and almost finished*) shall be ready to receive it. The whole of this solemn ceremony ended at eleven o'clock at night.—The following paper was published, and circulated in all the clubs at Paris: “The nation having lost the most eloquent and illustrious defender of her rights in M. Mirabeau, whose death has left a void never to be filled up, it is proposed that his friends, admirers, and fellow-citizens, subscribe to erect a monument to his memory, the principal ornament of which shall be a brass plate containing the address of the national assembly to the king, in July 1789, for the withdrawing of the troops, of which address he was the mover and author. Subscriptions for this monument are received at Messrs. Duetos Dufrenoy, and Mautort, notaries, in Rue Vivienne; and M. Houdon is to execute it.” No sooner had he expired than the abbé d’Espagnac (whose fortune had been annihilated by Mirabeau’s pamphlet against stock-jobbing) entered the room with M. Houdon, to take a model of his face. The friends of the constitution (the Jacobines’ club) have subscribed for a marble bust.—The anecdote concerning his secretary is really extraordinary. On Friday, the 1st inst. at one o'clock in the forenoon, Mirabeau made his will. M. Combs, presuming that, in the disposition of his effects, he would mention the

sums, and places where they were, began to be alarmed. Towards the evening, the secretary was desired to carry to his master a gold snuff-box, enriched with diamonds. Two or three hours elapsed before the box could be produced. Mirabeau, surprised at this delay, demanded the key of his bureau. After many fruitless researches it could not be found, and M. Combs had disappeared. He then requested the guard to be sent for. The moment the officer appeared, he intreated him by all the authority the last words of a dying man could have, to find out where his secretary was, for he had carried with him the key of his bureau, in which were some papers of consequence. The guard instantly went up to M. Combs’s apartment, and before they entered the room they protest to have heard these words uttered distinctly by the secretary: “The sun affords his light to a great villain.” After having repeatedly knocked, the door was broke open. They found M. Combs with three wounds in his neck. He had stabbed himself with a pen-knife, and pretended he had been poisoned. The key, demanded of him several times in vain, was discovered at last on the hearth, among the ashes. In the interrogatories he contradicted himself; but as the testator did not mention any particular sums, or any memoranda of money-matters, time only will discover the guilt or innocence of the secretary.

An

* This new church (St. Genevieve) was appointed, on the 3rd instant, by the national assembly, to be the Westminster Abbey of the French. Voltaire, Rousseau, and Mirabeau, in all probability, will be the first who will have niches in that noble temple of immortality. The latter is destined to be there by a decree, although he requested in his will, to be interred at Argenteuil, in the same tomb with his father and uncle.

An account of the life and writings of Dr. Thomas Blacklock; from the European Magazine.

THIS person, in the words of his biographer, Mr Spence, might be esteemed one of the most extraordinary characters that has appeared in this, or any other age. He was the son of a poor tradesman at Annan in Scotland*, where he was born, in the year 1721. Before he was six months old, he was totally deprived of his eye-sight by the small-pox. His father (who, by his son's account of him, must have been a particularly good man) had intended to breed him up to his own or some other trade: but as this misfortune rendered him incapable of any, all that this worthy parent

could do was, to shew the utmost care and attention that he was able toward him, in so unfortunate a situation; and this goodness of his left so strong an impression on the mind of his son, that he ever spoke of it † with the greatest warmth of gratitude and affection. What was wanting to this poor youth, from the loss of his sight, and the narrowness of his fortune, seems to have been repaid him in the goodness of his heart and the capacities of his mind. It was very early that he shewed a strong inclination toward poetry in particular. His father, and a few of his other friends, used often to read, to divert him: and, among the rest, they read several passages out of some of our poets. These were his chief delight and entertainment. He heard them, not only,

* His father and mother were natives of the county of Cumberland, where his paternal ancestors lived from time immemorial. They generally followed agriculture; and were distinguished for a knowledge and humanity above their sphere. His father was an honest and worthy tradesman, had been in good circumstances, but was reduced by a series of misfortunes. His mother was daughter of Mr. Richard Rae, an extensive dealer in cattle, a considerable business in that county; and was equally esteemed as a man of fortune and importance.

† Where now, ah! where is that supporting arm
Which to my weak unequal infant steps
Its kind assistance lent? Ah! where that love,
That strong assiduous tenderness, which watch'd
My wishes, yet scarce form'd; and to my view
Unimportun'd, like kind indulgent heav'n,
Their objects brought? Ah! where that gentle voice,
Which, with instruction, soft as summer dews
Or fleecy snows, descending on my soul,
Distinguish'd every hour with new delight?
Ah! where that virtue, which, amid the storms,
The mingled horrors of tumultuous life,
Untainted, unsubdu'd, the shock sustain'd?
So firm the oak, which, in eternal night,
As deep its root extends, as high to heaven
Its top majestic rises: such the smile
Of some benignant angel, from the throne
Of God dispatch'd, Ambassador of Peace;
Who on his look impress'd, his message bears,
And pleas'd, from earth averts impending ill.

See his Poems, p. 158. 4to edition.

only with an uncommon pleasure, but with a sort of congenial enthusiasm; and, from loving and admiring them so much, he soon began to endeavour to imitate them. Among these early essays of his genius, there was one which is inserted in his works. It was composed when he was but twelve years old; and has something very pretty in the turn of it; and very promising, for one of so tender an age.

Providence was so kind, as to indulge him in the assistance of this good father till he was nineteen, in the year 1740: and as this misfortune, when it did happen,* necessitated his falling into more hands than he had ever before been used to, it was from that time that he began by degrees, to be somewhat more talked of, and his extraordinary talents more known. It was about a year after, that he was sent for to Edinburgh, by Dr. Stevenson, a man of taste, and one of the physicians in that city; who had the goodness to supply him with every thing necessary for his living and studying in the university there. Dr. Blacklock looked on this gentleman as his *Mæcenas*: and the poem placed at the entrance to his works, was a gratitude-piece, addressed to him in imitation of the first ode of Horace to that great patron.

He had got some rudiments of Latin in his youth, but could not easily read a Latin author, till he was near twenty, when Dr. Stevenson put him to a grammar school in Edinburgh. He afterwards stu-

died in that university; where he not only perfected himself in Latin, but also went through all the best Greek authors, with a very lively pleasure. He was also a master of the French language, which he acquired by his intimacy in the family of Mr. Provost Alexander, whose lady was a Parisian.

After he had followed his studies at Edinburgh for four years, he retreated from thence into the country, on the breaking out of the rebellion in 1745; and it was during this recess that he was prevailed on, by some of his friends, to publish a little collection of his poems, at Glasgow. When that tempest was blown over, and the calm entirely restored, he returned again to the university of Edinburgh, and pursued his studies there for six years more. The second edition of his poems was published by him there in the beginning of the year 1754, very much improved and enlarged; and they might have been much more numerous than they were, had he not shewn a great deal more niceness and delicacy than is usual; and kept several pieces from the press, for reasons which seemed much stronger to himself, than they did to his friends, some of whom were concerned at his excess of scrupulousness, and much wished not to have had him deprived of so much more reputation, nor the world of so many poetical beauties as abounded in them.

Dr. Blacklock, during his ten years studies at the university, "not only

* Dr. Blacklock's father was a bricklayer, and being informed that a kiln belonging to a son-in-law of his was giving way, his solicitude for his interest made him venture in below the ribs, to see where the failure lay; when the principal beam coming down upon him, with eighty bushels of malt which were upon the kiln at the time, he was in one moment crushed to death.

only acquired," as Mr. Hume wrote to a friend, "a great knowledge in the Greek, Latin, and French languages, but also made a considerable progress in all the sciences;" and (what is yet more extraordinary) has attained a considerable excellence in poetry; though the chief inlets for poetical ideas were barred up in him, and all the visible beauties of the creation had been long since totally blotted out of his memory. How far he contrived, by the uncommon force of his genius, to compensate for this vast defect; with what elegance and harmony he often wrote; with how much propriety, how much sense, and how much emotion, are things as easy to be perceived, in reading his poems, as they would be difficult to be fully accounted for. Considered in either of these points, he will appear to have a great share of merit; but, if thoroughly considered in altogether, we are very much inclined to say, (with his friend Mr. Hume) "he may be regarded as a prodigy."

Of his moral character, Mr. Hume observed, "that his modesty was equal to the goodness of his disposition, and the beauty of his genius:" and the author of the account prefixed to his works, speaking of the pieces which Dr. Blacklock would not suffer to be printed, and which, he said, abounded with so many poetical beauties, that nothing could do him greater honour, correcting himself, added "yet I must still except his private character, which, were it generally known, would commend him more to the public

esteem, than the united talents of an accomplished writer."

Among his particular virtues one of the first to be admired was, his ease and contentedness of mind under so many circumstances, any one almost, of which might be thought capable of depressing it. Considering the meanness of his birth, the lowliness of his situation, the despicableness (at least as he himself spoke of it) of his person, the narrowness and difficulties of his fortune, and, above all, his so early loss of his sight, and his incapacity, from thence, of any way relieving himself, under all these burthens; it may be reckoned no small degree of virtue in him, even not to have been generally dispirited and complaining.

Each of these humiliating circumstances, he spoke of in some part or other of his poems; but what he dwelt upon with the most lasting cast of melancholy, was his loss of sight, which, in one place, carries him on in a deploring style, for above fifty lines together. But, at the same time, it ought to be considered, that this is in a piece written when his spirits were particularly depressed by an incident that very nearly threatened his life*; from which he had but just escaped with a great deal of difficulty, and with all the terrors of so great a danger, and the dejection occasioned by them, just fresh upon his mind. It is in the same melancholy poem that he expressed his dread of falling into extreme want, in the following very strong and moving manner:

Dejecting

* See the beginning of his Soliloquy, a poem (as he there says) occasioned by his escape from falling into a deep well, where he must have been irrecoverably lost, if a favorite lap-dog had not (by the sound of his feet upon the board with which the well was covered) warned him of his danger.

Dejecting prospect!—soon the hapless hour
May come—perhaps, this moment it im-
pends!—

Which drives me forth to penury and cold,
Naked, and beat by all the storms of heav'n,
Friendless, and guideless, to explore my
way;

Till, on cold earth, this poor unshelter'd
head

Reclining, vainly from the ruthless blast
Respite I beg; and, in the shock, expire.

However, his good sense and religion enabled him to get the better of these fears, and of all his other calamities, in his calmer hours; and, indeed, in this very poem (which is the most gloomy of any he had written,) he seem'd to have a gleam of light fall in upon his mind, and recovered himself enough to express his hopes, that the care of Providence, which had hitherto always protected him, would again interfere, and dissipate the clouds that were gathering over him.

Towards the close of the same piece, he shewed, not only that he was satisfied with his own condition, but that he could discover some very great blessing in it; and, through the general course of his other poems one may discern such a justness of thinking about the things of this world, and such an easy and contented turn of mind, as was every way becoming a good Christian, and a good philosopher.

This was the character given of our author, by Mr. Spence, who, in the year 1754, took upon himself the patronage of Dr. Blacklock, and successfully introduced him to the notice of the public. In that year he published a pamphlet, entitled, "An Account of the Life, Character, and Poems of Mr. Blacklock, Stu-

dent of Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh" 8vo. which, with some improvements, was prefixed to a quarto edition of Dr. Blacklock's poems, published by subscription. By this publication, a considerable sum of money was obtained; and soon after, our poet was fixed in an eligible situation in the university of Edinburgh.* In 1760, he contributed some poems to a Scotch collection, published at Edinburgh in that year, and being there styled the Rev. Mr. Blacklock, it appears he had then entered into holy orders. About 1766, he obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity; and in 1767 published "Paraclesis; or Consolations deduced from Natural and Revealed Religion, in two Dissertations," 8vo. In 1768, he printed "Two Discourses on the Spirit and Evidences of Christianity," translated from the French of Mr. James Armand, and dedicated to the Rev. Moderator of the General Assembly," 8vo.; and, in 1774, produced "The Graham; an Heroic Ballad, in four Cantos," 4to. In 1776, appeared, "Remarks on the Nature and Extent of Liberty, as compatible with the Genius of Civil Societies; on the Principles of Government, and the proper limits of its Powers in Free States; and on the Justice and Policy of the American War; occasioned by perusing the Observations of Dr. Price on these Subjects," 8vo. Edinburgh. This, we have been assured, was written by our author, who, at length, at the age of seventy, died during the course of the month of July in this year.

Account

* In his dedication of the second part of "Paraclesis" to Mr. Spence, he says, "it is to your kind patronage that I owe my introduction into the republic of letters, and to your benevolence, in some measure, my present comfortable situation."

Account of the late Rev. John Wesley; from the Gentleman's Magazine.

THIS extraordinary man was born in June, 1703, at Epworth, a village in Lincolnshire of which place his father, Samuel Wesley, was rector; a man much respected for piety and learning; as were his other sons, the rev. Samuel and Charles Wesley, now deceased. The very childhood of John was marked by an extraordinary incident. When between six and seven years of age, the parsonage-house at Epworth took fire in the night, and, in the confusion of the family, he was forgotten. Finding his bed in flames he ran to the window, and, happily being perceived there by some of the men-servants, they formed a ladder, one on the shoulders of another, and took him out unhurt, the moment before the roof fell in. He was entered a scholar of the Charter-house, about 1713, where he continued for seven years, under the instruction of the celebrated Dr. Walker, and Mr. Andrew Tooke, author of "The Pantheon," and contemporary with Dr. Kenrick Prescott, late master of Catharine-Hall, Cambridge. Being elected off to Lincoln-College, Oxford, he became there a fellow, about 1725; took the degree of M. A. in 1726; and was joint tutor with the late rector, Dr. Hutchins. During his residence there, he was equally distinguished by application and abilities, and laid up those large and varied stores of knowledge which he directed, during his long life, to what he thought the best of purposes. But what chiefly characterised him, even at the early age of twenty-six, was piety. By reading the works of the famous William Law, he, his brother Charles, and a

few young friends, entered into that strict course of life which marks their sect at the present day. They received the sacrament every week; observed all the fasts of the church; visited prisons; rose at four o'clock, and partook of no amusements. From the exact method in which they disposed of each hour, they acquired the nick-name of Methodists, and are the only people who take to themselves a term first given in reproach. The ridicule and contempt which this singular conduct produced, John and Charles Wesley were well qualified to bear. They were neither to be intimidated by danger, affected by interest, nor deterred by disgrace. But their zeal did not stop here. In 1735 they embarked for Georgia, in order to convert the Indians: but returned to England in 1737, when the charges of enthusiasm, bigotry, and fanaticism, were urged with so much bitterness, and examined with so little candour, that they were forbidden to preach any more in the churches. This gave rise to field-preaching, in which George Whitefield was first; with whom the Wesleys had a cordial friendship, though they separated their congregations, on some differences in sentiments. John Wesley embraced the mild and general views of Arminius, which, it must be confessed, are more benevolent in their nature, and practical in their tendency, than Calvin's. His abhorrence of the doctrine and the man, occasioned long, bitter, and useless, controversy; though he never treated his opponents with the ill-breeding and abuse that he received from them. He now appeared as a zealous reformer and the great leader of a sect, no way differing in essentials from the church

church of England. His peculiar opinions were, justification by faith, and Christian perfection; of which it may be remarked, the former is to be found in our own articles and the latter, however he might enforce its possibility he always disclaimed having attained himself. In 1738, he visited, at Hernhuth, in Germany, Count Zinzendorf, the chief of the Moravians. In the following year we find him again in England, and, with his brother Charles, at the head of the Methodists. He preached his first *field sermon* at Bristol, on the 2nd of April 1738, from which time his disciples have continued to increase. In 1741, a serious altercation took place between him and Mr. Whitefield. In 1744, attempting to preach at a public inn at Taunton, he was regularly silenced by the magistrates. Though he remained the rest of his days nearer home, he travelled through every part of England, Scotland, and Ireland, establishing congregations in each kingdom.* In 1750, he married a lady, from whom he afterwards parted, and she died in 1781; by her he had no children. This separation, from whatever motives it originated, we have heard some of his followers say, was the only blot in his character. Others have observed, on this head, that nothing could be more effectually disappointed than ambition or avarice, in an union with John Wesley. In 1771, he seems first to have commenced politician, by publishing, "Thoughts on Public Affairs;" which he followed up by "Thoughts on Slavery, 1774;" "An Address to the Colonies, 1776;" "Observations on Liberty, 1776." His other

writings it is not very easy to enumerate. Few men have written so voluminously; divinity, devotional and controversial, history, philosophy, medicine, politics and poetry, &c. &c. were all, at different times, the subjects of his pen; and whatever may be the opinions held of his divinity, it is impossible to deny him the merit of having done infinite good to the lower class of people. Abilities he unquestionably possessed, and a fluency which was highly acceptable, and well accommodated to his hearers. He had been gradually declining for about three years past; yet he still rose at four o'clock, and preached, travelled, and wrote as usual. He preached at Leatherhead on the Wednesday, Feb. 23, 1791, before his death. On the Friday following, the first symptoms of his approaching dissolution appeared. The four succeeding days he spent in praising the God of his mercies, and died on the 2nd of March, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. His remains after lying in his tabernacle in a kind of state, dressed in the gown and cassock, band, &c. which he usually wore, and on his head the old clerical cap, a bible in one hand, and a white handkerchief in the other, were, agreeably to his own directions, and after the manner of the interment of the late Mr. Whitefield, deposited in a piece of ground near his chapel, at the Foundry, Moorfields, on the morning of the 9th instant in the plainest manner, consistent with decency, amidst the tears and sighs of an innumerable company of his friends and admirers, who all appeared in deep mourning on the occasion. A sermon, previously to the funeral, was

was

* See our Annual Register, vol. 5 for 1762 for some curious extracts from his Journals, respecting his warfare with the devil.

preached by Thomas Whitehead, M. D. (one of the physicians to the London-Hospital), accompanied with suitable hymns, &c. And on the 13th, the different chapels in his connection in London were hung with black.—Where much good is done, we should not mark every little excess. The great point in which his name and mission will be honoured is this: he directed his labours towards those who had no instructor; to the highways and hedges; to the mines in Cornwall, and the colliers in Kingswood. These unhappy creatures, married and buried among themselves, and often committed murders with impunity, before the Methodists sprang up. By the humane and active endeavours of him and his brother Charles a sense of decency, morals and religion, was introduced into the lowest classes of mankind: the ignorant were instructed; the wretched relieved; and the abandoned reclaimed. He met with great opposition from many of the clergy, and unhandsome treatment from the magistrates, who frequently would refuse to check or punish a lawless mob, that often assembled to insult or abuse him. He was, however, one of the few characters who outlived enmity and prejudice, and received, in his latter years, every mark of respect, from every denomination.—The political sentiments of popular men, are of importance to the state. John Wesley was a strenuous advocate for monarchy; and all his followers in America were firmly loyal. Those of Mr. Whitefield declared in favour of independence. His personal influence was greater than, perhaps, that of any other private gentleman in any country. It is computed, that, in the three kingdoms, there are eighty

thousand members of this society. He visited them alternately; travelled eight thousand miles every year; preached three or four times constantly in one day; rose at four, and employed all his time in reading, writing, attending the sick, and arranging the various parts of this numerous body of people;—Amongst his virtues forgiveness to his enemies, and liberality to the poor, were most remarkable: he has been known to receive into even his confidence, those who had basely injured him; they have not only subsisted again on his bounty, but shared in his affection.—All the profit of his literary labours, all that he received or could collect (and it amounted to an immense sum, for he was his own printer and bookseller), was devoted to charitable purposes. And with such opportunities of enriching himself, it is a doubt whether the sale of the books will pay all his debts. His travelling expences were defrayed by the societies which he visited.—The superintendency of his various chapels and societies, he committed, about seven years ago, by a deed enrolled in chancery, (in trust for the support of his preachers, and their poor families,) to a hundred travelling preachers, now in various parts of these kingdoms; and, among the number, is the rev. Dr. Coke, at present in America, whose mission is supposed to have increased the converts in the West-India islands, and other parts of America to near fifty thousand, since the conclusion of the war, and founder in 1789, of a college in South Carolina called Wesley College.—On a review of the character of this extraordinary man, it appears, that though he was endowed with eminent talents, he was more distinguished by their use

use than even by their possession; though his taste was classic, and his manners elegant, he sacrificed that society in which he was particularly calculated to shine; gave up those preferments which his abilities must have obtained, and devoted a long life in practising and enforcing the plainest duties. Instead of being "an ornament to literature," he was a blessing to his fellow creatures; instead of "the genius of the age," he was the servant of God!—One striking passage from Mr. Badcock's anecdotes of him, we shall repeat, with Mr. Wesley's short remark on it. "In one of Mr. Wesley's earlier publications, he, in the strongest language, disavows all pecuniary motives, and calls on posterity to vindicate his disinterestedness, in one of the boldest apostrophes I ever read. '*Money must needs pass through my hands,*' says he, '*but I will take care (God being my helper,) that the mammon of unrighteousness shall only pass through; it shall not rest there. None of the accursed thing shall be found in my tents, when the Lord calleth me hence. And hear ye this, all you who have discovered the treasures which I am to leave behind me; if I leave behind me ten pounds (above my debts, and the little arrears of my fellowship), you, and all mankind, bear witness against me, that I lived and died a thief and a robber. I doubt not but his pride, and something better than his pride, will prevent the stigma.*' To this Mr. W. in January 1785, adds, that the only end he ever had in view was, "to save sinners." "What other

end," he asks, "could I possibly have in view? or can have at this day?—'*Deep projects of a subtle mind.*' Nay, I am not subtle, but the veriest fool under the sun, if I have any earthly project at all now! For what do I want which this world can give? And, after the labour of fourscore years,

No foot of land do I possess,
No cottage in the wilderness
A poor, way-faring man,
I dwell awhile in tents below,
Or gladly wander to and fro,
Till I my Canaan gain."

His executors have already given notice, that a gentleman, to whom Mr. Wesley has bequeathed his MSS. will publish an authentic narrative of him, as soon as it can be prepared for the press; and that the truth of this performance is intended to be regularly attested. His history, if well written, will certainly be important, for, in every respect, as the founder of the most numerous sect in the kingdom, as a man and as a writer, he must be considered as one of the most extraordinary characters this or any age ever produced.

Life and Character of Philip earl of Hardwicke, in a letter from a gentleman of the law, to Mr. Richard Cooksey.*

Sir,
HAVING met with an advertisement, wherein you mention a design of giving an essay on the life of Philip, earl of Hardwicke, in your proposed History of Worcestershire,

* We have inserted this life of Lord Hardwicke by way of antidote to that given in our Register for the year 1764 which entirely slurs over the early period of his life, and is an eulogy on the remainder. Our readers will find a well-drawn sketch of his character, by Lord Chesterfield, in our Register for 1777, vol. 20.

Worcestershire, and inviting any information on that subject, I send you what occurs to the recollection of an old man of the law, who knew him well; of which you need not doubt the authenticity; and let me remind you of your duty as a historian:

*Ne quid falsi dicere audeat;
Ne quid veri non audeat.*

Be not therefore afraid of inserting the truths I shall from time to time send to you, as they shall occur to my recollection, and I find time to put them on paper; they will not, I profess, tend to flatter his lordship's memory or pay court to his illustrious descendants, but may be proper to be known and transmitted to posterity, for the purpose of forming a right judgement of the real character of the man you undertake to delineate and exhibit to the public. It is your duty to represent him as he really was, without the flattery and embellishment which the biographers of eminent men generally pay to their subject. A good painter is to draw a likeness of the original, though the features may be harsh and unpleasing.

He was born at Dover, in Kent, in the year 1696. That he was literally the founder of his family and fortunes redounds to his honour rather than his dispraise; and therefore it is no disparagement to relate what is the undoubted fact, that his father was an attorney of no great eminence or possessions, indeed reduced, at last, to such indigence, as drove him to despair and suicide. Of this circumstance his son Charles (a man highly accomplished in mind and manners, and of feelings most exquisitely delicate) was once cruelly reminded by a witness in a

Kentish cause. The father, however, was attentive to the well settling and providing for his family; having married his two daughters, one to Mr. Billingsley, a dissenting minister, brother to the printer; and another to Mr. Jones, who proving unfortunate in business, lived for many years, and at last died, in the King's-Bench prison, he prevailed on his agent, Mr. Salkeld, of Brook-street Holborn, to take his only son Philip as his clerk; though his mother, a rigid Presbyterian, opposed it very much, and wished her son to be put apprentice to some *honester trade*, as she expressed it. This domestic distress, experienced and severely felt in his early years, narrowed his mind, and infected it with a love of money, which was his constant bias and blemish through life; and of which he could not divest himself when possessed of near a million.

During his clerkship he applied himself to business with uncommon diligence, and gained the entire good will and esteem of his master; who, observing in him abilities and application that prognosticated his future eminence, entered him as a student in the Temple, and suffered him to dine in the hall during the terms. But his mistress, a notable woman, thinking she might take such liberties with a gratis-clerk, used frequently to send him from his business on family errands, and to fetch in little necessaries from Covent-garden and other markets. This, when he became a favourite with his master, and entrusted with his business and cash, he thought an indignity, and got rid of it by a stratagem, which prevented complaints or expostulation. In his accounts with his master there frequently occurred coach-hire for roots of celery and.

and turnips from Covent-garden, and a barrel of oysters from the fish-mongers &c. which Mr. Salkeld observing, and urging on his wife the impropriety and ill housewifery of such a practice, put an end to it.

Mr. Salkeld, who was very eminent in his profession, as an attorney, and much esteemed by lord-chief justice Parker, was one day asked by his lordship if he could recommend to him a young man, decent and intelligent, to serve as a sort of law tutor to his sons, and assist and direct them in their studies. He recommended this his clerk in the warmest terms, and he was immediately employed in that capacity; which he discharged so much to the satisfaction of the chief-justice, that he soon became a favourite, and was distinguished by every private and public mark of his approbation and regard. Inso-much, that upon Mr. Yorke's being called to the bar, and lord Parker being made chancellor and earl of Macclesfield, his partiality to so young a pleader, and the particular attention paid to him, gave great offence to many of the old practitioners in that court. Sergeant Pengelly in particular was so disgusted at frequently hearing the chancellor observe, that, *what Mr. Yorke said had not been answered*, that he one day threw up his brief, and declared he would no more attend a court where he found *Mr. Yorke was not to be answered*. His resentment, joined with that of others in the same situation, brought upon the chancellor that investigation of his private management and the abuses committed or connived at by him, in his appointment of the officers of his court, which terminated in his impeachment and conviction.

This extraordinary attention to

his favourite, and especially when he was fetched from his first circuit, in the year 1719, and made solicitor-general, when he was scarce twenty-nine years of age, over the heads of many able and eminent counsel, was well near being as fatal to Mr. Yorke as his patron.

From the precedency annexed to that post, he was to take the lead, and conduct all the causes he was employed in. The suitors at first hesitated at committing themselves to so young and inexperienced an advocate; and he was, on that account, left out of most of the important causes then depending. But the influence of attorneys, with whom he was as much a favourite as with the chancellor, his own indefatigable industry and application, the gentleness of his manners, and insinuating complacency of his address, soon getting the better of those prejudices, he rapidly came into full business at the bar; and the storm raised by his premature promotion, fell wholly on his patron; of whose distress he seems to have stood a silent and unconcerned spectator, though then attorney-general, member of parliament, and privy counsellor; and his uncle, sir Joseph Jekyl, was first commissioner, with sir Jeffery Gilbert and sir Robert Raymond, to whom the seals were committed on his resignation.

Willes, afterwards chief-justice of the Common Pleas, used often to relate a circumstance not much to the honour of Mr. Yorke in their younger days. They began their professional career about the same time, but pursued it in a course and with a termination directly opposite each other; the one always cool, collected, and sedate; the other impetuous inconsiderate, and eager

eager. Mr. Yorke never said or did a foolish thing; Willes, though with equal, if not superior, parts, was for ever guilty of both. He was not, however, wanting in paying proper court to the head of the law at that time, and flattered himself that he stood fair in the opinion and favour of lord Macclesfield. But on a sudden he perceived a total change in the countenance and conduct of that great man to him, and that he was treated on all occasions with evident marks of slight and displeasure. Willes was warm and pertinacious in his protestations of never having deserved, in thought, word, or deed, the displeasure he lamented having incurred, and insisted on knowing the charge against him, and his accusers. The latter the chancellor peremptorily refused; but in compliance with his importunity as to the first, gave him a paper, containing the substance of a conversation, wherein Willes, in the gaiety of his heart, had treated the character and conduct of that great man with such pleasantry of ridicule and allusions to gross circumstances and facts, as were indeed grounds for offence and resentment, and much the more, for that they were incontrovertibly true. This betraying what had past in unbent, unguarded, and private conversation Willes put to the score of Mr. Yorke, who was one of the company, wherein he could not but recollect he had committed himself with so little caution; and was one source of the habits of ill will in which they lived during most of their time. Never was a more complete contrast of characters exhibited than that of those two contemporaries and law rivals, nor a stronger proof of the superiority of prudence and temper over parts,

and an enterprising activity of mind. Each had their fortunes to make by their profession: Willes, at setting out, had the advantage in paternal property, and a liberal education, having been fellow of All-Souls college, Oxford; yet, when arrived at the post of attorney-general, though their practice had been nearly equally productive to both, Mr. Yorke was worth upwards of fifty thousand pounds; and the other by South sea losses and other projects, above ten thousand pounds in debt. When lord Macclesfield's patronage ceased to be useful to Mr. Yorke, he cultivated and obtained, that of the duke of Newcastle, in its fullest extent, and preserved it through his life. This proved infinitely more beneficial to him, than the friendship of the prince of Wales, sir Robert Walpole, and lord Grenville, by whom he was cordially beloved, did to Willes. The one was never at any trouble or expence in his elections to parliament, the duke constantly returning him for one or other of his boroughs, whilst Willes was frequently employed to harass the active members of the minister, and give them opposition in their elections, at an expence not always repaid him. Thus, in the year 1784, Willes, then attorney-general, was set to Worcester, to oppose Mr. Sandys, the plodding, pains-taking, second of Mr. Pulteney; and to whom sir Robert Walpole bore the most decided aversion; by this he was much money out of pocket, and it fixed on him the resentment of the party! whilst lord Hardwicke, by every civility and private gratification, had ingratiated himself with the opposers of sir Robert, who always considered his fall from power, and the loss of his majority in the house

house of commons, in the year 1742, more owing to the secret practices of his pretended friends, the duke of Newcastle and lord Hardwicke, (who were the only gainers in that change of ministry) than to the efforts of his enemies. The chancellor retained, undiminished, and in full force, the powers of the law department ; disposing of its honours and preferments, and prevented the creation of law-lords, whereby his power in the house of lords, he apprehended, might be diminished.

Firmly united with the Pelhams, who, after sir Robert Walpole's giving up the Treasury, had, by an union with the leaders of the pretended patriots of those days, obtained a clear and decisive superiority in parliament, lord Hardwicke, from being an excellent and attentive chancellor, became, unhappily for his country, a politician and a first-rate minister in the succeeding arrangements. The event of 1746 had given that administration a complete command over their sovereign ; and the depravity and corruption that prevailed in the succeeding parliaments secured them from any controul on that side ; so that for many years after the death of Mr. Pelham, in 1754, the whole power of the state centered in the duke of Newcastle, and his friend and director, lord Hardwicke, without whose advice and participation, that duke never made the least movement. Under their auspices were made the several alterations and arrangements of ministry, in 1755 and 6. In those, places and pensions were distributed so liberally as to preclude almost any shadow of opposition in either house of parliament to any measures government thought proper to adopt. But these

measures proved so weak, pusillanimous, and disgraceful, as, at length, to rouse a spirit of resentment and indignation in the people at large. This alarmed the fears and apprehensions of lord Hardwicke, of which his nature was very susceptible, and to which the great responsibility in which he and his connections, particularly lord Anson, his son-in-law, stood ; to whom the loss of Minorca was generally imputed, gave sufficient foundation. Dreading the loud cry of the people for impeachments and enquiries into the authors of those counsels, which had brought the nation into such a calamitous and desperate situation, he wisely shrunk from the storm he thought he saw bursting on his head ; and in 1756 resigned the seals, as did lord Anson his office of first commissioner of the Admiralty. The duke of Newcastle also quitted the Treasury, so that for some time the kingdom was left without an administration at all. But leaving to writers of the general history of those times a description of the deplorable state to which the country was then reduced, you will confine yourself to the parts in which lord Hardwicke stood conspicuous. The marriage-act, whatever praise or dispraise is annexed to it, was exclusively his own. The bill for general naturalization of the Jews, enacted in one session, and the repeal of it in the next, was a measure congenial to his principles and pusillanimity. These unpopular acts, his unremitted opposition to every plan for establishing a national militia, and the fetching a foreign force, to protect the country from an invasion, which he timorously expected and dreaded, had made him obnoxious above any other member

member of administration to the people at large, though his power and influence in a house of commons, debased by the grossest corruption, and lost to all national and manly spirit, remained in its full force. By a happy coalition, which took place in 1757, wherein he and his colleague, the duke of Newcastle, furnished their prostitute majority to the friends and favourites of the people, who ensured them safety and indemnity; the threatened enquiries and cries for punishment of the delinquents were baffled and eluded, and the noble duke and lord Hardwicke again formed an arrangement of ministry perfectly to their own satisfaction and that of the public. In this transaction let me inform you of a manœuvre of his lordship, in his department of disposer of law dignities, in which he gratified the malignity he had ever borne to Willes, by a stroke decisive on his family and fortune. The latter, who had been appointed first commissioner of the seals, during the short abeyance of administration, and was considered and looked up to in the common course of such events as the undoubted successor to the office of chancellor, thought he had disarmed the effects of ancient bickerings, by settling all the distribution of offices and emoluments of the court on lord Hardwicke's resignation, to the entire satisfaction of his lordship. Philip Carteret Webb, whom he recommended even with tears to his successors, was gratified to his utmost wish; and the kindest countenance of the court, promised and expressed to his son Charles, then young at the bar. So far were matters settled, that a peerage, pension, and tellership of the Exchequer were

agreed, as of course, to attend the appointment. What a blow did Willes feel when these demands, as they were called, having been represented to their sovereign as unreasonable and improper to be granted, occasioned an enquiry whom else these negotiators of preferment had to recommend. They immediately named Mr. Henley, who indeed did honour to the nomination; and to the surprise of the world, and even of himself, he was nominated keeper, as a man who *stipulated* for no conditions or emoluments, which are sure to follow the appointment, as they did in this case. So much for Willes, who died soon after with a heart broken by the many mortifications and disappointments which the arts of his successful rival, and his own want of discretion through life had heaped upon him.

The events of this year, 1757, in which the national honour and vigour was sunk to the lowest pitch, and when popular resentment against the weak and corrupt administration to which they attributed the disgraces and losses sustained in the Mediterranean and America, had well nigh proved fatal to the fortunes of lord Hardwicke and his son-in-law, lord Anson, displayed the wise and politic conduct of the former in its greatest lustre, and raised his power and influence to an height beyond what they ever reached before or after that period. The good king, accustomed to submit implicitly (after some impotent struggles for employing in his service the men he loved and lived with) to the dictates of the duke of Newcastle, who was as implicitly directed by lord Hardwicke, was induced by them to admit the favourites of the people, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, into the cabinet,

cabinet, and commit to them the absolute management of the war and foreign affairs.

Many instances of the plenitude of power possessed by lord Hardwicke at this time I could enumerate to you, but will confine myself to one, involving an important transaction relative to his private and family concerns, and perhaps accounting for a public one not suspected, or in the least comprehended at that time or since. To elucidate which I must enter rather minutely into his domestic affairs and connexions. A Mr. James Cocks, (the brother of his excellent lady) was the heir and successor of the great lord Somers, and possessed estates and acquisitions to a much greater amount, from his father, who married the sister of that lord, than from lord Somers himself. He, indeed, made scarce any addition to his paternal estate (avarice, as Swift acknowledges, he had none) beyond the grants forced upon him by king William, of certain fee-farm rents and manor of Rygate, in Surry. The value of the latter consisted chiefly in the influence annexed to it, on the election of two members, which that borough returns to parliament; both of whom, after the decline of alderman Parsons's interest there, were uniformly nominated by this family, no other individual possessing property in the borough of weight sufficient to warrant any competition against the burgage tenures and manerial rights they were in possession of. Mr. James Cocks, who was always one of the members, was a plain, honest, unambitious country gentleman; and by a second marriage (the issue of his first, the sole heir of the Bradford estate, being dead) with the

only daughter of lord Berkeley, of Stretton, had a son, born in 1737; at this time a youth of the finest and most promising parts and amiable accomplishments, much caressed in the family of Frederick, prince of Wales, and the playfellow of his children about the same age. His present majesty (if his memory fail him not) may recollect the friend and favourite of his youth, his every evening almost being spent in play and boyish amusements at Leicester-house. The prince, who had a peculiar antipathy to the chancellor, had given this youth unfavourable impressions of his uncle, and alarmed him with suspicions of clandestine attempts to undermine his interest in this borough, and establish a claim to a joint weight in the election of its representatives; of which one of his sons had usually, from their near relationship to the proprietor, been complimented with the nomination. Discovering on enquiry, as he thought, some grounds for such suspicions, and having roused his father, always extremely indolent and inattentive to business, into an alarm for the danger that threatened this his favorite property, he prevailed on him to throw into the fire a will he had made, whereby he had left the guardianship of this his son, and the management of his affairs, during his minority to lord Hardwicke, and to make another, delegating that trust to a young Worcestershire nobleman, of consummate honour and bright abilities, in conjunction with his own brother, a very honest, but unbred, country gentleman, with a large family of children; and though very rich, penurious and covetous in the extreme. The father died soon after making this disposition of his affairs;

affairs; and, on the will being produced, though bearing every internal and formal evidence of the sanity of the testator, it was controverted by lord Hardwicke; and contrary to all his habitual prudence, the persuasions of his own family, and the advice of the ablest civilians of the times, Dr. Lee and Hay, he instituted a suit in the commons, wherein he endeavoured to prove his brother-in-law an idiot, and incapable of making a will. This irritated his son beyond all bounds, and though the worthy judge of the court, Dr. Bettesworth rejected all such allegations with due indignation, and confirmed a will, which itself proved the sanity of the testator, yet did the attempt sink deep in the mind of the young man, and gave him the most poignant inveteracy against this his uncle. He was now, in the year 1758, within a few months of being of age. Possessed of youthful ardour, and an active spirit, he had taken a military turn; to which he was encouraged by his two uncles, who now acted in concert, with respect to his education and the management of his concerns. Mr. John Cocks having, in the arrangement then made, been gratified with douceurs to himself, and preferments and employments for seven of his sons, by which they were all amply provided for, gratitude completely bound him to make due returns to his benefactor.

The young gentleman had been sent to make a campaign, as a volunteer in the army of the king of Prussia, during the most active operations of the German war. From thence returning safe, he was incited, by the persuasions of a young friend, the nephew of a respectable

clergyman, of the name of Wells, under whose care he had been educated with the greatest privacy, at his living of Remman, near Henley-upon-Thames, to embark in the expeditions then carrying on for invading the French coasts; a measure planned and adopted by Mr. Pitt, merely to expose and degrade the idle panic of preceding ministers, who had frightened themselves and the nation with an apprehension, that a few flat-bottomed boats, and landing an enemy on our coasts, would be decisive of the fate and general ruin of the country. This paltry apprehension had been the source of all the disgraces and losses of the former year, in the Mediterranean and America, by keeping at home the fleet and force which foreign services required. This evil of Mr. Pitt's was fully answered, and the public spirit revived and set at right, by the public display of our national strength, and the alarms given the enemy, by the attack of St. Maloes and Cherbourg. Both he and the nation revolted against continuing such a futile and marauding plan of operations; of which the success, supposing it the highest, could never balance the expence of the expedition. This to St. Lunaire-bay was universally decried. No military officer of name or eminence could be prevailed on to accept the command of the forces, which seemed destined to destruction, and poor general Bligh lamented most emphatically his having been decoyed into that service, when fetched from Ireland without previous notice or instructions. Alarmed as the French had been, he foresaw they would be prepared, and foretold the fatal event of the attempt. "These expeditions," says he,

he, in a letter to Mr. Pitt, exculpating his conduct, "are to be considered as *attempts*; and troops, sent on such a service, as a *forlorn detachment*, the whole of which may perish at a particular time with propriety, and to the satisfaction of every good man, as, putting things at the worst, the state incurs no danger;" and, as a true military man comforts himself, that in the engagement of the rear guard, at St. Cas, the number of the killed and wounded of the enemy was by far greater than ours. Upon this service was this youth, of such high expectations, sent, in company with his friend Wells; not as a volunteer; as such he might have retreated in the first boat attending the embarkation; but, dignified with the commission of *ensign of a company of the grenadiers*, in the guards allotted for this service; whereby he had the post of honour consigned him, of being the first to land upon, and the last to quit, the enemy's coasts. No doubt, according to general Bligh's idea, every good man, and the noble lord himself, who had kindly procured him that commission, felt a satisfaction, when the gazette announced the following short list of the killed, in that unfortunate and most ill-conducted action at St. Cas.

OFFICERS KILLED.

Guards	{	Major-General Drury.
		Captain Walker.
		ENSIGN COCKS.
Manners's	{	Lieutenant Mose.
		Lieutenant Wells.

And only six others.

And it occurred to few, that by the death of *Ensign Cocks*, the pro-

perty of a borough, returning two members of the British parliament, a personal estate of one hundred thousand pounds, and a real one of eight or ten thousand pounds a year, was transferred to his worthy relations. What part lord Hardwicke had in this transaction, I pretend not to determine, but cannot help observing, that at this æra, sheltered and protected by the impenetrable shield of Pitt's popularity, he was in the zenith of his political power. Under that shield he dealt out, in full force, the darts of his resentments and private favour, and directed the whole artillery of ministerial influence, in bestowing subordinate places and pensions; by which one good end was obtained, the suppression of all parliamentary opposition, and an absolute acquiescence in the measures adopted by that truly great man. I think also, that in the instructions to poor Bligh, the pen and style of a chancery draftsman is very discernible, and that, in reality, no other success did accrue, or was hoped for from this enterprise, than the getting rid of this ill-fated young man, who was so near entering life in so brilliant a style, with such éclat and power as his fortune and connections would have given him, full of resentment against a relation, by whom he was so justly provoked, and high in personal favour with his future sovereign. This, I venture to affirm, is the only clue by which the seeming absurdities that occurred in the conduct of that retreat, the night march by beat of drum, and other mismanagement, taken notice of by Smollett, and every historian of the time, can be solved or accounted for. This fulness of power, as a subordinate minister, and the dispenser of

of douceurs, requisite for gaining and managing majorities, in which he and his friend, the duke of Newcastle, were signally dexterous, he retained, till a new king, and enterprizing favourite, broke through the shackles in which the good old George II. had been so long held. Lord Hardwicke had no share in the merits or dishonour of the peace which soon followed the demise of the crown, and the dismissal of Mr. Pitt. His political career closed with a transaction quite in his own style of arranging a ministry; the ridiculous event of which, and his disappointment in not obtaining the post of president of the council, on which he had long set his heart, chagrined him so much, as perhaps shortened his life, which he quitted the year after.

P.S. On second thoughts the preceding account will be defective, unless you give some account of his person, and what the French call his *petits morales*, of which, from your youth, you can know nothing but by information. He was one of the handsomest men of the age, and bestowed great attention to his appearance and dress. By this he attracted the approbation of his lady, the niece of sir Joseph Jekyl, whom he occasionally met with at the Rolls; to whom he proved most properly and affectionately attached; nor was ever guilty of playing the fool (which was always his term for intriguing) with any other woman. The reports, circulated in those times, relative to lady B—— and Mrs. Wells, I consider as idle tales, without the least foundation in truth. He was a perfect pattern of temperance and sobriety. His meals were not even convivial. Af-

ter his dinner, which was generally late, he latterly dozed for some minutes, during which his lady kept up some degree of chearful conversation. On recovering, and her retiring, a stiff and ceremonious talk took place, in which, to involve his son Heathcote, when he was of the party, he would observe, that Rutlandshire being the least county in England, his father, sir Gilbert, was supposed to be in possession of one half of it; and if he goes on to accumulate, as he has done, bids fair to be the proprietor of a whole county, a point at which no man in England ever yet arrived. On this, some sycophant would observe, that his lordship might perhaps be charged with a similar view, in regard to the county of Cambridge; for though Wimple as yet bore no proportion to the whole, yet the title deeds of a full moiety of it might already be found there:—a smile. The stately and ceremonious reception of his visitors, on a Sunday evening, was insipid and disgusting in the highest degree. For the vanity displayed in the painted windows of the chapel at Wimple, his family offer in excuse that the several arms of the illustrious names, connected with the house of York, were collected, blazoned, and presented to him by Mr. Prouse, member for the county of Somerset. Stranger as he was to the life and habits of country gentlemen, he treated them with insulting inattention and hauteur. Came they from never so great a distant part of the county, either to visit his lordship, or to see his place, their horses were sent for refreshment to the Tiger, a vile inn, near half a mile distant, as I have experienced more than once. He had no love for the country, or
peculiar

peculiar taste for improvement. Wimple exhibited scenes magnificent and vast, without being pleasing to the eye. He submitted, indeed, like other lords, sometimes to entertain the *natives*, but with that visible and contemptuous superiority as disgusted rather than obliged them. When in high good humour he had two or three stock stories to *make his company laugh*, which they were prepared, and expected, to do. One was of his bailiff, Woodcock, who, having been ordered by his lady to procure a sow of the breed and size she particularly described to him, came one day into the dining-room, when full of *great company*, proclaiming with a burst of joy, he could not suppress, "I have been at Royston fair, my lady, and got a sow exactly of your ladyship's size." He also used to relate an incident that occurred to him in a morning ride from Wimple. Observing an elegant gentleman's house, he conceived a wish to see the inside of it. It happened to be that of Mr. Montague, brother to lord Sandwich, who being at home, very politely, without knowing his lordship, conducted him about the apartments, which were perfectly elegant; and expatiated on the pictures, some of which were capital. Among these were two female figures, beautifully painted in all their native naked charms, drawn from the life. These ladies, says the master of the house, you must certainly know, for they are most striking likenesses. On the guest's expressing his perfect ignorance, why, where the devil have you led your life, or what company have you kept, says the captain, not to know Fanny Murray, and Kitty Fisher, with whose persons I thought no

fashionable man like you could be unacquainted. "On my taking leave, and saying, I should be glad to return his civilities at Wimple, what surprise and confusion did he express on his discovering he had been talking all this badinage to lord Hardwicke."

His great accomplishment was an evenness of temper and command over his passions, which scarce ever suffered him to be transported into any indiscreet action, or intemperate or indecent expression of resentment. This constant calmness I never knew forsake him but in one or two instances, which fell under my observation. In the debate on the marriage-act, in the house of lords, which was opposed with warmth in the other house by Mr. Fox, his lordship's zeal for this his favourite measure betrayed him into unbecoming and rather abusive expressions towards his antagonist, calling him, in the warmth of invective, *that bad, black man*. Similar passion and intolerance of contradiction betrayed him into a mean and unmanly threatening to some, who withstood his attempts to defeat his brother Cocks's will, that they should feel severely the effects of his displeasure and resentment, that a lord chancellor had a long arm, which should reach them in whatever station, or situation of life they might be placed, and however safe they might think themselves, and out of his reach. This threat too he executed with an implacable vengeance; one gentleman I know suffered from his persecution, and the long arm of chancery, a loss of many thousand pounds; and another, a very learned and ingenious physician, well known and esteem-

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ed at Paris, and I believe still living there, was by it driven for many years from his country, degraded in his character, and nearly ruined in his profession.

Dr. Johnson, in the life of Addison, vol. xi. p. 167, well and wisely observes, "that the necessity of complying with the times, and of sparing persons, is the great impediment of biography." History may be formed from permanent monuments and records, but lives can only be written from personal knowledge, which is growing every day less, and in a short time is lost for ever. What is known can seldom be immediately told; and when it might be told it is no longer known. The delicate features of the mind, the nice discriminations of character, and the minute peculiarities of conduct are soon obliterated; and better were it much should be silently forgotten, however it might delight in description, than that by unseasonable detection a pang should be given to a descendant, a brother, or a friend. Impressed by this consideration, and feeling that we are *walking upon ashes, under which the fire is not extinguished*, I forbear enlarging on every circumstance my recollection suggests to me, whereby it might be made appear that it is possible for a man even in this enlightened age and nation, to raise himself to the highest eminence of wealth and honours (as they are called) without possessing a single spark or shadow of public virtue, or contributing the least atom to the happiness, improvement, or honour of his country or of mankind.

Of this, if you have any doubt, young gentleman, I recommend to your perusal the Diary of George

Bub Doddington, published by Mr. Windham, and the very honest and sensible account of it by the editor. Where you will see by what dexterous management of the marketable ware (*borough interest*) left him by a relation, George Bub, the son of an apothecary, in Dorsetshire, raised himself to some of the highest offices of the state, and the title of lord Melcombe. This publication, such as was never before committed to paper, should always accompany the memoirs of lord Hardwicke, as the proper commentary on the times and transactions of that lord and his associates in administration.—Heaven send us better and less corrupt.

With every good wish for your success in this and all your undertakings, I am yours, &c.

A description of the village and inhabitants of Cahnuaga, or Cock-nawaga, who some years since separated from the Mohawks; from Long's Voyages and travels among the North American Indians.

THE savages of this nation, who are called the praying Indians, from the circumstance of their chiefs wearing crucifixes, and going through the streets of Montreal with their beads, begging alms, separated long since from the Mohawk and River Indians, and for a considerable time after their separation carried on an illicit trade between Albany and Montreal. The village contains about two hundred houses, which, though they are chiefly built of stone, have a mean and dirty appearance. The inhabitants amount to about eight hundred, and (what is contrary to the general observation

tion on the population of the Indians) are continually increasing. It is considered as the most respectable of all the Indian villages, and the people are in a great degree civilized and industrious. They sow corn, and do not depend, like other nations, solely upon hunting for support; but, at the same time, they are not fond of laborious work, conceiving it only suited to those who are less free, and retaining so much of their primeval valour and independence as to annex the idea of slavery to every domestic employment. Their hunting grounds are within the United States, at a considerable distance from the village, round Fort George, Ticonderago, and Crown Point, where they kill beaver and deer, but not in such great abundance at present as they did formerly, the country being better inhabited, and the wild animals, from the present state of population, being obliged to seek a more distant and secure retreat. The skins they obtain are generally brought down to Montreal, and either sold for money or bartered for goods. It is not improbable, that in a few years there will not be many good hunters among them, as they are extravagantly fond of dress, and that too of the most expensive kind. Their fondness for this luxury, which the profits arising from the lands they let out to the Canadians enables them to indulge, contributes to make them more idle; and in proportion as their vanity increases, ease and indolence are the more eagerly courted and gratified, insomuch that hunting is in danger of being totally abandoned. Their religion is Catholic, and they have a French priest, or, as the Chipeway Indians term it, "*The Master of Life's Man*," who instructs them

and performs divine service in the Iroquois tongue. Their devotion impressed my mind too powerfully to suffer it to pass unnoticed, and induces me to observe that great praise is due to their pastors, who, by unwearied assiduity, and their own exemplary lives and conversation, have converted a savage race of beings from heathenism to Christianity, and by uniformity of conduct, continue to preserve both their religion and themselves in the esteem of their converts: an example worthy of imitation, and amounting to an incontrovertible proof that Nature, in her most degenerate state, may be reclaimed by those who are sincere in their endeavours, gentle in their manners, and consistent in the general tenor of their behaviour. And it is to be expected, and certainly most ardently to be wished, that the savage temper among them may in time be more effectually subdued, their natural impetuosity softened and restrained, and their minds weaned from their unhappy attachment to the use of strong liquors; their indulgence in which is frequently attended with the most melancholy and fatal consequences.

Anecdotes of Mr. William Gibson, the celebrated self-taught Mathematician; from the Gentleman's Magazine.

MR. William Gibson was born in the year 1720, at a village called Boulton, a few miles from Appleby, in Westmoreland. At the death of his father, being left young, without parents, guardians, or any immediate means of support, he put himself under the care of a reputable farmer

farmer in the neighbourhood, to learn the farming business where he remained several years. Having obtained some knowledge therein, he removed to the distance of about thirty miles, to be superintendant to a farm near Kendal. After being there some time, and arrived at the age of about 17 or 18, he was informed that his father had been possessed of a tolerable estate, in landed property; and that, in the beginning of the last century, he had descended from the same family with Dr. Edmund Gibson, then bishop of London. He spent the little money he had acquired by his industry to come at the truth of the business; when he found, to his sorrow, that the estate was mortgaged to its full value and upwards. He therefore continued his occupation, and soon afterwards rented and managed a little farm of his own, at a place called Hollins, in Cartmell Fell, not far from Cartmell, where he applied himself vigorously to study. A little time previous to this, he had admired the operation of figures; but laboured under every disadvantage, for want of education. As he had not been taught either to read or write he turned his thoughts to reading English, and enabled himself to read and comprehend a plain author. He therefore purchased a treatise on arithmetic; and, though he could not write, he soon went through common arithmetic, vulgar and decimal fractions, the extraction of the square and cube roots, &c. by his memory only, and became so expert therein, that he could tell, without setting down a figure, the product of any two numbers multiplied together, although the multiplier and multiplicand, each of them, consisted of nine places of

figures: and it was equally astonishing how he could answer, in the same manner, questions in division, in decimal fractions, or in the extraction of the square or cube roots, where such a multiplicity of figures is often required in the operation: Yet at this time he did not know that any merit was due to himself, conceiving other people's capacity like his own; but being a sociable companion, and when in company taking a particular pride in puzzling his companions with proposing different questions to them, they gave him others in return, which, from the certain and expeditious manner he had in answering them, made him first noticed as an arithmetician, and a man of most wonderful memory. Finding himself still labouring under further difficulties, for want of a knowledge in writing, he taught himself to write a tolerable hand. As he did not know the meaning of the word *mathematics*, he had no idea of any thing beyond what he had learned. He thought himself a masterpiece in figures, and challenged all his companions, and the society he attended. Something, however, was proposed to him concerning Euclid; but as he did not understand the meaning of the word he was silent, but afterwards found it meant a *book*, containing the elements of geometry, which he purchased, and applied himself very diligently to the study of, and against the next meeting, in this new science he was prepared with an answer. He now found himself launching out into a field of which, before, he had no conception. He continued his geometrical studies; and as the demonstration of the different propositions in Euclid depend entirely upon a recollection of some of

of those preceding, his memory was of the utmost service to him; and as it did not require much knowledge in classical education, but principally the management of straight lines, it was a study just to his mind; for while he was attending the business of his farm, and humming over some tune or other, with a sort of whistle, his attention was certain to be solely engaged upon some of his geometrical propositions, and, with the assistance of a piece of chalk, upon the lap of his breeches-knee, or any other convenient spot, would clear up the most difficult parts of the science in a most masterly manner. His mind being now open a little to the works of nature, he paid particular attention to the theory of the earth, the moon, and the rest of the planets belonging to this system, of which the sun is the centre; and, considering the distance and magnitude of the different bodies belonging to it, and the distance of the fixed stars, he soon conceived each to be the centre of a different system. He well considered the laws of gravity, and that of the centripetal and centrifugal forces, and the cause of the ebbing and flowing of the tides; also, the projection of the sphere, stereographic, orthographic, and gnomonical; also, trigonometry and astronomy. He paid particular attention to, and was never better pleased than when he found his calculations agree with observation: and being well acquainted with the projection of the sphere, he was fond of describing all astronomical questions geometrically, and of projecting the eclipses of the sun and moon that way. By this time he was possessed of a small library. He next turned his thoughts to algebra,

and took up Emerson's treatise on that subject; and though the most difficult, and that, with Simpson's, are the best authors yet published, he went through it with great success, and the management of surd quantities, and the clearing equations of high powers, were amusement to him while at work in the fields, as he generally could perform them by his memory; and if he met with anything very intricate, he had recourse to a piece of chalk, as in his geometrical propositions. The arithmetic of infinites, and the differential method, he made himself master of, and found out that algebra and geometry were the very soul of the mathematics. He therefore paid a particular attention to them, and used to apply the former to almost every branch of the different sciences. The art of navigation, the principles of mechanics, also, the doctrine of motion, of falling bodies, and the elements of optics, he grounded himself in; and, as a preliminary to fluxions, which had only been lately discovered by sir Isaac Newton, as the boundary of the mathematics, he went through conic sections, &c. to make a trial of this last and finishing branch. Though he expressed some difficulty at his first entrance, yet he did not rest till he made himself master of both a fluxion and a flowing quantity. As he had paid a similar attention to all the intermediate parts, he was become so conversant in every branch of the mathematics, that no question was ever proposed to him which he did not answer, nor any rational question in the mathematics, that he ever thought of, which he did not comprehend. He used to answer all the questions in the Gentleman and Lady's Diaries, the

the Palladium, and other annual publications, for several years; but his answers was seldom inserted, except by, or in the name of some other persons, for he had no ambition in making his abilities known, further than satisfying himself that nothing passed him which he did not understand. He frequently has had questions from his pupils and other gentlemen in London, the universities, and different parts of the country, as well as from the university of Gottingen, in Germany, sent him to solve, which he never failed to answer; and, from the minute enquiry he made into natural philosophy, there was scarcely a phenomenon in nature, that ever came to his knowledge or observation, but he could in some measure or other; reasonably account for it. He went by the name of Willy o'th' Hollins for many years after he left the place. He removed to Tarn-green, where he lived about fifteen years, and from thence into the neighbourhood of Cartmell, and was best known by the name of Willy Gibson, still continuing his occupation as before. For the last forty years of his life, he kept a school of about eight or ten gentlemen, who boarded and lodged at his own farmhouse; and having a happy turn of explaining his ideas, he has turned out a great many very able mathematicians, and a great many more gentlemen he has instructed in accounts, for the counting-house, as well as for the sea, and for land-surveying, which profession he followed himself for these last forty years and upwards. In the course of his life he had had very great practice that way; and, having acquired a little knowledge of drawing, could finish plans in a very

pretty manner. He has been several times appointed, by acts of parliament, a commissioner for the inclosing of commons, and was a very proper person for that purpose; for, as well as his practice in land surveying, he had equal experience and judgement in the quality of land, as well as the quantity; also in levelling or conveying of water from one place to another, for he was well acquainted with the curvature of the earth's surface. He used to study incessantly, during the greatest part of the night; and in the day-time, when in the fields, his pupils frequently went to him, to have their different difficulties removed. He was fond of society, and his company was courted by all who knew him. He left a widow. They had been married, and lived together in the purest harmony and friendship, for near fifty years; and in all probability, if it had not been for an accident, from their apparent health and constitution, they might have lived together many years longer; as before the melancholy accident, he had never been out of health an hour in all his life. He has also left ten children living. He was well known and respected by a numerous acquaintance, by several eminent gentlemen in the city of London, and in other parts of the kingdom, and particularly so for a considerable distance round his place of residence. He had but four days illness; and though he was in the greatest agony, from a bruise he had got in his inside by a fall from a cart, he bore it with the greatest patience and died in the greatest composure, aged 71 years, at his house at Blawith, near Cartmell, the 4th of October, 1791.

Anecdotes of the late Henry Flood, esq. ; from the same.

MR. Flood, the eldest son of the right hon. Warden Flood (who was lord-chief-justice of the King's Bench in Ireland, and died in possession of that office, April 16, 1764,) was born in 1732. After residing about three years in the college of Dublin, where he was more distinguished for the beauty of his person and the gaiety of his manners than for application to study, he was removed, in 1749 or 1750, to Christ Church, in Oxford, where he was placed under the tuition of Dr. Markham, now archbishop of York. Here he spent two years, during which time he lived in great intimacy with the late learned Mr. Thomas Tyrwhitt. The first occasion of his applying intently to literary attainments was his finding that gentleman and some other friends frequently talking, at their evening meetings, on subjects of which he was ignorant ; at which he felt himself so much distressed that he resolved to preserve almost an entire silence in their company for six months ; during which time he studied with great ardour and unremitting attention, beginning with a course of mathematics, and then reading such of the Greek and Roman historians as he had not before perused. From that time to his death he was a constant and regular student, even while he was engaged in all the turbulence of political life, and became at length so complete a master of the Greek language that he read it with almost as much facility as English. In 1759 he was chosen a member of the house of commons in Ireland ; but during that session made no trial of

his oratorical powers. In 1761 he was again chosen a member of the new parliament, and soon stood forward as the great leader of opposition in that country. The first important point which he attempted to effect in parliament was, an explanation of the law of Poyning, by a misconstruction of which, for more than a century, the privy council of Ireland had assumed a power similar to that formerly exercised by the *Lords of Articles* in Scotland, and rendered the parliament of Ireland a mere cypher ; and, in consequence of his repeated efforts on this subject, the obnoxious part of that law was, at a subsequent period, repealed, though in a less unqualified manner, than it would have been if the reformation of it had not been taken out of his hands. The next great measure which he undertook was, a bill for limiting the duration of parliament, which in Ireland had always subsisted for the life of the king. This measure, after having in vain attempted it in the administrations of lord Northumberland and lord Hertford, he at length, by constant perseverance, effected in the administration of lord Townshend (1769), when the Octennial Bill was passed ; a bill that first gave any thing like a constitution to Ireland ; and, as it greatly increased the consequence of every man of property in that country, was in fact the origin and ground work of that emancipation and those additional privileges which they afterwards claimed from England, and obtained. The parliament of England having, in 1782, repealed the act of the 6th of George 1. chap. 5, which declared, " that the kingdom of Ireland ought to be subordinateto, and dependent upon the imperial crown of

of Great Britain, and that the parliament of England hath power to make laws to bind the people of Ireland," Mr. Flood, in two very able and unanswerable speeches (June 11 and 14,) maintained that the simple repeal of this *declaratory* act was no security against a similar claim, founded on the principle of that act, being at some future time revived by England; and though three gentlemen only of the whole house of commons of Ireland concurred with him on this occasion, he had the satisfaction to see his doctrine approved and ratified by the minister and parliament of England, who shortly afterwards passed an act, for ever *renouncing* this claim. In the following year the most violent altercation that ever passed in parliament took place (November, 1783,) between him and Mr. Henry Grattan; in the course of which, Mr. Flood gave a long detail of his whole political life. In 1775 he was appointed a privy counsellor in both kingdoms, and constituted one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland; which office, after holding it six years, he voluntarily resigned in 1781, and soon afterwards his name was struck out of the list of the privy council. Previous to his acceptance of this office, he made a precise and explicit stipulation with government in favour of all the great principles which he had before maintained in parliament, from none of which he ever departed. In 1783 he was chosen a member of the British parliament, for the town of Winchester; and in the subsequent parliament he represented the borough of Seaford, from 1785 to his dissolution; and if he had lived a few weeks longer, he was to have had a seat in the present parliament.

—Mr. Flood's first known production is "Verses on the Death of Frederick, Prince of Wales," published in the Oxford Collection, in 1751. He was also author of an Ode on Fame, and a translation of the first Pythian ode of Pindar, which were printed in 1785, but never published. There are several speeches of his, both in the English and Irish parliaments, extant, the last of which was delivered in the house of commons of England, Mar. 4, 1790, and had for its object a reform of the representation of parliament: on which Mr. Fox complimented him, by saying that his scheme was the most rational that ever had been produced on that subject. In the social intercourse of private life, Mr. Flood was uncommonly pleasing, joining to very extensive knowledge on very various subjects a great facility and gentleness of manners; and assuming less on account of his splendid talents and high political reputation than perhaps any other man ever did, who had been so much distinguished; a circumstance in which he strongly resembled the great minister and admired orator above mentioned. He has left, it is said, several manuscripts behind him; among which, it is to be hoped, will be found an admirable translation of the two orations of Demosthenes and Æschines on the crown, and of several orations of Cicero, done when he first began his parliamentary career, and executed with a felicity that has seldom, if ever, been attained in an English version,—Having recovered from a tedious fit of the gout, he caught cold by exerting himself to extinguish a fire which broke out in one of his offices; in consequence of which, he was seized with a pleurisy, which

which in a few days, deprived him of his life. He married, April 16, 1762, lady Frances Beresford, daughter of the late earl of Tyrone, and sister of the present marquis of Waterford, by whom he never had any issue. By his will, made in 1790, he disposes of his large property, amounting to 5000l. per annum, in the following manner. He leaves to his kinsman, Mr. Warden Flood, an estate of about 300l per annum; to Miss Cockburn, a lady who lived with lady Frances, 1000l.; to an old steward, 1000l.; and to his own servant, 200l. He makes his wife, lady Frances, together with his friend, Ambrose Smith, esq. joint executors, requesting Mr. Smith to act in the trust, and advise lady Frances in every thing, and for his advice and trouble he gives him an annuity of 300l. per annum; and after the death of lady Frances (whom he makes his residuary legatee, an estate of that value, in fee simple. Subject to these bequests, he devises his whole estate to his wife, for her life, and after her death to the university, of Dublin, or to Trinity-College, near Dublin, by whatever name it is most properly and legally characterized; willing and desiring that, immediately after the said estate should come into their possession, they shall appoint two professors, one for the study of the native Erse or Irish language, and the other for the study of Irish antiquities and Irish history, and for the study of any other European language illustrative of, or auxiliary to, the study of Irish antiquities, or Irish history; and that they shall give, yearly two liberal premiums for two compositions, one in verse and the other in prose, in the Irish

language; and also two other liberal premiums for compositions in the Greek or Latin languages, one upon any point of literature, ancient or modern, and the other upon some great action of antiquity, "seeing that nothing stimulates to great actions more than great examples." After these purposes shall have been answered, he directs that the remaining fund shall be employed in the purchase of books and manuscripts for the library of the university. And if his directions in these respects shall not be complied with, the devise to them is made null and void; and if by any other means they shall not take the estate so devised to them, according to his intention, then he bequeaths the whole of the estate so devised to Ambrose Smith, esq. in fee simple for ever. And he desires that col. Valancey, if living, shall be one of the first professors — Nothing, hitherto, has been said of the eloquence of this eminent statesman; and it is not easy to characterise it. It was, undoubtedly, of the very first rate. He on every great occasion shewed a great and comprehensive mind, replete with knowledge, ardent, vigorous, acute, and argumentative. His wit and sarcasm, and happy allusions (for his mind was replete with imagery) would have highly distinguished any other man; but *convincing* being his *chief* object, and the faculty of reasoning his *principal* power, his adversaries have represented it as his only talent. His classical allusions were never trite, always short and uncommonly happy; and his metaphors chaste, pure, and unmixed. Powerful as he was in stating, enforcing, and illustrating subjects which he propounded

propounded in parliament and on which he always shewed that he had obtained every possible information, he was still more impressive in reply, always preserving his temper, and refuting his opponents with the same perspicuity, precision, correctness, and elegance of language, which marked his original speech. To an English reader his reply to Mr. Wilberforce on the commercial treaty and to Mr. Windham on the subject of a parliamentary reform, may afford decisive proofs of the truth of this assertion. His memory was so tenacious that he frequently, at the end of a long debate, answered every member of any weight who had spoken on the opposite side, refuting their arguments *seriatim* without the aid of a single note. Few men have studied the English language more attentively than he, or were better acquainted with all its niceties of construction and most subtle discriminations: in consequence of which, while he hurried away his auditors by the strength of his arguments, he delighted every person of taste and judgement by a certain *curiosa felicitas* of diction, which added infinite grace and beauty to his eloquence. He sometimes levelled his adversary to the ground by a single word. Thus to mention one out of many instances, he on one occasion talked of the unmeaning *gabble* of his opponents; and on another said, that he should not waste the time of the house by refuting such *trumpery* arguments as had been adduced against him; resembling, in this respect, the great lord Chatham whom he venerated, and venturing on the very utmost verge of propriety in the use of a low word, more strongly to mark his contempt of his

opponent. His classical allusions have been already spoken of. The selection of particular instances of any species of excellence is always difficult and hazardous; yet the following allusion is so happy that it may bid defiance to criticism. When a certain English secretary was assailed by many pointed questions, put to him by the leaders of opposition, he at length rose, and looking most ruefully on an empty bench behind him, where his assistants usually sat, besought his antagonists not to urge the matter further, "*for the gentlemen who usually answered questions were not yet come.*" "In ancient times (replied Flood) the oak of Dodona spoke for itself: but the *wooden* oracle of our day is content to deliver his responses by deputy." A more fortunate allusion than this will not easily be pointed out. His admiration of the great Grecian orator led him to make, perhaps, too frequent use of *enthymems*; a mode of reasoning which, on account of the suppression of one of the propositions of the syllogism, seems not well suited to a mixed assembly, and renders an argument more difficult to be understood by common auditors. He was also, perhaps, too fond of suspending his adversary on the horns of a dilemma. He, is thought by many, and particularly by his English auditors, to have spoken too deliberately; and undoubtedly his manner, in this respect, was very different from that which prevails in this country: but, consistently with his scheme of elocution, neither he, nor any other man, could have been a rapid speaker, his extemporaneous effusions being always as correct, energetic, and compressed as the premeditated speeches of others. He endeavoured
never

to use a superfluous word. never, at any time, permitted himself to be diffusive or inaccurate. who makes it a rule always to speak correctly, pointedly, and concisely, must speak deliberately, and never pronounces a written speech. He never spoke an extemporary speech rapidly, without being diffusive in argument, or incorrect in language, without tautology and repetition. It has been industriously repeated that he came into the English house of commons in the decline of his life, and in the loss of his abilities; and this cry clamorously kept up by two bodies of men in Ireland, one of which had long endured the loss of his eloquence, and the other never forgave his enforcing the obtaining the English act of re-union. No assertion, however, is more unfounded. The mind of that man whose talents were originally splendid, and who persevered in the whole course of his life in constant habits of study, and in exertions both in public and private, can suffer nothing from the effects of age. He was fifty-three years old when he was chosen a member of the English parliament. His abilities at the time of his death were as strong as ever they had been in any period of his life, though certainly a man of sixty years old has not so much *ardour* as one of thirty. It is what he lost in ardour he gained in knowledge, and the accumulated experience of thirty years. Though he made a considerable impression in England, that which he had previously made in Ireland was much greater, the cause is sufficiently obvious. He had attached himself to neither of the two great parties that divide this country; nor

would any office, however lucrative, (he had voluntarily resigned one of the most lucrative the minister has to give,) have attached him to either party, without responsibility, and a certain share of power. This he expressly made the preliminary to any treaty on this subject. One party was too strong in numbers, and the other too strong in abilities, to court his aid, though each would gladly have accepted it; and thus he stood *isolated* in the house, without any person feeling an interest in his exertions or success. Add to this, that, consequently, he was precluded from almost all great subjects of debate, and consistently with the situation in which he stood, could exert himself only on *neutral* questions.—To this imperfect delineation of the character and abilities of this extraordinary person, we shall only add, that if *ten* men, of the most exalted talents, were to be selected, by impartial and capable judges, from the English annals of the eighteenth century, now hastening to its close, the name of Henry Flood would be found among them.

The following masterly sketch of the public conduct and character of this gentleman, was published in Ireland about three weeks after his death.

“It is great measures which mark the great statesman. Let the character of Flood be ascertained by the measures he supported.

“When he first appeared upon the public scene, the prostrated state of this country, (Ireland,) and its constitution, would have quenched the ardour of a common mind; it only seemed to enflame his.

“Our parliaments were for the life of the king; the two houses had little

little more than a negative voice; the privy council here assumed the power of originating bills; and the privy councils in both kingdoms, of altering and suppressing them; the whole process of legislation was corrupted and inverted; the judges held their places, not during life, but during pleasure; the king's bench of England, and the house of lords of England, exercised a supreme jurisdiction over all our courts; we had no habeas corpus act; we were allowed a trade scarcely with any nation upon earth; and a great standing army was maintained in Ireland, under the authority of an English act of parliament and without even the constitutional counterpoise of a militia.

"Mr. Flood struck at once at the root of all these enormities. He brought forward the bill for octennial parliaments. To restore the power of the people by a frequent recurrence of their elective powers, he knew, would soon give them such a voice in the constitution, as would enable them authoritatively to call for the restoration of every right. This octennial bill, then, which had been so often unsuccessfully attempted, that it was never proposed without derision, when he urged with the over-bearing energy of his eloquence, instantly rose into reputation, and was carried.

"His next great attempt was a national militia. He knew that a voice in the constitution was not sufficient, if the people were overawed by a military force. He was, however, resisted by government, and, of course, defeated. But the principle sunk into the mind of the public, and it produced voluntary armaments.

"He next levelled his abilities

against the fabric of usurpations, which was founded on the law of Poyning. The ground he took, was the vicious and corrupt construction of that law; the safest ground for the public; because, if the law was not misconstrued, it could only be got rid of by repeal, of which there was then little hope; but if it was misconstrued, it only required integrity among ourselves to rectify it. The first fruits of this exertion were, the rejection of altered money-bills.

"To prevent the accumulation of debt, and keep down the taxes of an impoverished country, were his objects on going into office, making, at the same time, the most precise and unequivocal reservation in favour of all the great constitutional principles which he had ever maintained. To secure these objects, he stipulated for his country, first the reduction of twelve commissioners of revenue to seven, which, with the other appendages of this reduction, it was estimated, would have produced a saving to the country of twenty thousand pounds a year. Next, an absentee-tax, which, by a strange and unhappy change of sentiment in some country gentlemen, failed.

"These measures, together with the general system of frugality, for which he, at all times, contended; if carried into effect, would have prevented the public debt and taxes from having risen above one-half of what they are at the present day."

"In lord Buckingham's administration, when the late Mr. Burgh moved for an extension of trade, Mr. Flood, with an emphatic tone, cried out across the house, "Why not a free trade?" The words were adopted; the free trade was carried.

"The

“The spirit of Ireland, roused by the American war, was now calling for the restoration of her rights, in the most energetic accents. England was embarrassed and enfeebled, Ireland was armed; Mr. Flood saw the crisis, and seized it. The high office which he held he flung from him. He faced the minister in the house of commons, and with all the vehemence of his eloquence, demanded the rights of his country. Ministry were thunder-struck and appalled. Mr. Burgh and Mr. Grattan ran across the house and embraced him; Mr. Burgh exclaiming, that “this was the man, whose integrity the highest office in the land could not warp.”

“He then proceeded, inflexible by any thing but truth and honour, through that momentous session; always agreeing with the opposition in principle though sometimes differing from them as to the manner of carrying that principle into effect. Where he differed, as far as experience has yet operated, it appears that he was not mistaken.

“The session concluded with the simple repeal, and his argument for a renunciation. He, against the almost unanimous voice of the parliament of Ireland, against every sentiment of the parliament of England, demanded the renunciation, as the essential indispensable recognition of the independence of Ireland.

“The lawyers corps was convinced by his argument, and concurred with him. The volunteers of the north were convinced, and concurred. The sentiment spread, and kindled. The parliament of England renounced.

“The stupendous acquisitions of this fortunate crisis were so many and so mighty, he feared they might

be surrendered or impaired, in some moment of supineness, by a corrupt and culpable house of commons. Therefore, to secure these acquisitions for ever, he endeavoured to fortify the integrity of the house of commons, by amending the form of representation; and, delegated by the great national convention, he introduced his Reform-bill into parliament.

“He was, at this moment, elevated to the highest summit of popularity, and power, and fame, to which he had ever reached, in the whole orbit of his life. The convention he ruled with an absolute sway, by the sole sceptre of reason. He never uttered there that he did not convince. He never convinced that he did not succeed. Since the creation of the world, perhaps, no undeified individual ever received such deference, such confidence, such supremacy, from a wise and enlightened assembly.

“But his good fortune, as it had been now strained beyond its strength, broke, and from this time failed him.

“His reform being rejected, and the convention dissolved, there being no immediate prospect of any momentous occurrence here, he went over to the English parliament.

“That the people there should be jealous of the reputation of their own orators; that they should have heard with displeasure frequent comparisons made between them and Mr. Flood, to the disadvantage of the latter; that their national pride should be glad to seize any slender opportunity to disparage and decry him, it is easy to suppose; but that they should have the folly to represent him as a man of feeble talents, and no understanding, was an extravagance of pride and prejudice scarcely

scarcely imaginable. Yet such was the fact. Every effort of noise and clamour, while he was speaking, and every artifice of perversion and derision after he had done, were employed against him even by his own countrymen.

“When he came back to the Irish house of commons, he was treated with the same barbarous clamour as in England. The sublimest triumphs of his reason, the most luminous effusions of his wit, were overpowered and drowned in the noise of the corrupt and the factious. From his time, the double tide of both parties ran against him. His having spurned the vice-treasurership, shewed, that the greatest office could not manacle his integrity. His whole conduct, as a statesman, and particularly the renunciation shewed that no political chicane could dupe his understanding. Neither to be bought or bubbled, he was therefore every where to be overwhelmed and undermined. The wrath of all parties, however otherwise adverse, concentrated against him. The friends of the king were never to forgive his repudiation of the vice-treasurership. The friends of Mr. Pitt, and the friends of the king, became one. The friends of Mr. Fox were never to forgive the renunciation. Indeed in this last measure, he had been too much a friend to Ireland, not to be viewed as a foe by every English party, and consequently by every class of their partizans here. The people too here, having now become quiescent after such arduous exertions, were become almost indifferent spectators of the public scene and afforded no basis to support him against such concurrent hostilities. He still, however, attempted the

parliamentary reform. He attempted it by the aid of the second convention or congress, and by the most vigorous efforts of his own voice in parliament. The spirit of the people sunk more and more. At last he was obliged to desist.

“He then attempted his reform in England. All parties, however disinclined, confessed, that it was the wisest speech, and the wisest plan that had yet been propounded. It failed ; but if ever a reform shall succeed there, it is generally thought it will be the reform of Henry Flood.

“Now the mine was springing under his feet, which was to annihilate all his political power for ever. A dissolution of parliament was shortly to take place in both kingdoms ; and there is much reason to suppose, that the great parties in both conspired in the one point, to keep him out of both parliaments. The people no where took him up. This is mentioned, not to cast any uncommon stain of ingratitude upon his countrymen, though he was the last man then upon earth whom they ought to have suffered to be so run down. The greatest characters in all countries have experienced similar defection.

“At length the great phenomenon appeared. Both parliaments were elected ; and Flood, with all his property, all his abilities, all his deservings, was of neither a member. Even upon the people here this seemed to make little impression ; and some of his oldest friends, seemed unaffected at the event. He retired to the country ; and his great mind, which could never have been depressed by the worst afflictions of the enemies of his country, was not so well able to sustain the neglect of his countrymen.

“ He

“ He died, the second of December, 1791, at Farmly in the county of Kilkenny, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

“ His property he bequeathed to the people of Ireland, under the direction of the university of Dublin; leaving it under such regulations as he conceived would make it most contribute to the fame of his country.”

Memoirs of the life of Dr. Robert Henry ; from the same.

DR. Robert Henry was the son of James Henry, farmer at Muirtown, in the parish of St. Ninian's, North Britain, and of Jean Galloway, daughter ofGalloway, of Burrowmeadow, in Stirling-shire. He was born on the 18th of February, 1718; and having early resolved to devote himself to a literary profession, was educated, first under a Mr. John Nicholson, at the parish-school of St. Ninian's and for some time at the grammar-school of Stirling. He completed his course of academical study at the university of Edinburgh and afterwards became master of the grammar-school of Annan. He was licenced to preach on the 27th of March, 1746, and was the first licentiate of the presbytery of Annan after its erection into a separate presbytery. Soon after, he received a call from a congregation of presbyterian dissenters at Carlisle, where he was ordained, in November 1748. In this station he remained twelve years; and, on the 13th of August 1760, became pastor of a dissenting congregation in Berwick-upon-Tweed. Here he married, in 1763, Anne Balderston;

daughter of Thomas Balderston, surgeon in Berwick; by whom he had no children, but with whom he enjoyed to the end of his life a large share of domestic happiness. He was removed from Berwick, to be one of the ministers of Edinburgh, in November, 1768; was minister of the church of the New Grey Friars, from that time till November, 1776 and then became colleague-minister in the Old Church, and remained in that station till his death. The degree of doctor in divinity was conferred on him by the university of Edinburgh, in 1770; and, in 1774 he was unanimously chosen moderator of the general assembly of the church of Scotland, and is the only person on record who obtained that distinction, the first time he was a member of assembly.

Soon after his removal to Berwick, he published a scheme for raising a fund for the benefit of the widows and orphans of protestant dissenting ministers in the north of England. This idea was probably suggested by the prosperity of the fund which had, almost thirty years before, been established for a provision to ministers' widows, &c. in Scotland. But the situations of the clergy of Scotland were very different from the circumstances of dissenting ministers in England. Annuities and provisions were to be secured to the families of dissenters, without subjecting the individuals (as in Scotland) to a proportional annual contribution, and without such means of creating a fund, as could be the subject of an act of parliament, to secure the annual payments. The acuteness and activity of Dr. Henry surmounted these difficulties; and chiefly by his exertions, this useful and benevolent institution commenced

ced about the year 1762. The management was entrusted to him for several years; and its success has exceeded the most sanguine expectations which were formed of it. Dr. Henry was accustomed, in the last years of his life, to speak of this institution with peculiar affection, and to reflect on its progress and utility with that kind of satisfaction which a good man can only receive from "the labour of love, and of good works."

It was probably about the year 1763, that he first conceived the idea of his History of Great Britain; a work already established in the public opinion, and which will certainly be regarded by posterity, not only as a book which has greatly enlarged the sphere of history and gratifies our curiosity on a variety of subjects, which fall not within the limits prescribed by preceding historians, but as one of the most accurate and authentic repositories of historical information which this country has produced. The plan adopted by Dr. Henry, which is indisputably his own, and its peculiar advantages, are sufficiently explained in its general preface. In every period it arranges, under separate heads or chapters, the civil and military history of Great Britain; the history of religion, the history of our constitution, government, laws, and courts of justice; the history of learning, of learned men, and of the chief seminaries of learning; the history of arts; the history of commerce, of shipping, of money or coin, and of the price of commodities; and the history of manners, virtues, vices, customs, language, dress, diet, and amusements. Under these seven heads, which extend the province of an historian greatly beyond its usual

limits, every thing curious or interesting in the history of any country may be comprehended. But it certainly required more than a common share of literary courage to attempt, on so large a scale, a subject so intricate and extensive as the History of Britain from the invasion of Julius Cæsar.—That Dr. Henry neither over-rated his powers nor his industry could only have been proved by the success and reputation of his works.

But he soon found that his residence at Berwick was an insuperable obstacle to the minute researches which the execution of his plan required. His situation there excluded him from the means of consulting the original authorities; and though he attempted to find access to them by means of his literary friends, and with their assistance made some progress in his work, his information was notwithstanding so incomplete, that he found it impossible to prosecute his plan to his own satisfaction, and was at last compelled to relinquish it.

By the friendship of Gilbert Laurie, esq. late lord provost of Edinburgh, and one of his majesty's commissioners of excise in Scotland, who had married the sister of Mrs. Henry, he was removed to Edinburgh in 1768; and it is to this event that the public are indebted for his prosecution of the History of Great Britain. His access to the public libraries, and the means of supplying the materials which these did not afford him, were from that time used with so much diligence and perseverance, that the first volume of this History, in quarto, was published in 1771, and the second in 1774, the third in 1777, the fourth in 1781, and the fifth (which brings down the history to the accession of Henry

of VII.) in 1785. The subject of these volumes comprehends the intricate and obscure periods of history; and when we consider the scanty and scattered materials which Dr. Henry has digested, and the accurate and minute information which he has given us in every chapter of his work, we must have a high opinion both of his learning and industry of his labour, and of the vigour and activity of his mind; especially when we consider, that he employed no amanuensis, but completed the manuscript with his own hand; and excepting the first volume, the whole of the book, such as it is, was printed from the original copy.—What corrections were made on it, and inserted by interlineations, or by erasing the proof-sheets. He found it necessary, indeed, to consult himself to a first copy, from an unsteady tremor in his hand, which made writing extremely inconvenient, which obliged him to write with his paper on a book laid on his knee instead of a table, and which unhappily increased to such a degree, that in the latter years of his life he was often obliged to take his victuals without assistance. An attempt, which he made after the publication of the first volume, to employ an amanuensis, did not succeed. Never having been accustomed to dictate his compositions, he found it impossible to acquire a new habit; and though he persevered but a few days in the attempt, it had a sensible effect on his health, which he never afterwards recovered.

He did not profess to study the ornaments of language; but his argument is uniformly regular and methodical, and his style simple and clear. XXXIII.

perspicuous; and, as a book of facts and solid information, supported by authentic documents, his History will stand a comparison with any other History of the same period.

Not having been able to transact with the booksellers to his satisfaction, the five volumes were originally published at the risk of the author. When the first volume appeared, it was censured with an unexampled acrimony and perseverance, in several magazines, reviews, and newspapers. In compliance, with the usual custom, he had permitted a sermon to be published which he had preached before the Society in Scotland, for propagating Christian knowledge, in 1773; a composition containing plain good sense on a common subject, from which he expected no reputation. This was eagerly seized on by the adversaries of his History, and torn to pieces with a virulence and asperity which no want of merit in the sermon could justify or explain. An anonymous letter had appeared in a newspaper, to vindicate the History from some of the unjust censures which had been published, and asserting, from the real merit and accuracy of the book, the author's title to the approbation of the public. An answer appeared in the course of the following week, charging him, in terms equally confident and indecent, with having written this letter in his own praise. The efforts of malignity seldom fail to defeat their purpose, and to recoil on those who direct them. Dr. Henry had many friends, and till lately had not discovered that he had any enemies. But the author of the anonymous vindication was unknown to him, till the learned and respectable Dr. Macqueen, from the

the indignation excited by the confident petulance of the answer, informed him that the letter had been written by him.—These anecdotes are still remembered.—The abuse of the History, which began in Scotland, was renewed in some of the periodical publications in South Britain; though it is justice to add (without meaning to refer to the candid observations of English critics,) that in both kingdoms the asperity originated in the same quarter, and that paragraphs and criticisms written at Edinburgh, were printed in London. The same spirit appeared in Strictures published on the second and third volumes; but by this time it had in a great measure lost the attention of the public. The malevolence was sufficiently understood, and had long before become fatal to the circulation of the periodical paper from which it originally proceeded. The book, though printed for the author, had sold beyond his most sanguine expectations; and had received both praise and patronage from men of the first literary characters in the kingdom; and though, from the alarm which had been raised, the booksellers did not venture to purchase the property, till after the publication of the fifth volume, the work was established in the opinion of the public, and at last rewarded the author with a high degree of celebrity, which he happily lived to enjoy.

Dr. Henry was no doubt encouraged from the first by the decided approbation of some of his literary friends, who were allowed to be the most competent judges of his subject; and in particular by one of the most eminent historians of the present age, whose history of the

same periods justly possesses the highest reputation. The following character of the first and second volumes was drawn up by that gentleman, and is well entitled to be inserted in a narrative of Dr. Henry's life: "Those who profess a high esteem for the first volume of Dr. Henry's History, I may venture to say, are almost as numerous as those who have perused it, provided they be competent judges of a work of that nature, and are acquainted with the difficulties which attend such an undertaking. Many of those who had been so well pleased with the first, were impatient to see the second volume, which advances into a field more delicate and interesting; but the doctor hath shewn the maturity of his judgement, as in all the rest, so particularly in giving no performance to the public that might appear crude or hasty, or composed before he had fully collected and digested the materials. I venture with great sincerity to recommend this volume to the perusal of every curious reader who desires to know the state of Great Britain, in a period which has hitherto been regarded as very obscure, ill supplied with writers, and not possessed of a single one that deserves the appellation of a good one. It is wonderful what an instructive, and even entertaining book, the doctor has been able to compose from such unpromising materials: *Tantum series juncturaque pollet*. When we see those barbarous ages delineated by so able a pen, we admire the oddness and singularity of the manners, customs, and opinions, of the times, and seem to be introduced into a new world; but we are still more surprised, as well as interested, when we reflect that those strange per-
sonages

ges were the ancestors of the ant inhabitants of this island.— object of an antiquary hath commonly distinguished from of an historian ; for though the should enter into the province e former, it is thought that it d only be *quanto basta*, that far as is necessary, without rehending all the minute dis- ions which gave such supreme ure to the mere antiquary. earned author hath fully recon- these two characters. His ical narratives are as full as remote times seem to demand, t the same time his enquiries antiquarian kind omit nothing can be an object of doubt or ity. The one as well as the is delivered with great perspi- and no less propriety, which e true ornaments of this kind ting. All superfluous embel- ents are avoided ; and the rea- ill hardly find in our language erformance that unites toge- o perfectly the two great points ertainment and instruction.”— entleman who wrote this cha- died before the publication of ird volume.—The progress of ork introduced Dr. Henry to extensive patronage, and in ular to the notice and esteem earl of Mansfield. That ve- le nobleman, who is so well ed to the gratitude and admi- of his country, thought the of Dr. Henry’s History so con- ble, that without any solici- after the publication of the volume, he applied personally majesty, to bestow on the : some mark of his royal fa- In consequence of this, Dr. r was informed by a letter ord Stormont, then secretary

of state, of his majesty’s intention to confer on him an annual pension for life of a hundred pounds, “con- sidering his distinguished talents, and great literary merit, and the im- portance of the very useful and la- borious work in which he was so successfully engaged; as titles to his royal countenance and favour.” The warrant was issued on the 28th of May, 1771 ; and his right to the pension commenced from the 5th of April preceding. This pension he enjoyed till his death, and always considered it as inferring a new ob- ligation to persevere steadily in the prosecution of his work. From the earl of Mansfield he received many other testimonies of esteem, both as a man and as an author, which he was often heard to mention with the most affectionate gratitude.—The octavo edition of his History, pub- lished in 1788, was inscribed to his lordship. The quarto edition had been dedicated to the king.

The property of the work had hitherto remained with himself. But in April, 1786, when an octavo edition was intended, he conveyed the property to Messrs. Cadell and Strahan ; reserving to himself what still remained unsold of the quarto edition, which did not then exceed eighty-one complete sets. A few copies were afterwards printed of the volumes of which the first im- pression was exhausted, to make up additional sets : and before the end of 1786, he sold the whole to Messrs. Cadell and Strahan. By the first transaction he was to receive 1000*l*. and by the second betwixt 300*l*. and 400*l*.; about 1400*l*. in all. These sums may not be absolutely exact, as they are set down from memory ; but there cannot be a mistake of any consequence on the one side or the other

other.—Dr. Henry had kept very accurate accounts of the sales from the time of the original publication ; and, after his last transaction with Messrs. Cadell and Strahan, he found that his real profits had amounted in the whole to about 3300*l.*; a striking proof of the intrinsic merit of a work which had forced its way to the public esteem, unprotected by the interest of the booksellers, and in spite of the malignant opposition with which the first volumes had to struggle.

The prosecution of his History had been Dr. Henry's favourite object for almost thirty years of his life. He had naturally a sound constitution, and a more equal and larger portion of animal spirits than is commonly possessed by literary men. But from the year 1785, his bodily strength was sensibly impaired. Notwithstanding this, he persisted steadily in preparing his sixth volume, which brings down the History to the accession of Edward VI. and has left it in the hands of his executors almost completed. Scarcely any thing remains unfinished but the two short chapters on arts and manners ; and even for these he has left materials and authorities so distinctly collected, that there can be no great difficulty in supplying what is wanting. It is hoped that this volume may be ready for publication some time in the present winter, or the spring of 1792 ; and that it will be found entitled to

the same favourable reception from the public which has been given to the former volumes. It was written under the disadvantages of bad health, and great weakness of body. The tremulous motion of his hand had increased so as to render writing much more difficult to him than it had ever been : but the vigour of his mind, and his ardour, were unimpaired ; and, independent of the general character of his works, the posthumous volume will be a lasting monument of the strength of his faculties, and of the literary industry and perseverance which ended only with his life.

Dr. Henry's original plan extended from the invasion of Britain by the Romans to the present times. And men of literary curiosity must regret that he has not lived to complete his design ; but he has certainly finished the most difficult part of his subject. The periods after the accession of Edward VI. afforded materials more ample, better digested, and much more within the reach of common readers.

Till the summer of 1790, he was able to pursue his studies, though not without interruptions. But at that time he lost his health entirely ; and, with a constitution quite worn out, died on the 24th of November of that year, in the 73rd year of his age.—He was buried in the churchyard of Polmont, where it is proposed to erect a monument to his memory.

NATURAL HISTORY.

An account of some appearances attending the conversion of cast into malleable iron ; in a letter from Thomas Beddoes, M. D. to sir Joseph Banks, bart. P. R. S. ; from the Philosophical Transactions.

Sir,
YOU are undoubtedly well apprized of an alteration lately introduced into our manufactories of iron, in consequence of which the reverberatory has been substituted in the place of the finery furnace. The new process is capable of being indefinitely varied. I have lately been favoured with an opportunity of observing one of these variations with every advantage I could desire. As in this method the changes undergone by the metal during the first series of operations lie perfectly open to inspection, a short description of them may not perhaps be unworthy the notice of philosophical chymists. Allow me to premise further, that I did not content myself with a single examination ; and, for the sake of greater accuracy, I took minutes of the phenomena, and of the time when they occurred. A very intelligent workman was at the same time directed to answer all my questions, so that I enjoyed the benefit of his experience also.

In somewhat more than half an

hour after it was put in, the charge consisting of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. of grey pig iron was nearly melted. The workman now began to stir the liquid mass : for this purpose he used sometimes an iron lever, and sometimes a kind of hoe ; but he first, turned the flame from off the metal, which is done by letting down a damper upon the chimney corresponding to that with which ordinary reverberatory furnaces are provided, and by raising the damper of a second chimney, which proceeds immediately from the fireplace, and carries off the flame, current of air, &c. without allowing it to pass into the body of the furnace.

In fifty minutes, from the commencement of the operation, the metal had become in consequence of the constant stirring loose and incoherent ; it appeared about as small as gravel ; it was now also stiff and much cooled.

55 m. from the same period, flame turned on again. Workman keeps stirring and turning over the metal ; in 3 m. it becomes soft and semi-fluid ; flame turned off ; the hottest part of the mass begins to heave and swell, emitting a deep blue lambent flame. The workman calls this appearance fermentation.

1 h. 1 m. blue flame breaking out over the whole mass ; heaving motion also general.

1 h.

1 h. 13 m. metal full as hot, or, as the workman and myself both judged, rather hotter than at the instant the flame was turned off, though it is now a quarter of an hour since.

1 h. 18 m. where there is no heaving and no blue flame the mass is sensibly cooler, and only of a dull red heat.

1 h. 20 m. workman observes, that the metal sticks less to his tools. Pig iron, he says, fastens upon it immediately, and must be shaken off by striking the other end with a hammer; as it approaches more and more towards *nature* (malleable iron) it adheres less; and when the tools come clear up out of the mass he judges it to be fermented enough.

1 h. 23 m. little heaving or blue flame; metal stiffer, and of a dull red; flame turned on and soon off again.

1 h. 26 m. by constant stirring the metal is become as fine as sand. Workman remarks, that the flame, which re-appears over the whole mass, looks more kindly. It is evidently of a lighter blue colour.

1½ h. flame turned on and soon off again. Mass ferments strongly. Hissing noise heard; this noise was distinguishable in some degree ever since the blue flame and heaving motion became visible, but always faint till now.

1 h. 40 m. less blue flame.

1 h. 48 m. flame twice turned on and off in this interval. Metal now clots, stands wherever it is placed, without any tendency to flow, and no liquid pig iron now remains in the bason of the furnace; the mass has been constantly stirred and turned over.

1 h. 50 m. a little finery cinder appears boiling up amid the mass. Workman attributes the increase of the hissing to this.

1 h. 53 m. scarce any perceptible blue flame or heaving. All the metal is now gathered into lumps, which the workman beats and presses with a heavy-headed tool. He brings them successively into the hottest part of the furnace, into which the flame has been admitted. He now stops the port hole in the door at which he had introduced his tools, and applies a fierce flame for 6 or 8 minutes; the metal is then rolled.

These appearances, at least the most interesting of them, seem to admit of an easy explanation; and I offer the following observations as supplemental to those for which we are already indebted to the Swedish and French chymists on this important branch of metallurgy. I assume the following propositions as already proved by these philosophers. 1. That cast iron is iron imperfectly reduced, or, in other words, that it contains a portion of the basis of vital air, the oxygène of M. Lavoisier. 2. That it contains a portion of plumbago, with which grey cast iron most abounds. 3. That plumbago consists of iron united to charcoal. 4. That fixed air, which I would rather call carbonic acid air, consists of oxygène and the constituent parts of charcoal.

The heaving or swelling motion, so conspicuous in the process, is doubtless owing to the discharge of an elastic fluid; and the lambent deep blue flame, breaking out in spots over the whole surface, shews that this elastic fluid is an inflammable gas of the heavy kind. That
no

no doubt might be left upon the former of these circumstances, I directed the workmen to take out, at two different periods, a quantity of the metal where it was working most strongly. Both proved, on examination, to be spongy, cellular, and full of bladder holes.

The heavy inflammable air, I imagine, is produced in this manner: the oxygène of the imperfectly reduced metal combines with the charcoal to form fixed air; at the same time another portion of charcoal is thrown into an elastic state, that is, into inflammable air, and burns on the surface with a very deep blue flame, on account of the admixture of fixed air. The heat which is so obviously generated in the mass at the beginning of the fermentation. I attribute to the combination of the oxygène and charcoal; a fact which, with several others, as I have already remarked on another occasion,* shews, if not the falsehood, at least the imperfection of the modern doctrine on the subject of heat. The acidifying principle, it would appear, has some power of generating heat independent of its condensation. Here abundance of elastic matter is discharged; yet, notwithstanding the heat absorbed by its formation, and that which flows out of the metal in all directions, the whole mass becomes hotter. The oxygène cannot be supposed to have much specific or latent heat, because it undoubtedly exists in the iron in a very condensed state. Neither does the appearance of the mass allow me to ascribe this generation of heat to the burning of the inflammable air at the surface, as

will also be immediately evident for another reason. The less deep blue colour of the flame at a subsequent period in the operation is probably owing to the absence of fixed air, or at least to its being produced more sparingly, the oxygène being now nearly consumed. It will not appear surprising, that the oxygène in this case should be consumed before the charcoal, if it be considered; 1. that grey iron contains a large portion of plumbago; and 2. that fixed air contains a much larger quantity of oxygène than of charcoal; near three times as much, according to our best experiments on its formation: so that I ascribe the subsequent fermentation, accompanied with the lighter coloured flame, almost entirely to the conversion of the charcoal into an elastic fluid. A very experienced philosopher, I am well aware, has asserted, that water is necessary to this conversion; an opinion, concerning the justness of which I have long entertained great doubts. Whenever I have distilled charcoal *per se*, I have found the first portions of gas to contain fixed air; an appearance owing, as I believe, to the decomposition of water absorbed from the atmosphere; but, after continuing the process for some time, there has still been a production of inflammable air; but from this neither lime-water nor milk of lime would absorb any portion, though, when fired with vital or common air, it would produce fixed air; and, if moisture was added to the charcoal, inflammable and fixed air would be generated anew. Moreover, it appears, from the experiments of Dr. Austin and some others,

* Chymical opinions of a philosopher of the last century.

others, that charcoal consists of the hydrogène and azote of the French chymists. How far it may be difficult, or impossible, entirely to convert charcoal, in its ordinary state, into gas, is a point I wish to see more fully illustrated by future experiments. At present, it seems obvious that the circumstances of the operation I have described are particularly favourable to this conversion: for, 1. not to mention the violence of the heat, we have this substance in a very attenuated state, so that, very probably, the expansive power of fire is very little, if at all, counteracted by the attraction of cohesion, which cannot be said in the case of the most minute mechanical division we can effect. 2. The attraction of the particles of the iron for one another will produce an effort to extrude the intermixed particles of charcoal, and thus enable it more readily to assume the elastic form.

Now, during the continuance of the lighter-coloured blue flame, the mass, as I observed, shews no power of generating heat within itself; a circumstance which indicates that the heat produced in the former part of the operation does not depend on the burning of the gas at the surface; and I think inspection will satisfy any one that it is produced in the heart of the mass. It may indeed be objected, that the metal, now brought nearer to the state of malleable iron, may require a greater supply of heat to keep it at the same temperature. It is less fusible, as we are well assured. By referring back to the minutes you will observe, how very often it was necessary to turn the flame upon the mass during this second fermentation, in order to keep it in a state in which it could be worked.

The very copious production of elastic fluids, during an hour, and often during a much longer space, for, in this instance, the process was remarkably successful and short, does not seem favourable to a late ingenious hypothesis, according to which water is the embodying principle of all elastic fluids. I have never, indeed, considered this as very probable; and, after the observations I have related, I see no means of defending it. Will it be said that the pig iron, as being in some sort of a calx of iron, contains water.

In annealing crude iron, with or without charcoal, it is well known to increase in all its dimensions. I have seen bars originally straight bent like an S, when long exposed to heat in circumstances where they could not extend themselves endways. I suppose this phenomenon may be owing to a very small beginning of this fermentative motion, which acts as an internal principle of expansion. Cast iron bars, not in contact with charcoal, would, according to this supposition, by long annealing lose of their weight; or if the heat was too low for the elastic fluid to be discharged from their substance, they would probably blister like steel: an appearance undoubtedly owing to the generation of air. Mr. Horne, in his Essay on Iron, somewhere remarks, that on opening these blisters he has heard a whistling noise as of air rushing out.

During the whole of this process, frequent jets of white sparks, of a dazzling brightness, played from the surface of the metal. They would have afforded an extremely beautiful spectacle but for the inconvenience of looking on so hot a mass.

mass. They arose, no doubt, from the burning of small portions of iron.

The effect of so much stirring as I have noted down, does not require to be explained.

The workman was clearly of opinion, that the fermentation of hard or white crude iron is less than of grey in this process; a fact which perfectly coincides with the preceding observations, since that species contains less plumbago, or in other words, less matter fit to produce elastic fluids.

In order to prove the extrication of fixed air, during the fermentation of the metal, I once thought of introducing lime-water in an iron vessel within the body of the furnace; but when I considered that the fire-place was not divided by any partition from the body of the furnace, and that the whole building was full of burned air, I omitted the experiment, from a persuasion that, even if the lime-water should become turbid, the fixed air might come from another source.

I was not unmindful of the sulphur which exists, as I have reason to believe, in every form of iron manufactured with coaks. I cannot, however, ascribe any of the effects I observed to its presence. There can be little doubt, that some portion was perpetually extricated with the inflammable air during the whole process; for on dissolving pieces of the stamped, or rather the rolled iron in weak muriatic acid, silver held in the extricated air was tarnished as much and as soon as by air from specimens taken out of the furnace at different times during the process. I could not but conclude, that the tarnishing matter came from the iron, when I found the air

from a solution of zinc in the same acid, incapable of producing the colour upon silver. The appearance, the want of a martial astringent taste, and the dissolving action of caustic alkali, led me to conclude, that the colour in each experiment with iron was derived from sulphur.

I leave it to the adherents of phlogiston to accommodate these phenomena to their doctrine; considering it, for my own part, as superfluous to bestow any further attention upon a system which, after a long discussion, has been fully refuted in all its modifications, and which indeed seems on the eve of being universally abandoned.

I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS BEDDOES.

Account of the management and mode of preserving bees, to the best advantage for procuring honey; from the Transactions of the Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, vol. ix.

AMONG the premiums for 1790, class 108, one is proposed for the most satisfactory account of managing and preserving bees, to the best advantage, for collecting honey.

If gentlemen would but ornament their gardens with so noble a piece of furniture as an apiary, properly situated and carefully managed, they might be furnished with the valuable article of honey, without adulteration, and also wholesome mead, little inferior to foreign wine.

Give me leave, gentlemen, to lay before you the method of managing my own bees, of which many ladies and gentlemen have been eye-witnesses,

witnesses, and have been served by me with as good honey as any in England.

In April 1789, I had twenty-one stocks of bees, all in good condition, and wanting no feeding; the spring being friendly, they began to swarm in the middle of May, and continued till the latter end of June; and at that time I had about fifty swarms, notwithstanding I endeavoured to prevent such an increase, by glassing them; but many of the stocks swarmed before the glasses or small hives were full, for the mothers of all the stocks bred a prodigious quantity of working bees, which was the reason of their swarming so many times. What I call a mother, most writers on bees call a queen; but I am clear that she is the mother of the whole empire or stock, and suffers none of the royal seed to live, except what are intended to go forth with the young swarm, and a sufficient quantity of drones, which are the males, and sit upon the eggs, as the mother lays them, in the cells prepared for that purpose; while the working bees continue their labour in gathering honey and wax. I have often seen the drones sit in a formal manner over the combs, where the brood is hatching, while the other bees were very busy at work.

What I mean by a stock of bees, is an united company, consisting of three sorts, viz. a mother, a great number of working bees, and some drones; and they are congregated within themselves by a strict union, and defend their hive or box from any molestation; for the working bees would instantly resent an injury, with the fury of their stings.

My own hives are made in the following manner; nine inches

deep, and fourteen diameter, containing each about five Winchester gallons, with a flat top, made of well-seasoned deal, an inch thick, four holes at the top, one exactly over the mouth of the hive, the other three in a right angle; viz. Take an inch centre-bit; make three holes as near as possible, so that you have but a small partition of wood between them; let them be made smooth and neat; then take a circular piece of half-inch broad, tack it over those holes which are made in the hive, and let them be made to fit so close that no moth can get in among the young bees; so that, when a swarm is put in one of these hives in May, or the beginning of June, and begins to fill the hive with combs, brood &c. which you may easily perceive, by means of small pieces of glass, three inches square, put in the back of the hive, to observe their operations, and the bees have filled their hive, and appear very busy at the mouth, open gently the hole on the top next the mouth, or rather right over the mouth, and place a proper glass over the hole, with proper sticks placed in the glass for the bees to hang their work upon; otherwise they would be a long time filling their glass, which if they kindly take to, they will fill in twelve or fourteen days.

But if your stock still increases, and, perhaps, lies out at the mouth of the hive, you must open a second hole at the top, and then a third, and so on to the fourth, if the bees increase, and continue to lie out at the mouth: and yet for all this, many of my hives have swarmed and left their glasses, &c. half full of honey.

Here give me leave to observe, that nature steps in to preserve the bees

bees, when all other efforts are ineffectual. The bees have swarmed; settled on a bush, or about a tree, where there is no hope of their living without being hived; as they have left a good home, well stored with honey, and settled where there is none, and where they cannot make any. This has been the case last summer: for the mothers of the bees, through the kindliness of the season, have bred great quantities; so that we had a great many poor stocks that wanted feeding in the months of October and April.

This summer, many complain of having what they call bad luck with their bees, and say honey will be scarce; but, thank God, out of seventy-six or seventy-seven hives, I have had as follows;

	lb.
Glasses and small hives filled,	
thirty-one, weighing, -	153
Virgin honey, - -	160
Stock or common honey,	125
	<hr/>
	438

This I call a good year, though some have been better. I have also furnished many gentlemen and ladies apiaries with bees, and have now thirty-seven good stocks for next season, besides an increase of sixteen stocks, and the honey above mentioned. My bees are, for the most part, well situated for collecting honey, and also for swarming, viz. in the parishes of Isleworth and Twickenham, in Middlesex.

I never intend to prevent my bees from swarming, but leave them at liberty to swarm, or not to swarm. Those stocks, the mothers of which do not breed so fast as others, of course cannot swarm so early; therefore I put on them glasses, or small hives: if the stocks so glassed

keep working without swarming you most likely will get sixteen or seventeen pounds of honey in a month's time, and save all the bees alive; and such a stock will, except by accident, make a good stock next season.

My hives, made as before described, have a board at the top, seventeen inches wide, that is a full inch wider than the outside of the hive, that one may stand on another; and thus you may make complete colonies of bees with a small expense, for three hives make a complete colony. When hives are made in this manner, they cost but 12s. but in Octagon boxes, 1l. 10s.

I much prefer straw hives, well made, to wooden ones, because the joints of the wood often give way, by being exposed to the weather and the sweat of the bees; and the moth-fly (the greatest enemy they have) gets in and lays her eggs in the comb, and the warmth of the bees hatches them to their own destruction; therefore straw hives are preferable, as well as cheaper than wood.

My method of managing straw hives is thus: when I make use of an old straw hive, I dip it into a copper of boiling water, so that, if there should be any moths eggs, they must be destroyed; but I let the hive be perfectly dry, before I use it.

Hives should be well made, and closely sewed together; but many are sold not worth using.

The best situation for the houses is a little to the west of the south; for the sun shining into the mouth of the hive too early, calls the bees abroad before the cold stream is exhaled from the flowers, and the vernal juice turned into honey: but in

in this situation the sun will reach the front of your bee-house about nine o'clock. I would have the front of the house leaning a little inwards, that the mouth of the hive may sit close to the mouth made in the boards, which should be three inches long in summer, and one in winter, and about one fourth of an inch high, the better to keep out cold and the bevering moth, which you may often see at the latter end of August (when the working of the bees begins to decline,) standing at the mouth of the hive, bevering their wings as if just flying in among the bees: they there lay their eggs, and with the wind of their wings fan them within the hive; and the warmth of the bees hatches them, to their own ruin. In October every stock should be well examined, and all the maggots brushed out, to prevent danger: for the grub or maggot forms a chrysalis with a covering so strong, that the bees cannot displace them; and in the spring they creep out of their little sepulchres, and spin a thin web before them, as they march up into the hive among the combs: and the bees endeavouring to dislodge them, are entangled in the web, and there die; and thus, for want of a little trouble, many stocks are destroyed.

To cleanse the hive of these maggots, it must be turned up, and the dust and vermin picked out, and then gently set down in its place. If your bees are well and in a condition to stand the winter, and have a mother with them, they will sting, otherwise not, unless you hurt them; however a yard and a half of Scotch gauze, sewed round the brim of your hat, and then tied round the waist, having holes for your

arms, will completely secure your face.

The hive should be also brushed on the outside very clean, and washed all over with a sponge dipped in brine made with clean salt; a small quantity of lime and hair made fine, should be put round the bottom, and the hives be covered with hay or haybands, for straw may contain some corn which may attract the mice, who may gnaw the hives.

I have mentioned how the front of the house should be formed by setting the front board, which the mouth of the hive stands against, on the inside; but let the roof be made so as to keep the entrance dry, for a foot, before the mouth: the back-shutter, folding doors, and ends of the roof, should be made very close, to prevent any vermin entering the house: the first floor, or bottom of the house should be about two feet and a half from the ground, in such places as gardens or orchards: but, on the side of a hill or where the bees have no obstruction from hedges, &c. it may be but eighteen inches. As bee-houses cannot be very expensive, I would have a house made but for four hives, the second floor two feet from the bottom, and the roof two feet from the second floor but the second floor may be made moveable, in case you wish to form your bees into a colony, and then you will want the whole depth of your house.

I confine them to four stocks in a house, because I find when they are too close they are apt to rob one another: but when they are but four stocks in a house, I have observed one turn out to the right, and the other to the left.

If more than one house be required, they should be placed ten or

or twelve yards distant, which may be done by driving a strong stump into the ground, and placing on it a piece of elm or oak plank, two or three inches thick. The hives must never be covered with rags, for they are apt to breed moths: the upper and lower floors should be two or three inches thick.

I come now to my method of feeding them which, I think, is new. Sink a cavity in the middle of the floor, about six inches diameter, like a trencher, deep enough to hold a quarter of a pint of honey, and no more: if the cavity be too deep, the bees may be suffocated. A channel must be made from the outside of the floor, to communicate with the cavity; and a piece of wood to fit close into it, to keep out the vermin.

If your bees do not weigh sixteen or seventeen pounds, exclusive of the hive, they must be fed in September, October, March, and April, and sometimes in May: they must not be fed in cold weather, for that calls them from sleep, and they then never return to the hive again: nor must they be fed in the sunshine; for when the honey smells strong, it sets them quarrelling and fretting, and the strong injure the weak. The best time is evening, when I take the piece of wood out of the channel, and gently pour a quarter of a pint of honey into the cavity. If the honey will not run freely, I boil up four or five pounds with a quart of strong sweet-wort, which brings it to a proper liquid. This food will be of great service to the mothers, and make them lay eggs in abundance in the spring.

If a stock has been glassed two summers, it should not be worked a third; but if it increase, take a new

hive, or a clean old one, and take off all the cover from the top of the hive: let it be stuck the same as if you was to have a new swarm; place it on one of the floors; and having opened the hole on the top nearest the back, place a piece of lath diagonally, from that hole to the side of the mouth; let it be made fast with pegs, not nails, lest the honey be stained; then place the old hive upon the new one, and stop the old mouth close; and the bees will then gradually work down the new hive: that will give them sufficient room for the summer. And next spring, take another clean hive, and place the two upon it, in the same manner as before: this will serve for the next year. Now, having had no honey for two years, the upper hive will most likely be full, and may be taken away as follows:

With a strong chisel separate the top hive from the other two; and, in a fine day, take it away, twenty or thirty yards, and place it on the ground bottom upwards; and secure the holes on the top of the second hive.

The bees, no doubt, will rage, but you must secure yourself with gauze, as before directed; and wear black stockings, for that colour is least observed. Place a table even with the mouth of the lowest hive, and spread a cloth over it, near the mouth; and by this time the greater part of the bees that were out will have come home: the middle hive being the breeding-place, it is most likely the mother is in that: but if she was in the top, she may yet be safe. Place a clean hive, of the same diameter as that you have taken away, upon it; then tie a cloth over both (glasses and all, if there be any) so tight, that the bees with-

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in may be in darkness: let them remain thus half an hour; then, with a stick rap the bottom hive, but not so hard as to injure the combs; continue rapping half an hour; then untie the cloth, and take away the upper hive, into which the noise has driven the bees, and place it on the table and cloth from whence you took them, and shake them out on the cloth, and they will run into the mouth of their proper hive. If necessary, repeat this operation, and all the bees will be saved; this saves the trouble and loss of smothering them with sulphur, as was the custom; and the bees in one day will forget the injury, and work as usual. But in case but little honey is left in their two hives they must be fed; thus, in two hours your honey may be taken, and the bees preserved; the honey you have obtained in this way may be dark, but will make excellent mead; but better and brighter will be produced by those which work in glasses.

Hives will not be beneficial in barren countries; but should be near gardens, shrubberies, orchards of cherries, or farms, where clover, beans, saintfoin, or French wheat, grow. Lime-trees, or Green-house plants, set out in the spring, orange or lemon-trees, are useful, and produce excellent honey; where there is room, it is worth while to plant gooseberries, currants, sweet marjoram, peppermint, or the like.

Though I am not for preventing bees from swarming whenever they are inclined, yet I acknowledge that it is sometimes necessary to destroy some stocks.

If they have lost their mother, and neither swarm nor work much, they should not be kept.

The moth, or other accident, will

sometimes spoil them, and then they should be destroyed.

My neighbours say, that, when I did, the bees will lose the most compassionate master in this kingdom. Indeed I, however, have destroyed none but from necessity, and have been, for near twenty-four years, remarkably successful.

I have now forty stocks in good condition, though the loss of mothers, or some unforeseen accident, may happen to some before summer.

The loss of a mother may be known, by the bees ceasing to work, and mourning incessantly: they will sometimes, in that case, leave their hive, and try to force themselves into one that is near.

This circumstance should be noticed; for the old hive may be well stored and when they have left it as a residence, they will yet return with their companions, and carry away the honey: some, for want of observing this, have wondered how a heavy hive, that has been left, has become light.

But though the mother be lost, if there be eggs, they will sometimes stay and hatch them; and if any royal seed be among the eggs, they may survive, and become a good stock; but this is not often the case.

About a month ago, I was desired to look at five stocks at Richmond, in order to purchase them; one of the heaviest was without a mother. I purchased that, and one more where the mother was lost: I found twelve pounds of honey, but no eggs, and therefore the bees would not have staid long: the other three were old, and the honey black, and therefore of no use but to stand and swarm another year.

If

If bees continue in one hive for four or five years, they always degenerate, and become both fewer and weaker: the reason is, the combs for breeding are generally and on purpose made larger than the rest; every time a bee is hatched in one, a skin or coat is left behind which reduces the size; and, in time, it becomes too small to produce a bee of its proper dimensions; and occasions a necessity for their having frequently new habitations, which they will always accept, if you provide them a good situation, and clean hives.

My situation is a good one, by accident, or otherwise; for I could not have afforded to have made it so by planting.

In the parish of Isleworth, twenty four years ago, there were not ten stocks of bees; and now, through the approbation of my management, there are more than two hundred.

I hope what has been thus simply stated may be worthy your attention, and that I may be admitted a claimant.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,
I am your most humble
and obedient servant,

THOMAS MORRIS.

No. 20, *Battle-bridge*.

Mulberries and silk, in Spain, from Townshend's travels through Spain, in the years 1786 and 1787.

THE mulberry of Valencia is the white, as being most suitable to a well-watered plain. In Granada they give the preference to the black, as thriving well in elevated stations, as more durable, more abundant in leaves, and yielding a much finer and more valuable silk. But

then it does not begin bearing till it is about twenty years of age. In this province they reckon, that five trees should produce two pounds of silk.

I had the curiosity to examine their method of feeding the silk-worms in Spain. These industrious spinners are spread upon wicker shelves, which are placed one above the other all round, and likewise in the middle of each apartment, so as to leave room only for the good woman to pass with their provisions. In one house, I saw the produce of six ounces of seed, and was informed, that to every ounce, during their feeding season, they allow sixty arrobas of leaves, valued at two pounds five shillings. Each ounce of seed is supposed to yield ten pounds of silk, at twelve ounces to the pound. March 28th, the worms began to hatch; and May 22nd, they went up to spin. In the intermediate space, on the eleventh day they slept; and, on the fourteenth, they awoke to eat again, receiving food twice a day till the twenty-second day. Having then slept a second time, without interruption, for three days, they were fed thrice a day; and thus alternately continued eating eight days, and sleeping three, till the forty-seventh day; after which they eat voraciously for ten days, and not being stinted, consumed sometimes from thirty to fifty arrobas in four-and-twenty hours. They then climbed up into rosemary bushes, fixed for that purpose between the shelves, and began to spin.

Upon examination, they appear evidently to draw out two threads by the same operation, and to glue these together, covering them with wax. This may be proved by spirit

rit of wine, which will dissolve the wax, and leave the thread. Having exhausted her magazine, the worm changes her form, and becomes a nymph, till, on the seventy-first day, from the time that the little animal was hatched, when she comes forth with plumage, and, having found her mate, begins to lay her eggs. At the end of six days from this period of existence, having answered the end of their creation, they both lie down and die. This would be the natural progress; but, to preserve the silk, the animal is killed by heat, and the cones being thrown into boiling water, they begin winding off the silk.

Silk-worms, in close rooms, are much subject to disease; but in the open air, as in China, they are not only more healthy and more hardy, but make better silk. It appears to be precisely the same with them, as with the sick confined in hospitals, or foundlings shut up in workhouses; for this reason, the ingenious abbé Bertholon recommends procuring from China some of the wild silk-worms, and leaving them in the open air, protected only by a shed from rain. He is persuaded that the race might thus be made so hardy, in process of time, as to survive all the variations of the seasons.

In China they have three kinds of silk-worm, two living on the leaves of the ash and of the oak; the third thriving best on a species of the pepper-tree, called *sagara*, whose silk, remarkable for strength, washes like linen, and is not apt to be greased.

The progress of this article of luxury in Europe, after it had been introduced from Asia by two monks, who brought worms to Constantinople, was very slow. There, and

in Greece, it continued little noticed by the rest of Europe, from the year 551 of the Christian æra, till Roger II. king of Sicily, pillaged Athens, A. D. 1190, and brought silk-worms to Palermo. From thence they were speedily conveyed to Italy and Spain; but, till the reign of Queen Elizabeth, silk stockings were unknown in England; and, with respect to Scotland, there is in being a MS. letter, from James VI. to the earl of Mar, requesting the loan of a pair, in which the earl had appeared at court, because he was going to give audience to the French ambassador.

On some circumstances relative to silk-worms; from the French of M. Faujas de St. Fond.

ALTHOUGH the bounds of this work does not allow me to enter into the particular details, on the construction of a proper place for the keeping of silk-worms, it is, however, necessary to say a word or two on its interior order and proportions; but to avoid prolixity, I refer the public to a very simple plan, which I have had made, and from which directions may be taken.

It will be seen, by the above-mentioned plan, that the inside of the building is forty feet long, by one-and-twenty wide. The length of the boards of a table must be six feet, and the width four feet six inches; for when made five feet wide, they are too large and less convenient: five of these tables must be placed on a line lengthways, which forms a line of thirty feet long, above which are placed six other rows of tables, at the distance of fifteen inches,

Inches one above the other; this forms in all six and thirty tables, which occupies half the room. On the other side are placed in a parallel line, and in the same order, the same number of tables; so that the total number amounts to seventy tables. I have, between the two rows, that is to say, the gallery which runs through the middle of the building, an empty space, of four feet wide, for the conveniency of attending to the tables; a like space is left quite round the room; which ought to be at least ten feet high; if circumstances will admit of giving it twelve feet in height, it would be better.

‘General experience,’ says M. Rigaud de Lisle, ‘has ascertained, that an ounce of the seed well kept, and well managed, occupies, on their fourth casting, ten tables, six feet long, and five wide which may serve as a rule for placing in the room only the necessary number of ounces.’

It is certain, that when a small quantity only of silk-worms are raised, they succeed better, because the attention to them is less divided, and that every circumstance concurs to their advantage. In this case, then, an ounce of the seed occupies at least ten tables, of six feet long, by five wide; but if five, six, seven, eight ounces, or even more, of seed are raised in the same place, there necessarily exists a proportional diminution in the produce to the augmentation, and to the quantity of silk-worms raised; and whatever trouble or care may be taken, it is impossible that eight ounces can succeed so well as two ounces, or that sixteen should equal the success of eight ounces. It is, therefore, at present known to the best observers,

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that the rooms, destined for the purpose, should never be more extensive than to allow of room for the raising of seven or eight ounces of the seed. It is preferable, on those estates which abound in mulberry-trees, to construct several separate buildings and to confide to different people the care of each, from whence the greatest advantages would result, the attention and care would be more reunited, emulation would animate the work, and rivalry redouble zeal and application.

The room of which I have given the plan, containing seventy tables, would suffice for seven ounces of the seed; strictly speaking, it would contain a greater quantity, but I would not advise the exceeding of seven ounces.

Instead of having four chimneys, one in each angle, I require but two, placed at the extremity of the line which cuts transversely the great side of the plan; they must be placed opposite to each other.

Two stoves, made either of brick or of delf, must be placed at each extremity of the line that divides the building by the middle, in the smaller side of the plan; the place would, by this method, be better and more equally heated, whenever circumstances required it.

Four air-holes, a foot in diameter, either round or of a square form, closed with wooden shutters, should be placed at the four angles of the ground (for I suppose the room to be either on the first or second floor). They will answer two purposes, viz. that of acting as ventilators, in case of need; and that of conveying away, through those openings, the litter, and all the filth, and even the mephitic air; which from its weight, fills always the lower regions:

gions: a fifth air-hole may be placed even in the middle part of the room. The room thus disposed, let us suppose the silk-worms to have been conducted with the most happy success, until the time draws near for their climbing, and let us then cast an attentive and satisfied look on this similitude of vigorous individuals, whose colour, motions, and appetite announce the most perfect health; what encouragement and animation then prevails; all the former trouble and fatigue are forgotten, this brilliant picture offers an attractive prospect of certain success.

How much less tranquil should we be, at that moment, did we but consider, with the eye of a philosopher, and of a naturalist, the real and many evils proceeding from vicissitudes of air alone, with which this immensity of precious insects are threatened, who certainly were never designed by nature to live in so numerous a society; confined to places which, though in appearance commodious, are nevertheless close prisons, where the purity of the air is, without ceasing, corrupted: removed from their native climate, and taken from the tree which offers them food unsullied by the hand of man, they are subjected to fasting; to the most rigorous restraint; and plagued by fumigations, which are believed to be agreeable to them, because we falsely judge of their sensations by our own.

We will calculate, if possible, a part of the dangers to which they are exposed, from this state of servitude. An ounce of seed incloses forty-two thousand eggs; if they were all to hatch, and each silk-worm prospered, the produce of the ounce would be two hundred and ten pounds of cocoons, allowing one

hundred cocoons to each pound. But, not to establish suppositions instead of truths, we will reduce to twenty thousand silk-worms, or twenty thousand cocoons, the produce of forty-two thousand eggs, which is taking away more than the half, there will still remain one hundred pounds of cocoons per ounce, which must always be the case, when a little attention has been paid to the keeping of the silk-worms. The spinning place for the silk-worms, of which we have given the plan, being designed to hold seven ounces of seed, each of which contains one hundred and forty thousand insects, and each worm being provided with eighteen stygmata, it follows that there are two millions five hundred and twenty thousand lungs destined to breathe, and make an immense consumption of air. It is to be observed, that, besides this, there must be, at least, two people to dress this room; and that a man consumes, at each respiration, thirty cubical inches of the air, and that he draws his breath, at least, fifteen times in a minute, which amounting to four hundred and fifty cubical inches of air, proves, that, between the two, nine hundred cubical inches of air is spent in a minute. Air which they charge with mephitic gas. Besides the light of the lamps, the fires they are obliged to make, and the effluvia of the leaves, which are all fresh, and additional causes of the waste of the air in this place.

Is it astonishing, after this, that the smallest neglect, in point of renewing the air, is of such infinite consequence, in a place where this element is already so wasted, that the least degree of alteration, beyond a certain period, should, in a
 . . . Very

very short space of time, destroy the greatest part, and sometimes the whole stock of silk-worms? *

It is likewise to be observed, that whenever the litter becomes heated, which but too often happens, the animal excrements, mixing with the rubbish of the leaves, produce a fermentation, which creates a great quantity of mephitic gas, mixed with inflammable gas.

But it is not to be imagined, that these are the only dangers of the air to which these places are liable: I shall mention some others, the discovery of which, as ingenious as they are new, belongs to Dr. Ingen-Housz, of the Royal Society of London.

The reader will, without doubt, hear, with pleasure, that this able philosopher acquaints us, "that if a plant,

* The spring of this year, 1781, being forward, and the greatest part of the silk-worms hatched from the 18th of April, I kept a journal of observation, and found, from this last epocha until the 5th of May, that the wind was constantly in the south, that the weather was damp, and that it rained every third day; the rain sometimes lasted four-and-twenty hours; at other times it poured. The thermometer kept then between twelve, thirteen, and fourteen degrees above the zero, and the barometer was still at variable. Notwithstanding that, the air being continually cleared by the wind, was pure; the leaves came out freely, and were flourishing; the silk-worms prospered extremely well, throughout the country; they had passed their fourth casting, with a success which promised the finest harvest; and the leaves became so scarce, that, for one day, they sold at an extraordinary high price. The silk-worms then were near to the *grande fruse*, and approached the time of climbing; when, on Thursday, the 17th of May, the thermometer being at fourteen degrees, both in the open air and under cover, almost suddenly passed to a point of extraordinary heat, inasmuch, that at two o'clock in the same day it was at twenty-five degrees; the sky became dark, with thick white clouds, through which a burning sun darted his rays at intervals; a hot and moist wind blew from the south; at that time the heat augmented still in the night, and the thermometer rose to twenty-nine degrees: the next day, at the same hour as on the preceding, it lightened, with some claps of thunder, and from that moment the heat of the room, in which the silk-worms were, became insupportable; all such as were on the lower tables became bent into a half circle; and wherever fresh air could only be admitted with difficulty, they were attacked with the disorder called *mauvais blanc* or *trou*, and with that of *des cloverettes*. Several people lost a third part, and others half of their silk-worms, just at the time when their hopes had been raised to the highest pitch, notwithstanding the redoubled care and attention paid to prevent it. Whilst in these spinning places, judiciously placed, which had windows to the north, and where attention had been had to sprinkling of them frequently with cold water, and letting in a current of air, not one of the silk-worms sickened, and that at the same time, and the same day, in which such ravages were committed in the closer places, appropriated to that purpose.

The heat was then so powerful, and the disposition of the air so calculated to produce mephitic effluvia, that one single handful of the litter, taken out of an infected spinning place, and put into a large empty jug, filled it, in less than half an hour, with the strongest mephitic gas, which immediately extinguished a lighted pan of coals, and killed a cat in an instant. The town of Rochemaure, in the Vivarais, facing the village of Ancone, being situated against a volcanic mountain almost entirely composed of basaltus, and very susceptible of heat, and the sun shining full on the houses of the town from morning until night, occasioned then a general deficiency of cocoons. Whilst, in the village of Ancone, situated very nearly on a sort of island, which advances against the current of the Rhone, receiving the column of air from that stream, was entirely free from the reigning complaint, and reaped a good harvest. These are demonstrative proofs to establish, that the best theory of the silk-worms, is that in favour of the salubrity of the air; and that, by vigilance, care, and well-situated spinning places, it is possible to ensure success with them.

plant, of any sort whatever, is put into a jug full of water, and left there during the darkness of the night, whether in the open air or in the house, it will be found that it has given a little air, but of such a nature as to be totally unfit for respiration, and in general of so poisonous a quality as to extinguish a flame in an instant, and to kill an animal in a few seconds; the same consequence would result from this experiment if the jug was put in a dark place during the day time. Notwithstanding that plants exhale but so very small a quantity of corrupted air in the dark, they are nevertheless capable of shedding a terrible poison into a considerable mass of common air, in which they are confined, and of rendering it absolutely mortal to the animal who breathes it; a handful of leaves can, in one night, poison two pints of air, so as to kill an animal in less than a minute. But if plants, being in the shade, or in the dark, produce so dangerous an air, the same plants, exposed to the rays of the sun, diffuse the purest of all air.

“ If we examine the air that forms those bubbles (the plants exposed to the sun under a vessel of glass filled with water), we shall soon be convinced that it is far from being common air, we shall find it of a very superior quality to the best air of the atmosphere, it being truly dephlogistical; an animal would live a longer time in it than in the purest common air; it augments considerably the volume of the flame of a wax candle, and gives it a brightness which dazzles the eyes; it will rekindle the flame of a wax taper, if the least particle of fire remains on the wick.

“ But what is very strange in this great phenomenon is, that the pro-

duction of this perfect air cannot be attributed to the heat of the sun, but to its light only. the following experiments leave us not any doubt on the subject.

“ If the production of this air was caused by the heat, instead of the light of the sun, there would not be any reason why the plants should not give the same air when placed in the shade, during a very hot day, or brought so near to a fire as to receive the same degree of heat as that acquired in the sun, but the contrary of this happens. I put a certain number of leaves into a vessel filled with water, and turned it down; I exposed it to the heat of the fire, so as to heat it to a degree nearly equal to that of another vessel of the same size, filled in like manner with the same quantity of leaves from the same tree, which I had placed in the sun:—the result from these two experiments was, that the air I obtained from the leaves placed by the fire was mephitic, and that obtained from those leaves exposed to the sun was dephlogisticated air.

“ I placed an equal quantity of walnut leaves in two vessels of the same dimensions, one I put on the top of a wall in a brilliant sun, and the other under some raspberry bushes, that were so tufted as to be impenetrable to the rays of the sun: this last mentioned vessel was left there the whole day, and had acquired a degree of heat equal to that of the atmosphere. (the thermometer of Fahrenheit being then in the shade, in the middle of the day, at seventy-six degrees.) The vessel exposed to the sun was not left long enough on the wall to have acquired a degree of heat equal to that of the atmosphere. Those leaves placed in the shade had

had given a very little air, which was of an inferior quality to the common air; whilst those leaves exposed to the sun, and had received very little heat, had produced a considerable quantity of dephlogisticated air.

“Plants do not give dephlogisticated air in a room, however warm it may be made, if the sun does not shine on the vessel in which the leaves are contained.

“If plants possess an obnoxious quality in the shade, nature has happily endowed them with the faculty of repairing in the sun the mischief they may have occasioned.” It is not the same case with flowers; they captivate the eye and the smell, but they are, at the same time, very prejudicial in a place where the air does not circulate; they exhale, at all times, whether in the night, in the shade, and even in the sun, a deadly air.

Dr. Priestly had observed, “That a rose shut up between two glasses, had corrupted the air in which it was inclosed to such a degree, as to render it unfit for breathing;” and from thence he concludes, with reason, that the air of a room may be infected by such flowers.

“I have tried an experiment upon all the flowers I could find in my neighbourhood, and have not met with one that did not at all times spoil the air, more particularly when the stalks were put in water. Flowers under water exhale a little air; but very slowly, and in a very small quantity, but the air is of the most poisonous quality. When they are in the common air, they corrupt it in a few hours, and render it entirely unwholesome. Their pernicious influence is so inherent, that it is not in the power of the sun to dispel it. A nosegay, composed

of about thirty honeysuckle flowers, the agreeable perfume of which is so generally known, spoiled, in three hours time, two pints of air, in the middle of the day, to such a degree as to prevent the burning of a candle. These flowers, after having corrupted a large mass of air, did not in the least lose their sweet scent, with which they impregnated the poisonous air. So that persons who indulge their taste for those flowers, may very easily placethemselves in the most imminent danger of perishing.

All fruits in general exhale a dangerous air, whether by day or night, in the sun or in the shade, and communicate a most unwholesome quality to the surrounding air.

“I was astonished, and even a little sorry,” continues M. Ingen-Housz, “to discover a hidden poison in the fruits, which constitute so great a part of our food, and the more so, as I found in some of those, the most delicious to the taste and smell, this poisonous quality prevailing in the most surprising degree; such as in the peach. It appears to me that the unwholesome qualities of some fruits, surpasses even that of flowers.

“I have observed, that a peach in the shade can so corrupt a mass of air, six times greater than its own size, as to render it absolutely fatal to an animal that should breathe it; and that this same peach may render the like quantity of air so corrupted, even in the midst of the sun, as to extinguish immediately a wax candle.”

Here follows an experiment very applicable to the subject we are treating upon.

“A jug made of a size to contain eight pints, filled a third part with mulberries quite ripe, and turned downwards

downwards on a plate, was placed in the sun for the space of four hours at the end of which time the air in it was so corrupted as to extinguish a candle immediately."

Enough has been said on the subject to convince us, that since leaves exposed to the shade produce a mephitic gas, it must be of the highest importance not to keep the mulberry leaves destined for the feed of the silk-worms in the same room with them: it is absolutely necessary then to have some separate airy room to serve for the purpose of a store-house for the leaves; it is also essential to let them remain at least four hours before they are carried into the store-room, to give them time to cool, and to shed their first efflu-
vium, which is always the strongest and the most abundant. I would likewise advise to have the leaves stirred about before they are given to the silk-worms, and the pernicious air dispelled by the waving of napkins strongly too and fro about the room, with the windows and doors set open,

Experience alone had already taught that the leaves should not be given the moment they were gathered; and careful people have always attended to the making of a provision of them beforehand; and when this custom has been deviated from, the most fatal and sudden accidents have ensued to the silk-worms, they have been so affected by the mephitic vapour as to perish in a very short space of time; those who are accustomed to raising of silk-worms called this accident, *une mauvaise donnée*. But without knowing from whence proceeds the cause, they are sensible that it might have been avoided, by letting the leaves remain some time after they were

gathered before they were used, and they feel themselves culpable of forgetfulness or want of attention upon the occasion; the excuse then pleaded is, that the badness of the weather having obliged them, for want of leaves, to keep their silk-worms fasting, made them in such haste to give the improper food; it would, nevertheless, have been much better to have kept them some hours longer in want of sustenance. In spite of every precaution that can be taken, it is not possible to banish totally the efflu-
vium of the leaves when their meals are distributed, because, not only from the large quantity of leaves requisite, more especially when the silk-worms are in an advanced state, but likewise from these insects tearing of the leaves, which accelerates, in a greater degree, the mephitic efflu-
vium; this proves still more forcibly how necessary it is to admit the fresh air, from whence I am led to believe that it would be best to establish a free current of air in the spinning place, by the making of two windows, opening them at the feeding time, and leaving them so for at least half an hour, during the height of the repast, if the weather will admit of it.

It has been proved, from what has been said on the subject of flowers, how pernicious their influence is; they should therefore be entirely banished from wherever silk-worms are kept; notwithstanding which, the contrary method has been practised down to the present time, above all by the peasants, who take much pleasure in adorning their spinning places with flowers; and heaven knows what choice they display; the preference with them is always given to the largest sort

sort of flower, and to those that are most strongly scented; they form large nosegays of honey-suckles, of lillies, of elder-flowers, &c. These good people, however, act on a principle drawn from their own method of living, and only err because they cannot suppose that flowers can shed a malignant vapour, so foreign to their sweet scent; their houses are not, in general, either too clean or agreeably perfumed. The exhalations from the dunghills of their farm-yards, the preparations of their kitchens, where garlick, onion, cheese, and the smell of frying always reigns, form foetid vapours, which scarcely ever quit their habitations. Having learnt, from experience, that the silk-worms love cleanliness and a pure air, they take some care about it, and mean, by the perfume of the flowers, to correct the above-mentioned bad smells.

Fumigations are likewise much in vogue with these people, and each varies them according to their taste and fancy; the following are those in which they place most confidence, and to which the preference is given by them, gunpowder, incense, rosin, juniperberry, lavender, vinegar, apple-parings, sugar, ham, and lard: all these fumigations, lavished without any order or method, serve only to spoil or to load the air, and should be banished, to the reserve of one only, on which we shall treat hereafter.

Fruits being at least of as pernicious a quality as flowers, should be equally kept at a distance from the place where the silk-worms are; the trunks and chests of drawers of the peasants are never unprovided with such articles; apples above all others, the smell of which is in general so disgusting, is to them a

grateful perfume, and used as such by the women for scenting their linen, and yet the effluvium of this sort of fruit is fatal.

There should not then absolutely be suffered to remain either fruits or flowers in the spinning place. But as we have seen by the experiment made on mulberries, by Dr. Ingen-Housz, that this fruit produces a poisonous air, the greatest care ought to be taken, more particularly when ripe, to pluck them off and separate them from the leaves; it is in vain to object against it, by alleging that the silk-worms love and eat them; for do we not eat peaches without being incommoded by them, notwithstanding the malignity of their effluvium when shut up in a close place. Is not the mephitic gas a poison when breathed, and a remedy when mixed with water?

It is, therefore, to be wished that all the mulberries, not only those that are ripe, but those likewise that are young and green, an abundance of which insinuate themselves amongst the leaves, should be carefully taken away; their insipid, and at the same time strong, smell announces abundant exhalations; and their watery particles accelerate the fermentation of the litter. I feel the difficulty that must attend the separating of them when small, when the demand for the quantity of leaves is considerable; but the pains must in that case be redoubled, and none must be left to remain that approaches to being ripe.

Before the modern discoveries made on the different sorts of gas, it was not doubted but that in these hidden springs consisted the principles of sickness or of health; and although we have here given but a rapid sketch of this, relatively to the

the silk-worms, those persons who are not versed in these matters have nevertheless seen enough to be convinced that the different kinds of gas may happily, in many cases, be rendered profitable. There is even room to hope, since so many estimable learned men employ themselves in researches on the nature and quality of air, that new discoveries will not fail to succeed those already made. *

On the influence of oxygène on colours; from Nicholson's Translation of Chaptal's Chymistry.

CLOURS are all formed in the solar light. The property which bodies possess of absorbing some rays, and reflecting others, forms the various tinges of colours with which they are decorated, as is proved from the experiments of Newton.—But in what manner do the coloured bodies of the three kingdoms of nature acquire the property of constantly reflecting one determined kind of rays? This is a very delicate question; for the elucidation of which I shall bring together a few facts.

It appears that the three colours which are the most eminently primitive,—the only colours to which we need pay attention,—that is to say, the blue, the yellow, and the red,—are developed in the bodies of the three kingdoms, by a greater or less absorption of oxygène, which combines with the various principles of those bodies.

In the mineral kingdom, the first impression of fire, or the first degree of calcination, developes a blue colour, sometimes interspersed with yellow, as is observable when lead, tin, copper, iron, or other metals, are exposed in a state of fusion to the action of the air, to hasten their cooling. This may be especially observed in steel plates which are coloured blue by heating.

Metals acquire the property of reflecting the yellow colour by combining with a greater quantity of oxygène; and accordingly we perceive this colour in most of them, in proportion as the calcination advances. Massicot, litharge, ochre, orpiment, and yellow precipitate, are instances of this.

A stronger combination of oxygène appears to produce the red; whence we obtain minium, colethar red precipitate, &c.

This process is not uniform through all the bodies of the mineral kingdom; for it is natural to infer that the effects must be modified by the nature of the base with which the oxygène combines. Thus it is that in some of them we perceive the blue colour almost immediately followed by a black; which may easily be accounted for, on the consideration that there is a very slight difference between the property of reflecting the weakest rays, and that of reflecting none at all.

To give additional force to the observations here made, we may also take notice, that the metals themselves are most of them colourless, and become coloured by calcination;

*While the most respectable societies of this kingdom shew, by their premiums, that they think the encouragement of silk an important object in British agriculture, it is right to bring forward every information likely to elucidate the subject: with these views we insert the above paper, which, in our opinion, offers no trivial reasons for showing how questionable must be this culture.

cination; that is to say, by the fixation and combination of oxygène.

The effects of the combination of oxygène are equally evident in the vegetable as in the mineral kingdom; and in order to convince ourselves of this, we need only follow the operations in the method of preparing and developing the principal colours, such as indigo, pastel woad, turnsole, &c.—We likewise observe, that the first degree of combination of oxygène with oil (in combustion) develops the blue colour for the instant.

The blue colour is formed in dead vegetables only by fermentation. Now in these cases there is a fixation of oxygène. This oxygène combines with the fecula in indigo, with an extractive principle in turnsole, &c.; and most colours are likewise susceptible of being converted into red by a greater quantity of oxygène. Thus it is that turnsole reddens by exposure to air, or to the action of acids: because the acid is decomposed upon the *mucilage*, which is the receptacle of the colour; as may be seen in syrup of violets, upon which the acids are decomposed when concentrated. The same thing does not happen when a *fecula* is saturated with oxygène, and does not admit of the decomposition of the acid. Hence it is that indigo does not become red by acids, but is, on the contrary, soluble in them. It is likewise, for the same reason, that we observe a red colour developed in vegetables in which an acid continually acts, as in the leaves of the oxalis, of the virgin vine, the common sorrel, and the ordinary vine. Hence also it happens, that acids brighten most

of the red colours; and that a very highly charged metallic oxidised as the mordant for scarlet.

We find the same colours developed in the animal kingdom, by the combination of the same principles. When flesh meat putrifies, the first impression of the oxygène consists in producing a blue colour; whence the blue appearance of mortifications, of flesh becoming putrid, of game too long kept.—This blue colour is succeeded by red, as is observed in the preparation of cheeses, which become covered with a mouldiness at first of a blue colour, but afterwards becoming red.

All the phenomena of the combination of air with the several principles in different proportions may be observed in the flame of bodies actually on fire. This flame is blue when the combustion is slow; red, when stronger and more complete; and white, when still more perfect.

From the foregoing facts, we may conclude that the blue ray is the weakest, and is consequently reflected by the first combination of oxygène. We may add the following fact to those we have already exhibited. The colour of the atmosphere is blueish; the light of the stars is blue, as M. Mariotte has proved, in the year 1678, by receiving the light of the moon upon white paper: the light of a clear day reflected into the shade by snow, is of a fine blue, according to the observations of Daniel Major Ephem. des Curios. de la Nature, 1671.

Account of a spinning limax, or slug.
By Mr. Thomas Hoy, of Gordon-Castle, associate of the Linnean Society

ciety; from the Transactions of the Linnean Society.

IT is well known that several insects, such as spiders and the caterpillars of many species of moths, can convey themselves safely through the air, without wings, by means of silk lines or threads spun out of their own body: but it has not been observed (as far as I know) that any species, arranged under Linnaeus's class of vermes, is possessed of a similar power of self-conveyance. An instance occurred to me, about a year ago, which leaves me no room to doubt but that some of them can convey themselves at least downwards from a considerable height, in that manner. In going through a plantation of Scotch firs, I observed something hanging from a branch of one of them, at a little distance. As it seemed to be larger than any caterpillar of the tribes *Geometrae* or *Tortrices*, that I was acquainted with, it attracted my particular notice. When I approached it, I found it to be a *snail*, or rather *slug*;* and, at first, supposed that it had been shaken from the tree by wind, after having been entangled in a spider's web, or among the silk lines of some caterpillar. Upon observing it, however, more attentively, it was hanging by one line only, which was attached to its tail. This line or thread, at the distance of one inch and a half from the animal, appeared to be as fine as those spun by the *Aranea diadema*, but nearer to its body it was thicker; and, at its junction to the tail, was broad and flat, exactly corresponding to the tail itself. The slug was

four feet below the branch from which it was suspended, and at the distance of four feet and a half from the ground; to which it was approaching gradually at the rate of an inch in about three minutes, slower considerably than its ordinary motion, either upon the ground, or even in ascending the trunk of a tree; not so slow, however, as one would expect, if it is considered that a slug is not furnished, like the insects above-mentioned, with a particular reservoir of glutinous liquid, from which the silk lines are spontaneously and almost instantaneously emitted; but that the line, by which it descends, is drawn from that slimy glutinous exudation gradually secreted from its pores, and covering its whole body. It seemed to require a great degree of exertion in the animal to produce a continued supply of this liquid, and to make it flow towards its tail. For this end it alternately pushed out its head, and drew it back again below its shield; turned it as far as possible, first to one side and then to the other, as if thereby to press its sides, and so to promote the secretion. This motion of the head in a horizontal direction to one side, made its whole body turn round; whereby the line by which it hung was necessarily twisted, and from being flat became round. Besides, it might perhaps tend to draw off the glutinous matter, and thus lengthen the line; which could scarcely be effected merely by the weight of the slug, although that was pretty considerable, being between sixteen and seventeen grains.

* *Limax*.

This slug seemed to be of a species between the *Limax agrestis* and *flavus*. Linn. Its specific character might be,

LIMAX (filans) cinereus marginis flavo.

Perhaps the shade of the fir-trees, and the wet foggy weather, when I observed it, may have rendered the *Limax flavus* of a paler colour; therefore I cannot pretend absolutely to introduce this, as a new species, to the acquaintance of the Linnean Society. But if the foregoing account exhibits a new instinct, or something that has not been heretofore observed in the animal economy, it may perhaps not be below the notice of a society instituted for promoting the knowledge of natural history.

ADDITIONAL NOTE,
By Dr. Shaw.

It is considerably more than ten years since I had an opportunity of observing the phenomenon so accurately described by Mr. Hoy. Having never, either before or since, observed a similar appearance, I was inclined to consider it as a circumstance merely accidental; but as it is thus confirmed by Mr. Hoy, there seems no reason to doubt that the animals of the genus *Limax* have a power of occasionally managing their glutinous excretion in such a manner as to serve the purpose of a thread in a direct descent.

The copy of my own memorandum on this subject is as follows:

September 27, 1776,

"Sitting in an arbour, about eight feet high, I was amused with a very

uncommon spectacle, which I at first took for a caterpillar hanging by its thread, and reaching to within a foot of the ground, and therefore I did not much regard it; till on a nearer view I perceived it, to my great surprize, to be a small slug, about three quarters of an inch in length. It hung by the extremity of its tail, and gradually descended till it almost touched the ground, when I shook it off with my finger. The thread seemed to issue from the body of the animal; yet I never observed a second or a former instance of any kind of snail having the faculty of forming a thread.

"GEORGE SHAW.
February 6, 1791."

Case of hydrophobia; with the appearances on dissection. Communicated in a letter to Samuel Foart Simmons, M.D. F.R.S. by John Ferriar, M.D. physician to the infirmary at Manchester; from Medical Facts and Observations.

ON Friday morning, December 8, 1790, I was desired to visit John Johnson, recommended as a home patient of the infirmary, who was said to have been bitten by a mad dog.

I found him in a tremulous irritable state, with a weak irregular pulse, and a white tongue. His eyes looked wildly; he was fearful of every unexpected noise, and seemed to be continually on the watch against surprises. When interrogated respecting his complaints, he gave a long detail of pains in his chest, cough, and difficulty of breathing; but was unwilling to mention his dread of water. He owned that

that, a considerable time before, he had been bitten in the left cheek by a strange dog, which leaped at his face in passing while he was at work in the street. The accident affected him so little, that the precise date of it had escaped his memory. He guessed it to have happened more than three months ago. Since that time he had been twice afflicted with complaints supposed to be pleuritic, which were removed by bleeding, blistering, and other remedies, of which he could give no account. He had been bled twice within the last week, and had a blister on the left side of the chest when I saw him.

On Monday, November the 29th, in the evening, his wife had observed, for the first time, that he swallowed some gin and water with reluctance and difficulty; the uneasiness in swallowing liquids soon became his principal complaint, but the bite was not recollected till Thursday evening; when a medical gentleman, who was applied to, inquired whether he had ever been bitten by a dog. Even then he recollected the circumstances but imperfectly. He got down solids with great ease during the whole complaint.

When I desired him to drink a little water, he shewed strong marks of disgust, but, recollecting himself, said he would try; that he did not believe the dog to have been mad, (an idea in which I encouraged him) and that he was not afraid of water. As soon as he touched the cup, I perceived some spasmodic contractions of the muscles of deglutition, and when he raised it towards his mouth the muscles of the cheeks were strongly contracted, and a sort of convulsive gulping was very fre-

quently repeated. After one or two unsuccessful attempts, he swallowed a small quantity of water, but with a violent struggle, succeeded by universal tension; and he would not be persuaded to make another trial.

He complained that cold air affected his throat with a similar uneasiness; and when asked where the impression was felt, pointed to his throat, immediately under the thyroid cartilage. The opening of the door always made him complain.

His discourse was somewhat incoherent, and he frequently referred, with some degree of terror, to the circumstance of the bite.

By his wife's account, he had been a sober industrious man; abstemious with respect to food; and addicted to no practices likely to pervert his imagination. His age was thirty nine; his evacuations were in a natural state.

The scar on his cheek, which was between the ear and the angle of the jaw, but rather more advanced, was hardly discernible: his wife remembered to have seen it bloody. I had him removed to the hospital as soon as possible, that he might enjoy every advantage of attendance: and till I could have the satisfaction of consulting with my brethren, ordered him to take a bolus, containing a scruple of bark, six grains of musk, and half a grain of opium: he was immersed in the cold bath: and was directed to swallow, as often as possible, a portion of a mixture of vinegar and water.

After his removal, as his wife had informed me that the sound of water distressed him, I directed some to be poured out in the passage adjoining to his room. He started at the noise, looked wildly round; begged to

to be sent home, and said he was not afraid of water.

At five o'clock in the afternoon we met in consultation, when the horror of water, and difficulty of swallowing it, were ascertained in presence of all the physicians to the house.

We agreed to scarify the cicatrix on the cheek deeply, and to apply a blister over the incisions: a bolus, containing a scruple of bark, fifteen grains of musk, and two grains of opium, was directed to be given every four hours; two drachms of strong mercurial ointment were applied to the throat, arms, and groins; a mixture of eight ounces of distilled vinegar, and twelve ounces of decoction of bark, was ordered, of which three or four table-spoonsful were to be given as frequently as possible; and a poultice, consisting of three drachms of galbanum, two scruples of opium, and one drachm of camphor, was applied, after the mercurial friction to the throat.

About nine o'clock the same evening I saw him again. He had swallowed his medicines without much reluctance, but was more incoherent, and complained greatly of cold,

During the night his delirium increased: he was very restless, impatient, and intractable. He threw himself out of bed repeatedly, and with his nails scratched the hand of one of the keepers who attempted to replace him. However, he took four boluses, and swallowed more than a pint of his mixture. He had one stool before morning.

At nine o'clock on Saturday morning, December 4th, we met again in consultation. We found that his difficulty in swallowing liquids was less: he had taken some very thin

porridge, the usual breakfast of the house; and he drank several draughts of his mixture without any striking appearance of disgust, in our presence; but his eyes were heavy, and inclined to fix, his pulse much sunk and there was a constant tendency to low delirium. We therefore concluded that the termination of the disease approached: but directed that the plan we had agreed on should be pursued as long as he should be capable of swallowing. Before I left him he retched several times, and brought off some wind: half a grain of emetic tartar was directed to be added to his next bolus, but he did not live to take it. At a quarter past ten he swallowed some of his mixture, and immediately after threw up a part of it again. He then fell into convulsions, and died in the course of a few minutes.

I was very desirous of examining the body as early as possible, that the appearances attending this dreadful disorder might be fairly ascertained; the inflammation of the stomach, described in former dissections, having been often attributed to the action of the gastric juice. Accordingly, the body was opened by Mr Simmons, at a quarter before three o'clock on Saturday afternoon, in presence of most of the physicians and surgeons of the hospital.

In the brain, which was the part first examined the only preternatural appearance was a distention of the pia mater, on both hemispheres, with a limpid fluid. The quantity of water in the lateral ventricles, at the basis of the brain and round the spinal marrow, appeared to be somewhat unusual. The lungs were uncommonly sound, excepting one slight

slight adhesion at the posterior part of the left lobe. The trachea was perfectly sound. The pericardium adhered pretty firmly to the heart in its whole compass. The stomach and intestines seemed, externally, sound; but on opening the œsophagus, a morbid appearance presented itself. About two inches above the cardia the epidermis of the œsophagus was abraded in irregular points, and exposed an inflamed surface of a dark red colour: still lower the abrasions became linear, and extended into the stomach itself. The edges of the epidermis, surrounding the abrasions were unequal and elevated. A similar affection was traced along the lesser curvature of the stomach, but fainter in its progress to the pylorus, where it was least discernible, and about which it seemed to terminate. The whole of the inflamed parts bore a striated appearance, darkest in the œsophagus, and lightest and more indistinct towards the pylorus. The stomach was half full of a dark-coloured fluid, which smelt strongly of musk. The other viscera were in a natural state.

As no more than four hours and a half elapsed between the patient's death and the dissection, I believe the abrasion observed may be fairly considered as the effect of the disease, especially as the stomach contained a considerable quantity of fluid; but although the preternatural irritability, produced by this specific inflammation, completely explains the peculiar sensibility to cold water and cold air, yet the dread of water, though constituting

the diagnosis, can only be regarded as *the symptom of a symptom*. The local inflammation, even when considered in connection with the slight effusion visible in the brain, is very inadequate to the explanation of the patient's death.

The relief from the difficulty of swallowing liquids, observable towards the close of this case, is not a solitary instance; the disease has even been said to exist without any horror of water, or difficulty of receiving it into the stomach.*

The ease with which solids were swallowed by our patient admits an obvious explanation. In the irritable state of the œsophagus, the comparatively small degree of contraction, necessary for the descent of solid food, is performed without difficulty. For the deglutition of liquids a very strict contraction is required, which strains and irritates the inflamed parts, and consequently occasions great distress.

Little information respecting the practice in hydrophobia can be drawn from this case; yet if other observations should confirm the opinion, that a peculiar inflammation exists in the stomach and œsophagus, in all instances of this disease, I conceive that some measures should be taken to counteract it, though it appears to be only a symptom of the general disorder. Blisters applied to the throat, or between the shoulders, might be useful; and if another similar case should unhappily occur to me, I should certainly employ them. Our patient had a recent blister on his side,

Lieutaud

* See Mead's works; Lieutaud, *Precis de la Med. Prat.*; and some late articles in the newspapers.

Lieutaud* enumerates very extensive appearances of inflammation and suppuration in the stomach and bowels of hydrophobic patients discovered on dissection, and other writers have mentioned inflammation of the stomach, in such cases, in general terms; but perhaps ours is the most satisfactory examination yet obtained, on account of its nearness to the death of the patient. Lieutaud mentions the adhesion of the pericardium to the heart, among other appearances.

I should conceive blood-letting to be a very ambiguous remedy in this complaint: with us it was prohibited by the state of the pulse, the advanced period of the disease, and the free use made of it, a few days before, by the patient.

The large use of mercurial frictions is said to have been successful in hydrophobia. It has perhaps been suggested by the determination to the salivary glands, so remarkable in the course of the disease. I own I have some doubts respecting the propriety of using a remedy which produces so great a degree of irritability, in the state of high irritation attending hydrophobia. The appearance of the inflamed parts approaches to the erysipelatous state; and the whole train of symptoms seems to require the aid of the cold bath, and the free use of bark and opium.

Manchester, Dec. 12, 1790.

Natural history of the whale: from De Pagé's Travels round the World.

A Whale of the middle size, such as we met with on this

cruise, measures forty eight feet from the head to the extremity of the tail, and twenty-six in the largest circumference, which is at the head. The head is a little more in length than two-fifths of the whole body; the opening between the two branches of the tail, is a little less than the length of the head, with two feet and a half in depth; the breadth of the fins is three-eighths of that of the tail; and their length a little more than their breadth. The jaw bones, uniting before in an elliptical form, are eighteen feet each; the gums are fourteen in length, and contain the roots of the beard or whalebone attached to the upper jaw, whose extremity forms the snout or muzzle of the fish. The eyes are placed laterally on each side of the head; the orbit from one corner of the eyelid to the other is five inches; and the eye-ball, which is three inches in diameter, is covered with a kind of retina, shewing the black of the pupil partially in the form of a vertical oval. At one foot distance behind the eyes stand the ears, with a very small tube not exceeding the bore of a tobacco-pipe; the orifice of the tube, which creeps in a spiral line across the flesh and fat, seems loaded with the humours of the ear.

The nostrils are seated five or six feet before the eyes, but in a high plane, and run across the upper jaw; their orifice forms the arch of a circle, whose radius is seven inches; but the nasal duct gradually diminishes, and at the distance of a foot, internally, does not exceed five. The nostrils are separated by a membrane two inches thick externally, but which in-

creases

* *Precis de la Médecine pratique, tome II. p. 98. 8vo. Paris, 1777.*

creases in dimension further up; the skin round the orifice is soft and flexible, with the capacity of closing for the purpose of excluding the water; the intermediate membrane is likewise formed to dilate and contract, in such a manner as to open and shut the canal; the use of the nostrils in this, as in other animals, is respiration, which the whale performs by blowing the water backwards.

The navel and the general structure of the parts of generation, are very much the same in the whale as in quadrupeds. We observe in the male an elliptical cavity or sheath about four feet in length, and eight inches in depth; which, from a roundness in the flesh, appears almost close. Three or four inches from the commencement of this cavity, backwards, are two holes, which contain the testicles, and near which is the penis. The penis extends the whole length of the sheath or cavity, and terminates in a point, in which is a small perforation for the purpose of animal evacuation. At the distance of a foot behind these parts is the anus, or excremental duct, presenting an opening of three inches.

In the female we find two teats, placed laterally before the parts of sex, and nearly six inches in diameter; the nipple is hard, and shrinks under the surface of the teat, which is somewhat globular in its formation; the nipple is two inches in length, by one and a half in diameter, and terminates in a point. The lacteal canal winding near the surface, leads to a small basin or reservoir, and has its termination at another of greater dimensions. The external distinction of sex consists in a longitudinal slit of eleven

inches; and is formed inwardly of a hard substance approaching to the consistency of bone, covered with a fine kind of flesh. A little within the aperture is a fold of cartilaginous substance of a rough and irregular surface, before which is the urinary passage, and behind it a canal of a smaller size; close to the longitudinal, slit behind is the anus.

In the structure of the mouth we find only three bones, the two bones of the lower jaw and the nasal bone, to which are attached two large lips covering the beard, and a vast tongue of a soft substance, fourteen feet in length, six in breadth, and three in thickness.

The palate is composed of the whale-bones arranged in plates on each side of the upper jaw, to which they are attached by a white substance of the nature of hard tallow, but finer and more compact in the grain. The plates run parallel to each other, but a little curved, and, making a sweep on each side the mouth, towards the throat, present the appearance of a vault or gothic arch. They are from ten to eleven feet in length, by five inches and a half in their common breadth, with two lines in thickness. They are disposed surface against surface in the manner of leaves presenting their edges to the eye, so that the breadth of the plates becomes the depth of the palate. The palate is covered with a kind of hair, which is about fifteen inches long at the extremity of the plates, and seems to be nothing more than the continuation of the small fibres of the whale-bone. The plates become smaller as they approach the lip of the jaw, where they terminate in a point. This provision of nature

nature is meant to answer the purpose of teeth; the plates enable the animal to bruise as well as to collect her food, while the hairs acting like a net, detain small substances, and allow the water to escape.

I am unable to say what constitutes the food of the whale, though generally it seems to consist of substances of a small size, not very solid, and probably of an aqueous kind, as the elasticity of the whale-bone certainly would not yield to any thing either hard or tough. I made the sailors hoist up a small whale to the capsterns, in order that I might have an opportunity of examining her stomach; but the tackle by which she was suspended giving way, and the men in the boat below having narrowly escaped being hurt, I abandoned my design. Some pretend to affirm that the whale eats a species of polypus of the small size of a bean; others, that she lives on a fleshy excrescence, which I was shown, as large as an egg, and nearly in the shape of a melon. The longitudinal fibres that embrace its spherical surface, give it very much the ribbed appearance of that fruit; while red threads, traversing it internally, render its colour of a reddish hue; the rest of it consists of a kind of mucilaginous substance. But I am very doubtful how far we may reasonably ascribe the nourishment of the whale to this excrescence; for having exposed it to the sun, I found there remained of it in a dried state next to nothing, and yet, as the excrements of the animal, which are of a saffron colour, are by no means destitute of consistency, it seems natural to suppose, that her aliment, whatever it may be, is of

a more substantial kind. My own opinion is, that the whale feeds upon shrimps; for I afterwards caught a sea wolf, having his stomach full of them—a circumstance which serves at least to show that the shrimp is in great abundance at the bottom of the sea. Upon the supposition that this is actually her food, Nature's substitute for teeth is excellently contrived for collecting; as well as for bruizing, the means of her support; besides, the arrangement of the plates, or whale-bone, is close enough to prevent such small substances as the shrimp from escaping through their intervals.

I caused a piece of flesh, containing a part of the esophagus, to be extracted from the mouth of the whale; the alimentary canal was about five inches in circumference, and formed at a certain depth a species of bason perforated by a second canal. The orifice of this last appeared protected by a sort of lining, presenting a circular canal; by which contrivance the food is made to pass round it, and consequently guarded against falling into the second passage. If by accident the food should deviate from its proper direction, it will be received by the circular canal, to be afterwards returned by the coughing of the animal, into its natural course. This canal is besides shut by a kind of valve forming three points, one of which, like the point of a triangle, enters wedge-ways betwixt the two others. The valve consists of a cartilage somewhat long but flexible, and is covered with flesh of a fine texture. The canal, formed likewise of a flexible cartilaginous substance, becomes thicker and more capacious at a smaller distance. It seemed, however, no where open

in a relaxed state, and is probably so contrived as to remain constantly shut, except when the whale chooses to dilate it for the purpose of respiration. The orifice is about four inches in diameter, and the canal itself is, I apprehend, what we call the esophagus; but an anatomist would have understood and executed this part of my diary in a style to which I cannot pretend.

The fins have five cartilaginous bones, with articulations resembling those of the fingers, but very slightly marked; perhaps in the great chain of animated nature, the whale forms that link which connects the sea-calf with the scaly tribes.

The strength of the tail is chiefly exerted by means of an assemblage of muscles running on each side of the spine. It consists of six or seven small ones, each of which is three lines in diameter, and the whole is united by a set of nerves, and covered by a membranous substance.

The brain consists of a substance resembling soft tallow, with thread, or filaments crossing it in all directions. As to the quantity belonging to this species, I can only say in general, that in this instance it was sufficient to fill a large pail. The solid flesh runs in strong fibres like that of the ox, is of a red colour, and about three inches in depth; immediately over the flesh lies the blubber, which in some parts is from eight to ten, and in others from twelve to fourteen inches deep; the whole being covered with a black skin ten lines in thickness.

Like all the native animals of cold regions, the whale has a great stock of blood and animal heat. I introduced Reaumur's thermometer into

the carcase of a whale that had been dead about an hour and a half; but after seven minutes it only rose to 17° . In this case, however, besides that I had access only to the fat, as the tail had been cut off, the blood was in a great measure discharged, and consequently I could not regard it as a fair experiment. I thrust my hand into the body of a whale which had been dead some days, and felt, I am sure, a greater degree of heat than had been expressed by the thermometer in the former instance; but in this case I did not choose to measure the heat with the thermometer, as it had dropped into the blubber, and was with difficulty recovered, in the first experiment.

The general colour of the whale is black; the under part and edges of the mouth are white, or black mixed with white; the eye-lashes, the navel, the paps of the female, and the organs of sex, are white; the general effect of the two last is that of a white *fleur de lis*. The scar of a wound, to which this animal is extremely liable, particularly on the back, tail, and fins, from the accidents of the ice, and the hostilities of the sword fish, is always white. The white colour is much more prevalent on the body of an old than that of a young whale, and probably depends on this species, as in land animals, on the circumstances of age and the state of the bodily fluids.

Adhering to the skin, and very frequently under the fins, we meet with a species of sea-louse, which feeds and thrives in this situation; it is about the size of a small bean.

The back of the whale is commonly represented higher and more arched than it really is; a mistake which

which probably has arisen from the appearance she makes upon the surface of the water. In this attitude, as well as in that of diving, the back only is visible, the head being sunk between the back and the nasal bones. The elevation of the former is about two feet, and that of the latter a foot and a half above the level of her body.

The female, as I have already observed, seems to have only one cub at a birth. I conceive there is a specific difference in the size of the whale in these seas, that of the north appearing longer but more slender than that of the south west; and I am sure I have seen small whales which were of a greater age than others of much larger size.—The whale which was the subject of the above remarks, being of the ordinary size, yielded sixty barrels of oil; there are some, though rare, from which are obtained a hundred and fifty; and there are many which furnish from fifteen to twenty barrels only.

When I reflect on the enormous size of these fishes, which I should regard, if I may be allowed so to express myself, as forming a part of the winged tribes of the aquatic fluid, I cannot help calling to remembrance the animals of the most distinguished magnitude, which people the aerial fluid, and which are endowed with an organized system, and with principles of life and growth, suited to the particular mode of their existence.

Attending to such as are permanently fixed in the soil and of superior dimensions, I observe the vast and majestic trees of America holding the first place. Among beings which creep or walk, whether with a slow and restrained

or more accelerated motion, the largest is the elephant; and among those which sometimes walk, but more commonly soar aloft in the air, the most distinguished for size is the cazoot or ostrich.

Now I am unacquainted with any thing in the aqueous fluid analogous to these tribes, except the madre pore, which is of an immense extent, and, like vegetables, fixed to the soil; and the whale, which can quit the ground like the ostrich, and roam at discretion through the incumbent fluid. I know not whether beings have been formed to creep or walk under the water of the great deep; but if there be any close analogy between the inhabitants of the aerial and aqueous fluids, and if I may compare the madre pore to the American tree, and the whale to the cazoot or ostrich, of what enormous size must that animal be, which, corresponding to the elephant, treads the soil at the bottom of the ocean. As to crabs, lobsters, and the larger species of the same genus, which crawl on the borders of the sea, I consider them as races of mere insects, which frequent the mountainous ridges of the marine soil. It should seem highly probable, from analogy, that in the great chain of beings which replenish the terraqueous globe, there are many links which have never yet fallen within the sphere of human observation. My conjecture on the subject receives some countenance from the many curious discoveries made by naturalists in modern times, men who, with infinite industry and penetration, have pursued this chain to a very great extent.

I may, perhaps, have dwelt too long on the article of the whale; but this being the animal of the largest dimensions

dimensions hitherto discovered in our planet, I thought him entitled to more than ordinary notice; had I been more conversant in the language and science of anatomy, the above observations on his structure and economy would have been more technical, as well as instructive.

*On the Bayà, or Indian gross-beak;
by Athar Ali Khan, of Delhi.
[From the Asiatic Researches.]*

THE little bird called Bayà, in Hindí, Berbera in Sanscrit, Bábùì in the dialect of Bengal, Cíbù in Persian, and Tenawwit in Arabic, from his remarkable pendent nest, is rather larger than a sparrow, with yellow-brown plumage, a yellowish head and feet, a light-coloured breast, and a conic beak very thick in proportion to his body. This bird is exceedingly common in Hindostan: he is astonishingly sensible, faithful, and docile, never voluntarily deserting the place where his young were hatched, but not averse, like most other birds, to the society of mankind, and easily taught to perch on the hand of his master. In a state of nature, he generally builds his nest on the highest tree that he can find, especially on the palmyra, or on the Indian fig-tree, and he prefers that which happens to overhang a well or a rivulet: he makes it of grass, which he weaves like cloth, and shapes like a large bottle, suspending it firmly on the branches, but so as to rock with the wind, and placing it with its entrance downward, to secure it from birds of prey. His nest usually consists of two or three chambers; and it is the popular belief, that he lights

them with fire-flies, which he catches alive at night, and confines with moist clay, or with cow-dung: that such flies are often found in his nest, where pieces of cow-dung are also stuck, is indubitable; but as their light could be of little use to him, it seems probable that he only feeds on them. He may be taught, with ease, to fetch a piece of paper, or any small thing that his master point out to him: it is an attested fact, that if a ring be dropped into a deep well, and a signal given to him, he will fly down with amazing celerity, catch the ring before it touches the water, and bring it up to his master with apparent exultation; and it is confidently asserted, that if a house, or any other place, be shown to him once or twice, he will carry a note thither immediately, on a proper signal being made. One instance of his docility I can myself mention with confidence, having often been an eye-witness of it. The young Hindu women, at Banares, and in other places, wear very thin plates of gold, called *ticas*, slightly fixed, by way of ornament, between their eye-brows, and, when they pass through the streets, it is not uncommon for the youthful libertines, who amuse themselves with training Bayàs, to give them a signal, which they understand, and send them to pluck the pieces of gold from the foreheads of their mistresses, which they bring in triumph to the lovers. The Bayà feeds naturally on grass-hoppers, and other insects, but will subsist, when tame, on pulse macerated in water: his flesh is warm and drying, of easy digestion, and recommended, in medical books, as a solvent of stone in the bladder or kidneys; but of that virtue there is no sufficient proof. The

The female lays many beautiful eggs, resembling large pearls; the white of them, when they are boiled, is transparent, and the flavour of them is exquisitely delicate. When many Bayas are assembled on a high tree, they make a lively din, but it is rather chirping than singing: their want of musical talents is, however, amply supplied by their wonderful sagacity, in which they are not excelled by any feathered inhabitants of the forest.

Case of a person becoming short-sighted in advanced age, by Thomas Henry, F. R. S. &c. [From vol. 3 of "Memoirs of the Manchester Literary Society."]

I Remember it was, some years since, mentioned in this society, that a method had been recommended, but where, or by whom I do not recollect, of preventing the necessity of using spectacles in advanced age. It consisted in the practice of reading a very small print by the light of a small candle. By this means, the humours of the eye being protruded, the chrystalline lens was supposed to be hindered from losing its convex form, and assuming that flatness which it acquires in old persons.

I lately met with a gentleman, who, contrary to what generally happens to men as they advance in life, was, at the age of fifty, become short-sighted: whereas, when younger, his eyes had not that fault; and who, instead of being obliged to use convex glasses, had found it necessary to employ concave ones, and to procure them still more the older he grew. This change in his sight, he informed me, he first observed after having for some time accus-

tomed himself to read a book printed in a small character, and that frequently in the close of the evening, when the light was not favourable for the purpose.

As this is an uncommon fact, and may serve to confirm the propriety of the doctrine I have alluded to, I thought it might be proper to communicate it to the society.

Instance of living animals found inclosed in solid bodies. [From the European Magazine.]

THE more a fact is singular, and varies from the ordinary laws of nature, the more it merits the attention of the philosopher and amateur. When, once sufficiently confirmed, however contrary it may be to prevailing opinions, it is entitled to a place in the rank of knowledge. The most obstinate scepticism cannot destroy its certainty, and can only afford a proof of the presumption and pride, which leads us to deny whatever we are incompetent to explain. The following phenomena are of this kind. They are such as have occurred to us in the course of our reading; and we have collected them from the hope that some one, whose studies may have been directed to such objects, will enlarge the list. The more they are multiplied, the greater light will probably be thrown upon them; and it will perhaps one day be matter of surprise, that we have been so long ignorant of their cause.

In 1683, Mr. Blondel reported to the academy, that, at Toulon, oysters, good to eat, were frequently found inclosed in pieces of stone.

In 1685, M. de Cassini mentions a similar fact, from the testimony of M.

M. Duraffe, ambassador at the court of Constantinople, who assured him that stones were frequently found there, in which were inclosed little animals called dactyles.

The following instances are not less curious, and are more recent.

Some workmen, in a quarry at Boursire, in Gotha, having detached a large piece of stone from the mass, found, on breaking it, a live toad; they were desirous of separating the part that bore the shape of the animal, but it crumbled into sand: The toad was of a dark grey, its back a little speckled. The colour of its belly was brighter. Its eyes, small and circular, emitted fire from beneath a tender membrane which covered them. They were of the colour of pale gold. When touched on the head with a stick, it closed its eyes, as if asleep, and gradually opened them again when the stick was taken away. It was incapable of any other motion. The aperture of the mouth was closed, by means of a yellowish membrane. Upon pressing it on the back, it discharged some clear water, and died. Under the membrane which covered the mouth, were found, both in the upper and lower jaw, two sharp teeth, which were stained with a little blood. How long it had been inclosed in this stone, is a question that cannot be solved.

M. le Prince, a celebrated sculptor, asserts, in like manner, that he saw, in 1756, in the house of M. de la Rivière, at Ecretteville, a living toad, in the centre of a hard stone, with which it was, as it were, incrustated; and facts of this kind are less rare than is imagined.

In 1764, some workmen, in a quarry in Lorraine, informed Mr.

Grignon, that they had found a toad in a mass of stone forty-five feet below the surface of the earth. This celebrated naturalist went immediately to the spot, but could not perceive, as he assures us, in his "Treatise on the Fabrication of Iron," any vestige of the prison of this animal. A small cavity was visible in the stone, but it bore no impression of the body of the toad. The toad that was shown him was of a middling size, of a grey colour, and seemed to be in its natural state. The workmen informed Mr. Grignon, that this was the sixth that had been found in these mines, within the space of thirty years. Mr. Grignon considered the circumstance as worthy a more particular attention, and he promised, therefore, a reward to any person who should find him another instance of a toad so inclosed, in a stone that it had no means of getting out.

In 1770, a toad was brought to him, inclosed in two hollow shells of stone, in which it was said to have been found; but on examining it nicely, Mr. Grignon perceived, that the cavity bore the impression of a shell-fish, and, of consequence, he concluded it to be apocryphal. In 1771, however, another instance occurred, and was the subject of a curious memoir, read by M. Guettard to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris. It was thus related by that famous naturalist:—

In pulling down a wall, which was known to have existed upwards of a hundred years, a toad was found, without the smallest aperture being discoverable, by which it could have entered. Upon inspecting the animal, it was apparent that it had been dead but a very little time;

time; and in this state it was presented to the academy, which induced M. Guettard to make repeated inquiries into this subject, the particulars of which will be read with pleasure, in the excellent memoir we have just cited.

These phenomena remind us of others of a similar nature, and equally certain. In the trunk of an elm, about the size of a man's body, three or four feet above the root, and precisely in the centre, was found, in 1719, a live toad of a moderate size, thin, and which occupied but a very small space. As soon as the wood was cut, it came out and skipped away very alertly. No tree could be more sound. No place could be discovered through which it was possible for the animal to have penetrated, which led the recorder of the fact to suppose, that the spawn, from which it originated, must, by some unaccountable accident, have been in the tree from the very first moment of its vegetation. The toad had lived in the tree without air, and, what is still more surprising, had subsisted on the substance of the wood, and had grown in proportion as the tree had grown. This fact was attested by Mr. Hebert, ancient professor of philosophy at Caen.

In 1731, Mr. Seigne wrote to the Academy of Sciences at Paris, an account of a phenomenon exactly similar to the preceding one, except that the tree was larger, and was an oak instead of an elm, which makes the instance more surprising.—From the size of the oak, Mr. Seigne judged that the toad must have existed in it, without air, or any external nourishment, for the space of eighty or a hundred years.

We shall cite a third instance, re-

lated in a letter, of the 5th of February, 1780, written from the neighbourhood of Saint Mexent, of which the following is a copy:

“A few days ago, I ordered an oak-tree, of a tolerable size, to be cut down, and converted into a beam that was wanting for a building which I was then constructing. Having separated the head from the trunk, three men were employed in squaring it to the proper size. About four inches were to be cut away on each side. I was present during the transaction. Conceive what was my astonishment, when I saw them throw aside their tools, start back from the tree, and fix their eyes on the same point, with a kind of amazement and terror! I instantly approached, and looked at the part of the tree which had fixed their attention. My surprise equalled theirs, on seeing a toad about the size of a large pullet's egg, incrustated, in a manner, in the tree, at the distance of four inches from the diameter, and fifteen from the root. It was cut and mangled by the axe, but it still moved. I drew it with difficulty from its abode or rather prison, which it filled so completely, that it seemed to have been compressed. I placed it on the grass: it appeared old, thin, languishing, decrepid. We afterwards examined the tree with the nicest care, to discover how it had glided in; but the tree was perfectly whole and sound.

These facts, but particularly the memoir of M. Guettard, induced M. Herissan to make experiments, calculated to ascertain their certainty.

February 21, 1771, he inclosed three live toads, in so many cases of plaster, and shut them up in a deal box, which he also covered with a thick

thick plaster. On the 8th of April 1774, having taken away the plaster, he opened the box, and found the cases whole, and two of the toads alive—The one that died was larger than the others, and had been more compressed in its case. A careful examination of this experiment convinced those who had witnessed it, that the animals were so inclosed that they could have no possible communication with the external air, and that they must have existed during this lapse of time without the smallest nourishment.

The academy prevailed on Mr. Herissan to repeat the experiment. He inclosed again the two surviving toads, and placed the box in the hands of the secretary, that the society might open it whenever they should think proper. But this celebrated naturalist was too strongly interested in the subject to be satisfied with a single experiment: he made therefore the two following:

1. He placed, 15th April in the same year, two live toads in a bason of plaster, which he covered with a glass case, that he might observe them frequently. On the ninth of the following month, he presented this apparatus to the academy. One of the toads was still living; the other had died the preceding night.

2. The same day, 15th April, he inclosed another toad in a glass bottle, which he buried in sand, that it might have no communication with the external air. This animal, which he presented to the academy at the same time, was perfectly well, and even croaked whenever the bottle was shook in which he was confined. It is to be lamented, that the death of Mr. Herissan put a stop to these experiments.

We beg leave to observe upon this subject, that the power which these animals appear to possess of supporting abstinence for so long a time, may result from a very slow digestion, and perhaps from the singular nourishment which they derive from themselves. M. Grignon observes, that this animal sheds its skin several times in the course of a year and that it always swallows it. He has known, he says, a large toad shed its skin six times in one winter. In short, those which, from the facts we have related, may be supposed to have existed for many centuries without nourishment, have been in a total inaction, in a suspension of life, in a temperature that has admitted of no dissolution; so that it was not necessary to repair any loss, the humidity of the surrounding matter preserving that of the animal, who wanted only the component parts not to be dried up to preserve it from destruction.

But toads are not the only animals which have the privilege of living for a considerable period without nourishment and communication with the external air. The instances of the oysters and dactyles, mentioned in the beginning of this article, may be advanced in proof of it. But there are other examples.

Two living worms were found in Spain, in the middle of a block of marble which a sculptor was carving into a lion of the natural colour for the royal family. These worms occupied two small cavities, to which there was no inlet that could possibly admit the air. They subsisted probably on the substance of the marble, as they were of the same colour. This fact is verified by captain Ulloa, a famous Spaniard, who accompanied

accompanied the French academicians in their voyage to Peru, to ascertain the figure of the earth. He asserts that he saw these two worms.

A beetle, of the species called capricorn, was found in a piece of wood in the hold of a ship at Plymouth. The wood had no external mark of any aperture.

We read in the *Affiches de Province*, 17th June, 1772, that an adder was found alive in the centre of a block of marble thirty feet in diameter. It was folded nine times round in a spiral line; it was incapable of supporting the air, and died a few minutes after. Upon examining the stone, not the smallest trace was to be found by which it could have glided in, or received air.

Misson, in his *Travels through Italy*, mentions a craw-fish that was found alive in the middle of a marble in the environs of Tivoli.

M. Peyssonel, king's physician, at Guadaloupe, having ordered a pit to be dug in the back part of his house, live frogs were found by the workmen in beds of petrification. M. Peyssonel suspecting some deceit, descended into the pit, dug the bed of rock and petrifications, and drew out himself green frogs, which were alive, and perfectly similar to what we see every day.

PELSEW ISLANDS.

Some particulars of the visits made by captain M'Clure to those Islands, in the East-India Company's armed vessels, the Panther and Endeavour, which were fitted out at Bombay, by order of the court of directors, for the purpose of surveying those islands, and to carry such useful animals and other

*presents as would be serviceable to the inhabitants, and presenting to king Abba Thulle.**

THE two ships anchored in a very snug harbour, in one of the said islands, called Arrakappa-sang, where the king Abba Thulle desired capt. M'Clure would land the live-stock, which he seemed very fond of—they being so very gentle and tame, particularly the bulls and cows. At day-light they were sent on shore, all in good condition, four young cows supposed to be all in calf, two young bulls, ten ewes and a ram, seven sheep, goats and three rams, five sows with pig, and a boar, one pair of geese, three ducks and a drake, also a tame cock and two hens, to invite the wild ones; and they let fly from aloft four pair of turtle doves and a pair of parrots. At the same time, a rich present of arms and European swords, with sundry other packages, was made to Abba Thulle, who instantly distributed the arms among the principal Rupacks, and recommended them to be kept clean and in order for service when wanted.

Two days after, the remaining presents, consisting of grindstones, ironmongery, saws, shovels, &c. from Europe, were sent on shore, which when opened before the old king and his people, the whole multitude was so struck with amazement, that they could not utter a word to each other, but gave frequent ha's of astonishment as the things were taken out of the boxes. About an hour after the things were opened to view, the old king came to his recollection, and called his Rupacks and principal men around him, and after a long harangue to them

* For an account of the interesting Prince Lee Bee, second son of Abba Thulle, see Annual Register for 1786, vol. 30, p. 27.

them (wherein the word *Englees* was frequently mentioned) he distributed the different articles with his own hand, proportionably to the rank and ability of the person. The 400 iron *Kyseems* sent from Bombay, greatly attracted their attention, being exactly the dimensions of the tool used by them; little hand-hatchets were only given to the favourites and head men; the beads sent from Europe they did not like, as they were not transparent, but some blue and green from Bombay were exactly what they liked; they were fond of the China ware, particularly tureens.

The next day the king came on board, with his retinue, to see the vessel when at anchor, which he examined very minutely in every part; and a gun being fired with round and grape shot, surprised him a good deal, when the large shot fell in the water at so great a distance. The working of the pumps he admired greatly. The captain made him a present of a horseman's sword and target, and showed him the use of the latter, by telling one of his men to throw a spear at it with all his might, which, to their great astonishment, snapt short and scarcely left a dent behind; this seemed very acceptable. Mr. Westborough produced a small joiner's tool-chest, which he presented to the king, who admired it greatly, being very complete, with lock and key; he gave him also an embroidered cap of scarlet cloth, which they are remarkably fond of wearing. Mr. Proctor had a small Alexander's figure head, done in Bombay marine-yard, which the old king was much pleased with, and would not part with it out of his hand to let any one see it. The captain made the son of Arra Kooker a present of a Mahratta sword of a

great length, and made one of the sepoys flourish it in the Mahratta manner, which much delighted the old king and his people, being something like their own fighting and jumping about with the spear. The presents were then finished with a piece of broad cloth to the king and one or two of the chiefs, the texture of which puzzled their imagination; and for want of the Malay interpreter, who was on shore, it could not be explained to them.

On the following day one of the he-goats died by eating some poisonous herbs, but was not altogether lost, for the king ordered him to be skinned and roasted, and when about half-done, he and his nobles made a delicious meal of it; at least they seemed to enjoy it, by frequently licking their chops and fingers during the repast.

The next morning the king proposed a visit to Coroora (his principal island), where every gentleman that could be spared from duty accompanied him, and made a very grand appearance. He made a small canoe lead a-head of the Panther's boat, and behind was the king's canoe, and every one according to their rank nearest him to the right and left, keeping an exact line abreast; the smaller canoes following in little order and distinction. On coming near the landing-place of Coroora, they sounded the conch shell to announce his majesty's approach; the first line began a song, and the old men gave out the first stave of every verse alone; when finished, they all answered, accompanied at the same instant by a great flourish of the paddle, which had a pleasing effect. When the boat touched the pier, the English gave three cheers, which was answered by Wheel! From the waterside they

they walked up a broad causeway to the village, which was without order or regularity, the houses being placed promiscuously among the trees.

The large plais or assembly houses belong to the king, and are very astonishing fabrics, considering the tools and people who constructed them. Since the loss of the Antelope, they have built a new one near sixty feet in length, and by accident they have nearly fallen in with the proportion of ship-building, the breadth of the house being about a third of the length; the floor of this is a perfect level from end to end; many of the planks are from three to four feet in breadth, and fitted so nicely, that a pin cannot go between them; the windows exactly resemble the port-holes in a ship's side, six to eight opposite each other, and one of the same size at each end; the beams are laid about seven feet from the floor, very close and curiously carved; the joinings of the beams upon the supporters are so closely fitted, that it may be taken for the same piece of wood; the roof is very high, and has a great slope; the thatching is very ingeniously done with the cocoa-nut leaf; the inside throughout is curiously carved in various figures and flowers; and the gabel ends have the appearance of the Gentoo temples, decorated with figures of men and women. Every Rupack or chief has a square piece of stone causeway before his house, and a small detached place like a pigeon-house, where they keep store of yams, &c. for present use. This little place was at first taken for a place of worship, but it was found they have no notion of a Deity, though they have many superstitious prejudices.

The party left Coroora and arrived at Arrakappasang at sun-set, and the next morning the two detachments of sepoy, in number about forty, were reviewed on shore, which had a most extraordinary effect upon the natives; and the old king was enraptured with their appearance: they began with the manual exercise by word, then by tap of the drum, from that to forming, marching quick and slow time, firing by platoons, and street-firing; and although the men were chiefly recruits, they gave the natives a very different idea of them to what they had before. The king ordered them a large tub of sweet drink, and asked if they were Englees! He was told No; that they were people of Bombay, and taught the use of arms by the English; and that his people could do as well as them in a little time, which inspired the old man with such a fighting fit, that he wanted to go directly against the Artingalls; but was dissuaded from it, on being told that he need not give himself the trouble, for that the Artingalls will give any thing to be friends with him, now they find the English are come to be the friends of Abba Thulle.

By a signal from the shore, the two vessels between them now fired a royal salute, whereupon the English Union was hoisted upon a point of the island, and the foundation stone laid of Fort Abercrombie, so called in honour of the governor of Bombay; and, by Abba Thulle's permission, possession of it was taken in the name of the English.

The Island is about four miles in circumference, and well watered by springs and rivulets. The soil is rich, and fit to produce any thing by cultivation. It was resolved by captain

captain M'Cluer to leave the Endeavour there (while he went in the Panther to Canton), in order to show the natives the use of the tools sent them by the company, and to forward the cultivation of the grounds, which had been sown with rice and garden-seeds by the English; and hopes were entertained, that by the vessel's making some stay among the islands, the natives would become more habituated to the customs and manners of the Europeans, which might hereafter be of service. The master of the Endeavour, who had a ship's company of about fifty men, was directed to secure the provisions and stores left with him by a bamboo stockade work, at Fort Abercrombie, but on no account to join with the natives in their wars, and to do his utmost to reconcile each party, only taking care to be in a state to resent any insult offered to him by the enemies of Abba Thulle. He was also directed to examine carefully the different channels, through the reefs, with the different soundings and leading marks, for a complete survey of the island.

Before the Panther sailed, Abba Thulle went out himself on a fishing party, chiefly for the benefit of the English; he was accompanied by Mr White, who was his favourite, and always attended him in his expeditions about the place, by which means Mr. White, from what he knew formerly of the language, is now very conversant in it. In the evening they returned with a good cargo, having collected a few from every boat that went out with him, and gave two-thirds of it to the English, who immediately put it in salt for sea store.

The next morning two chiefs

from the island Medeg were introduced to the captain, as friends of Abba Thulle. He took them on board, and showed them the vessel, which they examined with a good deal of curiosity and attention; a large looking-glass in the cabin perfectly astonished them; they did, what monkeys have been seen to do, put their hands to the back of the glass and feel it, which gave those who had been on board before an opportunity of laughing at them. They were presented with some beads and a few knives, which made them so happy, that they instantly came upon deck to show to their companions in the boat what they had got. Those natives belonging to the place who saw the things given, told Abba Thulle of the circumstance, and he told the captain, through the Malay interpreter, the character of the people of Medeg, "that while he (Abba Thulle) was alone, and had not the English for his friends, they did not come near him, nor give him any assistance in his wars against the Pelaws; but now that the English are come, they come and wish to be friends with him, to get what they can from him." The captain comforted the old man by telling him, that while the English were his friends, he had nobody to fear, and that even his greatest enemies (the Artingalls) would come and beg his friendship; this pleased him so much, that he made for answer, "that these islands no longer belonged to him, but to the English; and if they would assist him to conquer the Artingalls, they should have those islands also."

Before the Panther sailed, two canoes from Artingall arrived on an embassy to Abba Thulle, to crave his

his friendship, and brought him a large bead, as a present of reconciliation, which the old man received very coldly, and would not allow them to go on board the English vessels.

The Artingalls were apprehensive of the vessels going against them by their staying so long; and the king, wishing to frighten his foes, begged the captain to fire two guns without shot, which he did, and no doubt it had its desired effect upon his Artingall visitants.

The foregoing are the principal occurrences which took place during captain M'Cluer's stay in the Pelew Islands, from whence he

sailed for Canton, intending to return to Arrakappasang in about three or four months, there to join the Endeavour, and proceed together on further surveys and discoveries, agreeable to their orders and instructions. Justice to Abba Thulle's character requires us to add, that since captain Wilson's time another Malay proa had been cast away upon the Pelew Islands, the crew of which, showing a spirit of resistance, were mostly cut off by the natives, excepting a few who were saved by the people of Coroora, and by them conducted to Abba Thulle, who treated them with great hospitality.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

*Method of preserving fruit-trees in blossom from the effects of frost.
[From the German.]*

THE chevalier de Bienenberg, of Prague, has discovered a method of effectually preserving trees in blossom, from the fatal effects of those frosts which sometimes, in the spring, destroy the most promising hopes of a plentiful crop of fruit. His method is extremely simple. He surrounds the trunk of the tree, in blossom, with a wisp of straw, or hemp; the end of this he sinks, by means of a stone tied to it, in a vessel of spring-water, at a little distance from the tree. One vessel will conveniently serve two trees; or the cord may be lengthened so as to surround several, before its end is plunged into the water. It is necessary that the vessel be placed in an open situation, and by no means shaded by the branches of the neighbouring tree, that the frost may produce all its effects on the water, by means of the cord communicating with it.— This precaution is particularly necessary for those trees, the flowers of which appear nearly at the same time as the leaves; which trees are peculiarly exposed to the ravages of the frost.

This method is unquestionably singular, and may exercise the sagacity of those philosophers who

seek to explain every thing. But the plain man, who demands facts in preference, will be satisfied with knowing, that the chevalier de Bienenberg has not published it till he found it confirmed by repeated experience. The proofs of its efficacy, which he had an opportunity of observing in the spring of 1787, were remarkably striking. Seven apricot espaliers in his garden began to blossom in the month of March; fearing that they would suffer from the late frosts, he surrounded them with cords as above directed. In effect, pretty sharp frosts took place six or eight nights: the apricot-trees in the neighbouring gardens were all frozen, and none of them produced any fruit, whilst each of the chevalier's produced fruit in abundance, which came to the greatest perfection.

To satisfy himself of the effects of his preservative, the chevalier de Bienenberg placed vessels of water here and there, in the neighbourhood of those which communicated with the cords surrounding the trees: the ice in the former was not thicker than a straw, whilst in the latter it was the thickness of a finger. Hence, he infers, that the cords conveyed the cold from the trees to the water. Though this explanation may not be satisfactory to the philosopher, the fact is nevertheless incontestible.

Mr.

Mr. Jeze, professor of philosophy and mathematics, in the academy at Liegnitz, has a high opinion of the method of the chevalier de Bienenberg; which, however, he does not consider as absolutely new; something of the same kind, but in a more clumsy manner, and mingled with a species of superstition, being practised in Lower Saxony. On Easter-eve the peasants make a particular kind of cake, which they set to cool on straw: when the cakes are cold, they make cords of the straw, which they bind round the trunks of their fruit-trees, taking care to let one end hang down to the ground. This end they cover with the first snow that falls; and are firmly persuaded, that the virtue which the straw has received from their Easter-eve cakes will prove an effectual charm against the power of frost.

In consequence of an address of the house of commons to his majesty, and of an examination made respecting the efficacy of a composition, discovered by Mr. William Forsyth, for curing injuries and defects in trees, his majesty has been pleased to grant a reward to Mr. Forsyth, for disclosing the method of making and using that composition; and the following directions for that purpose are published accordingly.

TAKE one bushel of fresh cow-dung, half a bushel of lime-rubbish of old buildings (that from the ceilings of rooms is preferable), half a bushel of wood-ashes, and a sixteenth part of a bushel of pit or river sand. The three last articles are to be sifted fine before they are

mixed, then work them well together with a spade, and afterwards with a wooden beater, until the stuff is very smooth, like fine plaster used for the ceilings of rooms. The composition being thus made, care must be taken to prepare the tree, properly, for its application, by cutting away all the dead, decayed, and injured part, till you come to the fresh sound wood, leaving the surface of the wood very smooth, and rounding off the edges of the bark with a draw-knife or other instrument, perfectly smooth, which must be particularly attended to. Then lay on the plaster, about one-eighth of an inch thick, all over the part where the wood or bark has been so cut away, finishing off the edges as thin as possible. Then take a quantity of dry powder of wood-ashes, mixed with a sixth part of the same quantity of the ashes of burnt bones; put it into a tin-box, with holes in the top, and shake the powder on the surface of the plaster, till the whole is covered over with it, letting it remain for half an hour, to absorb the moisture; then apply more powder, rubbing it on gently with the hand, and repeating the application of the powder till the whole plaster becomes a dry smooth surface. All trees cut down near the ground should have the surface made quite smooth, rounding it off in a small degree, as before-mentioned; and the dry powder directed to be used afterwards should have an equal quantity of powder of alabaster mixed with it, in order the better to resist the dripping of trees and heavy rains. If any of the composition be left for a future occasion, it should be kept in a tub, or other vessel, and urine, of any kind, poured on it, so as to cover the surface;

face; otherwise the atmosphere will greatly hurt the efficacy of the application. Where lime-rubbish of old buildings cannot be easily got, take powdered chalk, or common lime, after having been slaked a month at least. As the growth of the tree will gradually affect the plaster, by raising up its edges next the bark, care should be taken, where that happens, to rub it over with the finger when occasion may require (which is best done when moistened by rain), that the plaster may be kept whole, to prevent the air and wet from penetrating into the wound. WILLIAM FORSYTH.

Remarks on the manufacturing of Maple Sugar. Published by a society of gentlemen, at Philadelphia, for the general information and benefit of the citizens of the United States of America, in July, 1790.

HE who enables another to obtain any necessary of life either cheaper or more independently than heretofore, adds a new source of happiness to man; and becomes more or less useful, in proportion to the number of those who participate in the benefits of his discovery. The transitions, however, made from one stage of improvement to another, are not sudden, but gradual; which probably arises from that strong and almost universal disinclination in the mind, at departing from the beaten path, or from long-established customs. Hence men, frequently at first, treat with neglect or contempt, that which, afterwards, on better information and a thorough knowledge of facts, they believe, and, without reserve, adopt

in their subsequent practice. Were we to introduce, and embrace as a maxim,—“That every new proposition, merely on account of its novelty, must be rejected,”—our knowledge would no longer be progressive, and every kind of improvement must cease.

That the juice of the sugar maple would produce a saccharine substance answering the purposes of sugar has been known many years, and particularly by the inhabitants of the eastern states; but that there was a sufficient number of this kind of tree in the states of New York and Pennsylvania, only, to supply the whole United States with this article, is a fact which was not so well ascertained, or so satisfactorily authenticated, till within a year or two past; and that the sugar of this tree was capable of being grained, and produced, in quality, equal to the best imported, was in some measure problematical till within even two or three months past, when the arrival of several chests in the city of Philadelphia, made last spring on the Delaware, removed every doubt in the minds of those who have seen it, as to the truth of this last fact.

A person who had many years been acquainted with the usual way of making this article, being desirous of improving the method, obtained the instructions of a refiner of sugar in Philadelphia, and, with these before him, began his experiments in February last, at Stockport, about three miles below the junction of the Mohock and Rappachtunck branches of the Delaware. He soon discovered that the business was yet in its infancy, that great and even essential improvements might be made therein, which would require a departure from the

the methods, heretofore in general use in boiling down the green sap, graining the syrup, &c. and which, if attended to and adopted, would enable him to produce sugar, in colour, grain, and taste, equal, if not superior, in reputation, to any imported. His sentiments and hopes on this head have been fully confirmed by the result of his experiments; for the sugar he has made and sent down to this city, in the opinion of well-qualified judges, is equal to the best sugars imported from the West-India islands.

The person above-mentioned, whose judgment on this subject is much to be relied on, as well from his experience in the business, as his established character for candour and integrity, is clearly of opinion, that four active industrious men, well provided with materials and conveniences proper for carrying on the business, may turn out, in a common season, which lasts from four to six weeks, forty hundred weight of good sugar, that is, ten hundred to each man. If four men can effect this, how great must be the product of the separate or associated labours of the many thousands of people who now inhabit, or may inhabit, the immense tracts of land which abound with the sugar-maple tree! what a new and extensive field opens for these considerations! what an interesting and important object to the cause of humanity presents itself to our view! an object that deserves the countenance of every good citizen, and that highly merits even national encouragement!

[Then follows a detail and description of the necessary utensils and materials, with the process or mode of manufacturing the sap of the maple.]

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The pamphlet concludes as follows:—

In all sugar plantations it will be advantageous to cut out the different sorts of timber which grow intermixed with the sugar-maple, and even those of that species which are not thriving, promising trees. The timber so cut out will serve for fuel for the boilers, and leave greater openings for the rays of the sun to enter, which will have a tendency to improve and enrich the remaining trees. The ground so cleared of all except the maple-tree, it has been observed, is particularly favourable for pasture and the growth of grass. “Whether this tree is injured or impoverished by repeated tapplings,” is an inquiry to be expected, and has been frequently made of late, by persons who have anxiously wished for the success of this business. It has been before observed, that it will bear much hardship and abuse, and it may be added, that there are instances, particularly among the old settlements on the North River, of trees which have been tapped for fifty years or upwards, and continue to yield their sap in the season, equal to any brought into use of later time; indeed, it is asserted with confidence, by persons who have had some years’ experience, that these trees, by use, become more valuable, yielding a sap of a richer quality. How far a careful cultivation of them, the stirring and manuring the soil in which they stand, may improve their value, remains to be ascertained in future; though it may be expected that this, like almost all other trees and plants, may, from a natural state, be greatly and essentially improved by the hand of art. Experiments, therefore, will not be unworthy

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unworthy the attention of those citizens situated in the more interior part of the States, if it shall thereby be found that these trees can be readily propagated, either from the seed or young plants, and be brought to thrive, so as to be equal in their product, if not superior, to those which have been strewed over the country without the aid of man. To what an extent of cultivation may not this lead! There will be no risk or disadvantage attending the experiment; and it certainly deserves encouragement.

Directions of the Lancashire Humane Society for the recovery of persons apparently dead by drowning: and other species of suffocation.

DROWNING.

1. **W**HEN the body is taken out of the water, strip and wrap it closely in a coat, blanket, or other warm covering, and convey it gently to the nearest commodious house, with the face upwards, and the head a little raised.

2. Lay it on a bed, or mattress, which has been heated by a warming-pan, in a chamber containing a fire; or, *during summer*, in the sunshine. Dry the body completely with warm cloths, and afterwards rub it diligently, but gently, with hot flannels on the *left* side, near the heart. Apply to the hands and feet cloths wrung out of hot water, and heated bricks, or bottles, or bladders half filled with hot water or bags of hot grains or sand, to the stomach and arm-pits. Let a healthy person, of the same sex with the sufferer, lie down unclothed, on the *right* side of the body; and

be employed in rubbing, and aiding other necessary operations.

If a tub of warm water be in readiness, let the body be placed in it up to the neck, and continued in it half an hour. the water should not be hotter than can be comfortably borne by the assistants; and the heat of all the applications before directed should be moderate.

When the body is taken out of the tub of water, it must be wiped dry, laid upon the bed, and treated according to the rules already given.

3. During the foregoing operations, put the pipe of a pair of bellows into one of the nostrils, the other nostril and the mouth being closed by an assistant; and blow gently, till the breast be a little raised. Let the mouth and nostril then be left free, and an easy pressure made upon the breast. Repeat this imitation of natural breathing till signs of returning life appear, when it is to be gradually discontinued.

N. B. If no bellows be at hand, let an assistant blow into the nostrils of the drowned person, with his breath, through a quill, reed, or any other small pipe.

4. When breathing begins to be renewed, let a feather dipt in spirit of hartshorn, or sharp mustard, be occasionally introduced into the nostrils. Pepper or snuff also may be blown into them. A glyster should now be given without delay, composed of equal parts of wine and hot water, with a small table spoonful of flower of mustard, or a teaspoonful of powdered pepper, ginger, or other spice. Rum, brandy, or gin, mixed with six times its quantity of hot water, with the addition of mustard, &c. may be used instead of wine.

5. As

5. As soon as the patient can swallow, administer to him, by spoonfuls, hot wine, or spirits mixed with water.

6. When life is completely restored, the sufferer should remain at rest in a warm bed, be supplied moderately with wine-whey, ale-posset, or other nourishing drinks, and gentle sweating should be encouraged.

Hangings.

1. If a medical assistant be present, let him take a few ounces of blood from the jugular veins; or apply a cupping-glass to the neck.

2. The other methods of treatment are to be the same as recommended for the recovery of drowned persons.

Suffocation by noxious vapours, or lightning.

Sprinkle the face, and the whole body with cold water, if the heat of the sufferer be above or equal to that of a living person. But if the body feel cold, apply warmth gradually; and use the means directed under the head of drowning. A small quantity of blood may also be taken from the jugular veins.

Frost.

Take the body to the nearest room with a fire-place, but not near the fire. Rub it with snow, or cold water. Attempt warmth and breathing by slow degrees, in the way directed for the recovery of drowned persons.

Smothering in child-birth by confinement under bed-clothes, &c.

1. In still-born children, blow air into the mouth, through a quill, or any small tube, till the breast be a little raised; then gently press the chest, and repeat this process till natural breathing begins. Gently rub the body with warm flannels,

and foment the legs and feet with water of a moderate degree of heat.

2. When a child has been smothered under the bed-clothes, if the body be too hot, as is commonly the case, expose it for a short time to a stream of fresh air, and sprinkle a little cold water on the face and breast; then fill the lungs, and follow the other directions above delivered.

No other means but those here recommended are ever to be employed, except by the authority of some judicious physician, or of one of the medical assistants of the society.

N. B. In all the above cases, immediately dispatch a messenger for medical assistance; send, also, another messenger to the nearest house where warm water, grains, or other things of the same nature may be procured, with a good fire, and a warm bed for the reception of the unfortunate person.

Canals in Spain, from Townshend's Travels through Spain and Portugal, in the years 1786 and 1787.

THE Ebro is navigable from Logrono to Tudela; and the canal, which begins at Tudela, is finished as far as Zaragoza, from whence it will be carried ten leagues lower before it enters again into the Ebro. At Amposta, below Tortoso, there is another canal, which opens into the bay of Alfarques, to obviate the inconvenience which arises from the frequent shifting of the Ebro, near its mouth. Not far from Zaragoza, the canal passes the mountain of Torrero, by an open cast of forty feet the mean depth; A a 2 for

for more than a quarter of a league or about one mile in length. The twelve leagues which they have finished from Tudela, cost sixty millions of reals, which in sterling is six hundred thousand pounds; the twelve leagues are nearly equal to fifty-three miles English, upon a supposition that they are statute leagues, of twenty-five thousand Spanish feet; but if we suppose them to be ordinary leagues, of six thousand six hundred varas each, the twelve leagues will be only forty-two miles and a small fraction. On the former supposition, the expense will be found eleven thousand six hundred eighty-two pounds four shillings per mile, or six pounds twelveshillings and eight-pence per yard. This expense appears to be enormous; but if we consider that the canals in Spain are nine feet deep, twenty feet wide at bottom, and fifty-six at top; and if we consider the cutting through a mountain open-cast more than a mile, we shall not think it unreasonable.

In a calculation which Mr. Whitworth made for a canal to be made from Salisbury to Redbridge (A. D. 1771), he supposed the depth four feet and a half, and the width at bottom fourteen feet. In these circumstances he allowed threepence halfpenny for every cubic yard; but had the canal been deeper and wider, he must have made his estimate double, treble, or even more, not merely according to the quantity, but in proportion to the distance to which that quantity must be removed, and the perpendicular height to which it must be previously raised. Mr. Whitworth's canal does not contain more than ten cubic yards in each yard of length, and a considerable propor-

tion of this may be done merely by the spade, without the aid of either pick-axe or barrow; whereas the Spanish canals contain near forty-nine and one-ninth cubic yards in each yard in length, the greatest part of which is to be moved, to a great distance, and from a considerable depth, increasing commonly in hardness in proportion to the depth.

This, however, will serve to show the wisdom of our people in the north of England, who by experience have learned to make their canals very narrow. With them three boats of thirty tons are preferred to one of ninety; and to carry thirty tons, they construct their boats about seventy feet long, seven wide at top, and six at bottom; drawing four feet of water. But such contemptible canals would not suit the ambition of a Spaniard, nor coincide with his ideas of grandeur.

As we crossed this canal near Zaragoza, on our way to Madrid, we stopped to examine the works; and I must confess that I never saw any so beautiful, or so perfect in their kind, as the locks and wharfs, nor did I ever see men work with greater spirit, or in a better manner. The number of men employed is three thousand, of which two thousand are soldiers, the others peasants; to the former they give three reals a day in addition to their pay; but they work mostly by the piece, and receive what they earn.

The canal begins at Segovia, sixteen leagues north of Madrid, and is separated from the southern canal by the chain of mountains which we passed at Guadazama. From Segovia, quitting the Eresma, it crosses the Pisuerga near Valladolid, at the junction of that river with the Duero, then leaving Valencia, with

Carrion to the right, till it has reached that river below Herrera, it reaches once more the Pisuerga; near Herrera, twelve leagues from Reinosa, there is a fall of a thousand Spanish feet. At Reinosa the communication with the canal of Aragon, which unites the Mediterranean to the Bay of Biscay; and from Reinosa to the Suanzes, which is three leagues, there is a fall of a thousand feet.

Above Valencia is a branch going westward, through Beceril de Camero, Rio Seco, and Benevente, to Alora, making this canal of Castile in its whole extent, one hundred and forty leagues.

They have already completed thirty leagues of it, from Reinosa to Rio Seco; which, with twenty locks, three bridges for aqueducts, and one league and a half open-cut through a high mountain, has cost thirty-eight millions of dollars, or, three hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling; and this, for the twenty leagues equal to thirty-eight miles, is 4,318*l.* per league. For work executed in so common a manner, this certainly is not extravagant.

The canal is nine feet deep, thirty feet wide at bottom, and six at top.

When this canal is perfected, it may be in less than thirty years, the world, perhaps, will have nothing of the kind to be compared to it, either in point of workmanship, of extent, or of utility.

The two first speak for themselves; the last, can be obvious to those who have seen this country. To say nothing of coals, which are carried from the Asturias to the south, and of manufactures which might then be established in Castile and find a ready market by the Bay of Biscay; the excellent wines of

that sandy province, now scarcely paying for cultivation, would not only find a ready sale, but would be in the highest estimation; the oils would fetch their price, both for the table and for soap; and the corn, which in abundant seasons proves the ruin of the farmer, would be a source of opulence, and stimulate his industry to fresh exertions.

For want of such an outlet, provinces designed by nature to rejoice in plenty, and to furnish abundance for exportation, are often reduced to famine, and obliged to purchase corn from the surrounding nations. Considering such undertakings, and seeing them either languish for want of men and money, or not carried on with a spirit answerable to their vast importance, how natural is it to execrate the madness and folly of mankind, so often engaged in prosecuting unprofitable wars from motives of covetousness, or from the most idle jealousy and groundless apprehensions; spending those treasures for the molestation and abasement of their neighbours, which might be more profitably employed for their own emolument and exaltation, if expended in agricultural improvements, and the general fomentation of their industry. The whole annual expense of this canal is not equal to the construction of one ship of the line. Nay, we may venture to assert, that the men and money absurdly spent by Spain in the prosecution of the last war, would have finished forty canals equal to that I have been describing. The discussion would be long, but the proof is easy. Money is soon reckoned, if we omit the multiplied calculations needful to estimate its value according to the various channels in which it flows, and the purposes for which it is employed; but men are easily overlooked; yet, not one

one of these who falls in the vigour of his age, can be reckoned even in the first instance, at less than forty pounds, without taking into consideration the contingent injury in the loss of a subject who might have lived to become the parent of a numerous offspring.

Specification of the patent for preserving eggs sound for a considerable time, granted to Mr. W. Jayne, &c. [From the Repertory of Arts.]

TO all to whom these presents shall come, &c. Now KNOW YE that, in compliance with the said proviso, I, the said William Jayne, do hereby declare, that my said invention is described in manner following; that is to say, take and put into a tub or vessel one bushel, Winchester measure, of quick lime, thirty two ounces salt, eight ounces of cream of tartar, and mix the same together, with as much water as will reduce the composition, or mixture, to that consistence that it will cause an egg put into it, to swim with its top just above the liquid; then put, and keep, the eggs therein, which will preserve them perfectly sound for the space of two years at the least. In witness whereof, &c.

Specification of the patent for obtaining a larger quantity of pot and pearl ash from wood ashes that is commonly got, granted to George Glenny, of Bromley-Hill, in the county of Kent, esq. [From the same,]

TO all to whom these presents shall come, &c. Now KNOW

YE that, in compliance with the said proviso, I, the said George Glenny, do hereby declare that the method or invention used by me, for obtaining from wood ashes a greatly superior quantity of pot and pearl ashes than has hitherto been obtained, is as follows: namely, that the common ashes produced by burning wood must be completely calcined in a furnace; and, if a small proportion of lime be sifted among the wood ashes, before they are put into the calcining furnace, it will prevent them from vitrifying; but, if they are at times stirred with an iron rake, or other proper instrument, during the process of calcination, that will answer the purpose of adding the lime; and when the ashes are calcined into a fine powder the usual method may be pursued, but it is better to boil them in large vessels, especially in frosty weather. In witness whereof &c.

A remedy simple in its first appearance, yet found by experiment not only to be very efficacious, but even infallible, if early applied, against the tremendous consequences of the bite of a mad dog, made public for the common benefit of mankind; [From the Gentleman's Magazine.]

WHAT can be imagined more dreadful than a sudden transition from perfect health to one of the most miserable conditions to which man is liable?—When the venom of the bite of a mad dog begins to take effect, within a few days or weeks the unhappy sufferer may become hydrophobical, that is, dreading water, or any other liquid, in such a manner, that at the very sight of

of it he falls into terrible convulsions, and, notwithstanding he is tormented with an unquenchable thirst, it is impossible for him to swallow one single drop. At intervals he is quite out of his senses; and when the disease attacks him to a very high degree, he becomes raving mad, inclined to wound or bite any body who comes within his reach: and when he is in this miserable state, in which no relief can be administered, it has more than once been granted as an act of mercy, to put an end to the life of such an unhappy man, by smothering him betwixt two beds.—What an awful scene of misery!

Many years ago, this remedy, which I here send you, has been known in the province of Groningen, and the adjacent districts, where my father was physician for several years, and had often occasion to make trial of it. After repeated and constant success, my father judged this remedy so beneficial to the human species, as to communicate it to the medical society at Amsterdam, under the motto, *Servandis civibus*, in a letter dated Groningen, Aug. 17, 1781, under the title of “Observations on the Canine Madness.”

The manner in which this remedy is to be prepared, and must be taken, the author describes in the following manner, *viz.* Take three yolks of hen’s eggs, and oil olive as much as will fill three half egg-shells; put this together in a frying-pan on a gentle fire; by continually stirring it with a knife mix it well together, and continue doing this till it turns to a conserve, or thick jelly, which, when made, will fill a great tea-cup.

The manner of using it is as follows: He who is bitten must take,

(the sooner the better after the bite, the effect of the remedy being uncertain, if not applied within nine days) the above-mentioned dose two successive days, after he has fasted six hours, abstaining even from drink, which he likewise must do for six hours after he has taken it. When the patient has a wound, the wound must be scratched open twice a day, with a pen of firewood, for nine successive days, and every time the wound must be dressed with some of the same remedy. He who only has played with and caressed such a dog or has been licked by the same, takes (for precaution’s sake) only the abovementioned dose for one time.

To an animal of what kind soever, that is bitten, must be given, two successive days, a double portion of the same remedy; and neither meat nor drink six hours before, nor six hours after.

Notwithstanding little or no credit will perhaps be given by many readers to this simple remedy, I mean now, by some striking instances, to confirm the efficacy of it against the horrible consequences of the bite of a mad dog, both in men and in beasts. I have known this remedy almost from my infancy, and made use of it as cases required.

In the year 1765, in the month of May, on my voyage to my native city, London, to visit my friends residing there, passing through Amsterdam, where I had remained some days, I came accidentally to the Binnen Amstel, where I saw many people collected together.—Enquiring the reason, some of the spectators told me, that there was a man, who had been come home about an hour, bitten by a mad dog, and that he

he had a wife and three children. Elated with joy and hope that I could help this man, I desired them to let me pass. Coming into the house, I found the whole family in tears, for it was well known that the dog which had wounded the man was turned mad. I addressed myself to the man, consoled him, and assured them all, that, if they would submit to my advice, there was not the least danger. I gave them a prescription of the above-mentioned remedy, and the manner in which it was to be taken. In my return home, according to the promise I had made them at my departure, passing through Amsterdam again, which was in the month of August of the same year, I paid them another visit. To my great joy, I found that the man had made use of my remedy, and that he continued quite whole and sound. After the whole family had thanked me in a very obliging manner, with great satisfaction I took my leave.

In the month of June, 1770, my brother, now physician in Groningen, was bitten, by a small greyhound which we had in our house, in one of his fingers so severely that the wound bled very much; immediately after he bit also our two cats. Still we had not the least suspicion that the dog was mad, for nothing extraordinary appeared, and the wound was only dressed up with a linen rag. He ate and drank that whole day as usual. The next morning the dog was missing. Not long after, a man came to our house, and told us that our dog, which he had seen about the distance of three

miles, must certainly be mad, for he had bitten several dogs, and a sheep which was in the fields. The confidence which we had in this remedy, prevented any very great alarm. My brother took the remedy, according to the prescription, and by the mercy of God was preserved from every ill consequence. Likewise the dogs which were bitten, and to whom this remedy was given shewed no symptoms of madness, and remained free from every ill effect. But the sheep, which had not taken this remedy, turned mad.

In attestation of the great efficacy this remedy possesses in cases where animals are bitten by a mad dog, I think the following experiment on two dogs will be sufficient.

Mr. J. Fr. van der Piepen, living at the house of Mr. J. Stook, a late renowned physician in this city, as his attendant apothecary,* at my desire communicated the following case:

In the beginning of the year 1787, the 8th of January, Mr. van der Piepen, in the forenoon, having been out on some business, intending to go into the house, accompanied by two spaniels, ascending the steps, saw a little dog coming up, which bit one of his dogs; the other sought to save himself by flight, but was bitten with so much fury, that a part of his ear was torn off. Besides these, Mr. van der Piepen saw two other dogs bitten by the same. This accident being related to Mr. Stook, and it also being reported that a little dog in the neighbourhood was become mad, and this being afterwards confirmed,
Mr.

* In this city it is a privilege of some physicians to deliver to their patients medicines prepared by apothecaries at their own houses.

Mr. Stook desired, to prevent all mischief, that both the dogs should be shot: to which Mr. van der Piepen could not give his consent, recollecting that he had read somewhere of a remedy against the consequences of the bite of a mad dog. Finding this in the printed records of the Medical Society at Amsterdam above-mentioned, at his request Mr. Stook consented to make trial of this remedy. With this design, the dogs were securely chained to their kennels; the remedy, consisting of oil and eggs, was given them, according to the prescription; and the consequence was, that both the dogs were saved.

The singular effect which this remedy had on these dogs was, that they both sweat, all over their bodies, to such a degree, that the inside of their kennels was stained with it, and adhered so much to the walls, that great labour was necessary in order to scrub it off. The stench was so strong, as Mr. Stook told me, that only for a small time he could remain in the room where the dogs were; and almost all their hair was fallen off.

By this case I doubt not but every impartial reader will be convinced of the great efficacy this remedy has on the animal body, as it forced the sweat through the pores of their skin (otherwise not natural in this kind of animal), and of such an acridity, as to make their hairs fall off. That the little dog, by which the spaniels were bitten, has been mad, is proved by the neighbour's dog, which had been locked up for some days, having given evident signs of the hydrophobia, and for that reason was killed instantly.

That the above-mentioned remedy, consisting of oil and eggs, has

great power even when the hydrophobia is perceived, though not sufficient to save the person's life, will appear from the two examples which my father has related in the above-mentioned observations.

Above all, to shew the great power of this remedy by experience, I will give two instances, many years ago communicated to me by the very learned Mr. C. Eb. Muller, formerly a celebrated physician at Amsterdam.—The two men lived in the suburbs. They both were much indisposed, without knowing what was the matter with them. The wife of one of them told the physician, her husband could not drink, something was amiss with his throat, &c.—Mr. Muller ordered directly a glass tumbler full of water, and offered it to the patient, upon which he fell into strong convulsions; which proved to Mr. Muller, that the man was already hydrophobical, and had been bitten by a mad dog, which he afterwards related to his wife; on which she, with great astonishment, answered “Oh, that is true; but we did not know the animal was mad. It was a little dog, and happened about six weeks ago.” After this discovery, the doctor himself took the trouble to prepare the aforesaid remedy, to be certain of the effect it might have in this first trial. It was the third day that he dreaded water. The man took this remedy; and, observe, in a little while after he asked to drink, and drank more than a pint of clear water with great ease, and attesting a pleasure beyond all description. Half an hour after, he began to vomit plentifully a blackish matter, resembling curdled blood; after that he drank again, and as much as was sufficient to quench

quench his great thirst; though within six or seven hours after this he died.—Almost the same was the issue in the other case. The patient having taken the above-mentioned remedy, the hydrophobia abated, he drank plentifully, vomited the like matter continually, but he also died the next day.”

Notwithstanding the patients last mentioned could not be restored, or preserved from death, I think, however, these examples give a striking proof of the great effect of this remedy to relieve the hydrophobia in such a manner, that they could drink with ease, and quench their great thirst; a temporary pleasure to such unhappy men in their last moments. As this remedy is of that great power to remove the hydrophobia, I think we may conclude with confidence, on good foundation of reason, that, when this remedy is duly prepared and taken, under God's blessing it may be of that effect, as well in man as in beast, to prevent all the dreadful consequences of the bite of a mad dog.

That the above-mentioned remedy, how simple soever in its appearance, may be of that salutiferous effect as to prevent the consequences of the bite of a mad dog, will become more credible, if we make our reflections on the olive oil simply considered. This oil appears soft to the touch, and makes the bodies to which it is applied smooth and pliant. A drop of the oil, applied to the wound made by the bite or sting of a bee, wasp, or any other insect of that sort, will soon take away the pain and swelling caused thereby. In the first application it will give exquisite pain, but it ceases very soon. That the simple olive oil has even the power to de-

stroy totally the venom of the sting or the bite of a viper, and, when soon enough applied, to prevent the bad consequences of the bite of that animal, has been already long known in England. This also my father has known by experience in the year 1763. In the month of June he was sent for to a young man, about five-and-twenty years of age, plethoric, and sound of body. He was informed, that the patient, having been out to his turf lands, was bitten by a viper in his leg. With much pain and difficulty, he told my father, he had been more than two hours on the road, though he had not been three miles from his house. His leg and belly were much swelled; he was restless, thirsty, feverish, and very full of pain. On my father's order, the olive oil was immediately made warm, and the swollen parts rubbed therewith continually. After some time with repeated application, all the above mentioned symptoms seemingly abated. In confidence that the power of the venom was destroyed, the patient was advised to go into a warm bed, where he fell into a refreshing sleep, and into a free perspiration. After some hours, he rose very much refreshed; and the happy consequence was, that, the next day, or the day following, he was quite recovered, fit for his daily labour, and remained in good health.

After this time my father recommended to several persons, usually going into the fields or turf-lands to do their work, to take with them a bottle of oil olive for precaution's sake, which had been applied by many in similar cases with success.

Of this manner of curing the bite of a viper (as related to me by my

my father) is given the following proof. As it had been thought always necessary, in order to cure the bite of that animal, to make use of viper oil, that is, olive oil, in which a viper had died; William Oliver, a viper-catcher, living at Bath, addressed himself to the college of Physicians in London, and offered to give a proof, in his own person, that the single olive oil had the power to cure the bite of a viper; whose offer was accepted by the gentlemen of the faculty, who promised him a reward of fifty pounds when he had given the proof.

The man, who was near seventy years of age, with his wife, came on the appointed day, which was the first of June, 1734.—He suffered himself to be bit by a viper in the hand and thumb, in presence of many gentlemen. The venom infected him a little while after; his hand and thumb, and other parts of the body, were seen to swell to that degree, that, to get his clothes off they were obliged to rip the seams up, which made it plainly appear that the venom worked in him. His wife (who came to assist him) got leave of the gentlemen to perform the cure. She made a good quantity of olive oil warm, and rubbed therewith continually the affected and swollen parts (by intervals also he took a spoonful of oil inwardly), till the swelling and other

symptoms abated, and she knew the venom was destroyed. He was laid on a couch prepared for him, and made warm: he fell into a gentle sleep, accompanied with a mild perspiration. After six or seven hours, he was quite well, rose up, and, after he had taken something to refresh himself, to the surprize and satisfaction of all the gentlemen present, the viper-catcher and his wife, very well satisfied with their premium, took their leave of the gentlemen, and returned home.

This fact was inserted, by Dr. Mortimer, of London, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. x. p. 153.

As the single olive oil is found to be of that effect, not only to prevent the mischiefs of the bite of a viper, but also to cure the symptoms of the same when apparent, which I have proved by these instances, with a view to secure more confidence in the remedy against the dreadful consequences of the bite of a mad dog, and which I think of more peculiar value, as it is simple, almost always at hand, and may be by every body soon prepared; this communication, sir, I hope, may be acceptable; and that it may, by the blessing of God, be useful to mankind, is the sincere wish of your most humble servant,

A. J. AUGUSTUS LOOR,
Physician, at Rotterdam.

ANTIQUITIES.

ANTIQUITIES.

Copy of a letter from Oliver Cromwell to his wife, found among the papers of an eminent collector, lately deceased.

My dearest,
I HAVE not leisure to write much, but I could chide thee, that in many of thy letters thou writest to me, that I should not be unmindful of thee, and of thy little ones. Truly if I love thee not too well, I think I err not on the other hand much. Thou art dearer to me than any creature; let that suffice. The Lord hath shewed us an exceeding mercy: who can tell how great it is? My weak faith has been upheld; I have been in my inward man marvellously supported, though I assure thee, I grow an old man, and feel infirmities of age marvellously stealing upon me.—Would my corruptions did as fast decrease! Pray in my behalf in the latter respect. The particulars of our late success, Harry Vane or Gil. Pickering will impart to you. My love to all dear friends. Thine

O. CROMWELL.

Dunbar, Sept. 4, 1650.

Punishment of Alderman Reed, of London, in Henry VIII.'s time, for refusing to pay his share of a benevolence; from Lodge's Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners, in the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. Mary, Elizabeth, and James I.

tions of British History, Biography, and Manners, in the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. Mary, Elizabeth, and James I.

TO a long letter, dated January 27, 1544, and containing no other matter of importance, from the council to the earl of Shrewsbury, is added the following postscript:

“Postscripta. We send herewith a l^r to be conveyed w^t diligence to the warden of the Myddle Mchea, by the continents whereof yo^r Lordshippe may pceyve o^r pcedings w^t one Rede, an alderman of London, who repayrith down thither to srve in these ptes; praying y^r lordship, at his passing by youe, northwardes, to make hym as straunge cowntenance, as the lett^r appoynteth hym straunge srvice, for a man of that sort.

THOMS WRIOTHESLEY, Cancell.
 CHARLES SUFFOLK.

WILLM PAGET.

Indorsed, “Coppie of the lettre to S^r Raufe Evre.” 1544.

After o^r right harty commendacions. Wheras the king's highnes, being burdyned, as yow knowe, with the inestimable charge of his warres, (which his grace hath prosperously folowed, the space allmoost of oon hole yere and must pforce, for

for the necessary defence of the realme, therin contynue, it is not knowen how long,) hath, for the mayntaynaunce thereof, requyred lately a contribution, by waye of benevolence of his highnes' loving subjects; and began th' execution thereof, first, with us of his gracie's counsaile, whome his ma^{ty}, according unto o' moost bounden duties, founde in such conformitie, as we trust, was to his gracie's contentacion; and from us proceeding unto the citezens of London, found them also, upon such declaracon as was made unto them of the necessitie of the thyng, as honestly enclyned, to th' uttermost of their powers, as they saw the request to be grownded upon some reasonable cause; onely oon ther was, named Richard Reed, an aldremen of London, the said citie, who (notwithstanding bothe such necessary persuasions and declaracions, as for the purpose at great lengthe were shewed unto him; and the consent, also, and the conformitie therunto, of all his compayn) stode aloon in the refusall of the same; not onnly himself, upon a disobedient stomache, uttrelye denying to grow therein to the accomplishment of his dutye in that pte, butt thereby also giving example, as much as in oon man might lye, to breed a lyke difformitie in a great many of the rest. And forasmuch as for the defence of the realme, and him self, and for the contynuaunce of his quyett lief, he could not fynde in his harte to disburse a litle quantite of his substaunce, his ma^{ty} hath thought it much reason to cause him to do soon service for his countrey with his bodye, wherebye he might somewhat be instructed of the difference between the sitting quyetlye in his howse, and the

travaile and danger which others daily do sustain, whereby he hath been hether to mayntayned in the same; and for this purpose his grace hath thought good to send him unto yo' skoola, as yow shall pceyve by such l^{tr} as he shall deliver unto yow, there to serve as a souldyor, and yet both he and his men at his own chardge; requyryng you, not onnly as yow shall have occasion to send forthe to any place for the doing of any enterprise uppon the ennemyes, to cause him to ryde forthe to the same, and to do in all things as other souldyors are appointed to do, wth out respecte, but also to bestowe him in such a place in garryson, as he may fele what payng other poure souldyors abyde, abroad in the king's service, and know the smart of his folly and sturdy disobedience. Finally, you must use him in all things after the sharpe disciplyn militar of the northern warres. And thus, &c.

To o' very good lord the erle of Shrewsburye, the king's highnes' lieutenant in the north ptes."

We find afterwards, that this stubborn citizen was taken prisoner. On the 18th of March, 1544, in a letter, from the lords of the council, it is said. "Fynally, wher it appereth, thatt amongs other prisoners, Reed, the alderman of London, is prisoner in Scotland, his highnes pleasure is, thatt if ther may be any good mean devised for his redeeming, thatt yo' lordship shall also tak such good order for getting hym agayn as yow shall think most convenient."

Lord Herbert who slightly mentions this curious circumstance, informs us, with great sang froid, that the

the obstinate alderman's ransom amounted to far more than the sum demanded of him on account of the benevolence.

Copy of a letter from Henry the Eighth to Mrs. Coward, recommending a favourite servant, in the way of marriage; from the same.

Dere and wel belovid,

WE gret yow well; leetyng yow know, owre trusty and welbelovid servaunt Wylliam symonds, one of the sewers of owr chamber, hath shewid unto us, that for the womanly dysposysyon, good & vertus behaviour, & other commendabull vertewes, whiche he hath not only hard reportyd, but also senne and psevid in yow himselfe, at his last being in thos ptyes, he hath sett his harte and mynde that he is very desyrus to honowr yow by way of maryage, before all other creatures livinge; and, for the admonyshment of this his good and lawdible porpos, he hath made humble sewitte unto us, to writt unto yowe, and others, yowre lovinge fryndes, in his favor: We, consyderynge owr saide srvaunte's commendable requestes, his honest conversatyonne, and other manyfold vertuis; w^t also the trew and faytheful svis hertofore, many son-dery ways don unto us, as well in our warres as otherwise, and that he dayly doith about our psonne, for owr synguler contentasyon and pleasure; for the whiche we assewre yow we do tendre his pvysyonne accordyngly well, and desyre yow, at the contemplacyon of these owre leatters, to be of lyke benivolent mynde towards owr sayde svaunt, in suche wisse that matrymony, to

Gode's pleasure, may shortly be solempnisyd betwe ne yow bothe; wherby, in owre opynyon, yow shall not only do the thyng to the syngular comfort of yow both in tyme to come, but, by yowre so doing, yow may assewer yow, in all the causes reasonable of yow, or any yowre frynds, to be pursuyd unto us by owre servaunt herafter, ye shall have us good and graciou lord to yow bothe. And, to the intent that ye shall geve unto thys owre desyre the more faythfull credence, we do send yow her inclosed a tokenne, prayinge yow to intender the matter accordingly.

Order of council against certain stage players in the north; from the same.

Lords of the council to the earl of Shrewsbury.

AFTER our right hartie commendations to yo^r good lordship. Where as we have byn lately informed, that certaine lewde personnes, to the nombre of VI or VII in a company, naming themselfs to be servaunts unto Sir Frauncis Leek, end wearing his livery, and badge on theyr sleeves, have wandered about those north partes, and represented certain playes and interludes, conteyning very naughty and seditious matter, touching the king and queen's ma^{ty}, and the state of the realme, and to the slaunder of Christ's true and catholik religion, contrary to all good ordre, and to the manifest contempt of Almighty God, and daungerous example of others; we have thought mete to pray yo^r lordship, to gyve ordre forthwyth unto all the justices of the peace wth in your rule, that from henceforth

social life are so few, and so simple, that each man is sufficiently master of them all, to gratify every demand of his own limited desires. A savage can form his bow, point his arrows, rear his hut, and hollow his canoe, without calling in the aid of any hand more skilful than his own.* But when time has augmented the wants of men, the productions of art become so complicated in their structure, or so curious in their fabric, that a particular course of education is requisite towards forming the artist to ingenuity in contrivance and expertness in execution. In proportion as refinement spreads, the distinction of professions increases, and they branch out into more numerous and minute subdivisions. Prior to the records of authentic history, and even before the most remote æra to which their own traditions pretend to reach, this separation of professions had not only taken place among the natives of India, but the perpetuity of it was secured by an institution which must be considered as the fundamental article in the system of their policy. The whole body of the people was divided into four orders or casts. The members of the first, deemed the most sacred, had it for their province, to study the principles of religion; to perform its functions; and to cultivate the sciences. They were the priests, the instructors, and philosophers, of the nation. The members of the second order were entrusted with the government and defence of the state. In peace they were its rulers and magistrates, in war they were the soldiers who fought its battles. The third was

composed of husbandmen and merchants; and the fourth of artisans, labourers, and servants. None of these can ever quit his own cast, or be admitted into another.† The station of every individual is unalterably fixed; his destiny is irrevocable; and the walk of life is marked out, from which he must never deviate. This line of separation is not only established by civil authority, but confirmed and sanctioned by religion; and each order or cast is said to have proceeded from the Divinity in such a different manner, that to mingle and confound them would be deemed an act of most daring impiety. Nor is it between the four different tribes alone that such insuperable barriers are fixed; the members of each cast adhere invariably to the profession of their forefathers. From generation to generation, the same families have followed, and will always continue to follow, one uniform line of life.

Such arbitrary arrangements of the various members which compose a community, seems, at first view, to be adverse to improvement either in science or in arts; and by forming around the different orders of men artificial barriers, which it would be impious to pass, tends to circumscribe the operations of the human mind within a narrower sphere than nature has allotted to them. When every man is at full liberty to direct his efforts towards those objects, and that end which the impulse of his own mind prompts him to prefer, he may be expected to attain that high degree of eminence to which the uncontrolled exertion of genius and industry

* Hist. of Amer. vol. iii. 165.

† Ayeen Akbery, iii. 81, &c. Sketches relating to the History, &c. of the Hindoos, p. 107, &c.

dustry naturally conduct. The regulations of Indian policy, with respect to the different orders of men, must necessarily, at some times, check genius in its career, and confine to the functions of an inferior cast, talents fitted to shine in a higher sphere. But the arrangements of civil government are made, not for what is extraordinary, but for what is common; not for the few but for the many. The object of the first Indian legislators was to employ the most effectual means of providing for the subsistence, the security, and happiness, of all the members of the community over which they presided. With this view they set apart certain races of men for each of the various professions and arts necessary in a well-ordered society, and appointed the exercise of them to be transmitted from father to son in succession. This system, though extremely repugnant to the ideas which we, by being placed in a very different state of society, have formed, will be found, upon attentive inspection, better adapted to attain the end in view, than a careless observer is, on a first view, apt to imagine. The human mind bends to the law of necessity, and is accustomed, not only to accommodate itself to the restraints which the condition of its nature, or the institutions of its country, impose, but to acquiesce in them. From his entrance into life, an Indian knows the station allotted to him, and the functions to which he is destined by his birth. The objects which relate to these are the first that present themselves to his view. They occupy his thoughts, or employ his hands; and from his earliest years, he is trained to the habit of doing, with ease and plea-

sure, that which he must continue through life to do. To this may be ascribed that high degree of perfection conspicuous in many of the Indian manufactures; and though veneration for the practices of their ancestors may check the spirit of invention, yet, by adhering to these, they acquire such an expertness and delicacy of hand, that Europeans, with all the advantages of superior science, and the aid of more complete instruments, have never been able to equal the exquisite execution of their workmanship. While this high improvement of their more curious manufactures excited the admiration, and attracted the commerce, of other nations, the separation of professions in India, and the early distribution of the people into classes, attached to particular kinds of labour, secured such abundance of the more common and useful commodities, as not only supplied their own wants, but ministered to those of the countries around them.

To this early division of the people into casts, we must likewise ascribe a striking peculiarity in the state of India; the permanence of its institutions, and the immutability in the manners of its inhabitants. What now is in India, always was there, and is likely still to continue: neither the ferocious violence and illiberal fanaticism of its Mahomedan conquerors, nor the power of its European masters, have effected any considerable alteration. The same distinctions of condition take place, the same arrangements in civil and domestic society remain, the same maxims of religion are held in veneration, and the same sciences and arts are cultivated. Hence, in

all ages, the trade with India has been the same ; gold and silver have uniformly been carried thither in order to purchase the same commodities with which it now supplies all nations ; and from the age of Pliny to the present times, it has been always considered and execrated as a gulph which swallows up the wealth of every other country, that flows incessantly towards it, and from which it never returns. According to the accounts which I have given of the cargoes anciently imported from India, they appear to have consisted of nearly the same articles with those of the investments in our own times ; and whatever difference we may observe in them seems to have arisen, not so much from any diversity in the nature of the commodities which the Indians prepared for sale, as from a variety in the tastes, or in the wants, of the nations which demanded them.

Another proof of the early and high civilization of the people of India, may be deduced from considering their political constitution and form of government. The Indians trace back the history of their own country through an immense succession of ages, and assert, that all Asia, from the mouth of the Indus on the west, to the confines of China on the east, and from the mountains of Thibet on the north, to Cape Comorin on the south, formed a vast empire, subject to one mighty sovereign, under whom ruled several hereditary princes and rajahs. But their chronology, which measures the life of man in ancient times by thousands of years, and computes the length of the several periods, during which it supposes the world to have existed, by millions, is so

wildly extravagant, as not to merit any serious discussion. We must rest satisfied, then, until some more certain information is obtained with respect to the ancient history of India, with taking the first accounts of that country, which can be deemed authentic, from the Greeks, who served under Alexander the Great. They found kingdoms of considerable magnitude established in that country. The territories of Porus and of Taxiles comprehended a great part of the Panjab, one of the most fertile and best cultivated countries in India. The kingdom of the Prasij, or Gandaridæ, stretched to a great extent on both sides of the Ganges. All the three, as appears from the ancient Greek writers, were powerful and populous.

This description of the partition of India into states of such magnitude, is alone a convincing proof of its having advanced far in civilization. In whatever region of the earth there has been an opportunity of observing the progress of men in social life, they appear at first in small independent tribes or communities. Their common wants prompt them to unite ; and their mutual jealousies, as well as the necessity of securing subsistence, compel them to drive to a distance every rival who might encroach on those domains which they consider as their own. Many ages elapse before they coalesce, or acquire sufficient foresight to provide for the wants, or sufficient wisdom to conduct the affairs of a numerous society. Even under the genial climate, and in the rich soil of India, more favourable perhaps to the union and increase of the human species than any other part of the globe, the formation of such

such extensive states, as were established in that country when first visited by Europeans, must have been a work of long time ; and the members of them must have been long accustomed to exertions of useful industry.

Though monarchical government was established in all the countries of India to which the knowledge of the ancients extended, the sovereigns were far from possessing uncontrolled or despotic power. No trace, indeed, is discovered there of any assembly or public body, the members of which, either in their own right, or as representatives of their fellow-citizens, could interpose in enacting laws or in superintending the execution of them. Institutions destined to assert and guard the rights belonging to men in a social state, how familiar soever the idea may be to the people of Europe, never formed a part of the political constitution in any great Asiatic kingdom. It was to different principles that the natives of India were indebted for restrictions which limited the exercise of regal power. The rank of individuals was unalterably fixed, and the privileges of the different casts were deemed inviolable. The monarchs of India, who are all taken from the second of the four classes formerly described, which is intrusted with the functions of government and exercise of war, behold among their subjects an order of men far superior to themselves in dignity, and so conscious of their own pre-eminence, both in rank and in sanctity, that

they would deem it degradation and pollution, if they were to eat of the same food with their sovereign.* Their persons are sacred, and even for the most heinous crimes they cannot be capitally punished; their blood must never be shed.† To men in this exalted station monarchs must look up with respect, and reverence them as the ministers of religion, and the teachers of wisdom. On important occasions, it is the duty of sovereigns to consult them, and to be directed by their advice. Their admonitions, and even their censures, must be received with submissive respect. This right of the Brahmins, to offer their opinion with respect to the administration of public affairs, was not unknown to the ancients ; ‡ and in some account preserved in India of the events which happened in their own country, princes are mentioned, who, having violated the privileges of the casts, and disregarded the remonstrances of the Brahmins, were deposed by their authority, and put to death. §

While the sacred rights of the Brahmins opposed a barrier against the encroachments of regal power on the one hand, it was circumscribed on the other by the ideas which those who occupied the highest stations in society entertained of their own dignity and privileges. As none but the members of the cast next in rank to that which religion has rendered sacred, could be employed in any function of the state, the sovereigns of the extensive kingdoms anciently established in

* Orme's Dissert. vol. i. p. 4 Sketches, &c. p. 113.

† Code of Gentoo Laws, ch. xxi. § 10. p. 275, 283, &c.

‡ Strabo, lib. 15. p. 1029.C.

§ Account of the qualities requisite in a magistrate, prefixed by the Pundits to the Code of Gentoo Laws, p. 102. and 116.

in India, found it necessary to entrust them with the superintendence of the cities and provinces too remote to be under their own immediate inspection. In these stations they often acquired such wealth and influence, that offices conferred during pleasure, continued in their families, and they came gradually to form an intermediate order between the sovereign and his subjects; and by the vigilant jealousy with which they maintained their own dignity and privileges, they constrained their rulers to respect them, and to govern with equity.

Nor were the benefits of these restraints upon the power of the sovereign confined wholly to the two superior orders in the state; they extended, in some degree, to the third class, employed in agriculture. The labours of that numerous and useful body of men are so essential to the preservation and happiness of society, that the greatest attention was paid to render their condition secure and comfortable. According to the ideas which prevailed among the natives of India (as we are informed by the first Europeans who visited their country), the sovereign is considered as the sole universal proprietor of all the land in his dominions, and from him is derived every species of tenure by which his subjects can hold it. These lands were let out to the farmers who cultivated them, at a stipulated rent, amounting usually to a fourth part of their annual produce paid in kind. * In a country where the price of work is extremely low, and where the labour of cultivation is very inconsiderable, the earth yielding its

productions almost spontaneously, where subsistence is amazingly cheap, where few clothes are needed, and houses are built and furnished at little expence, this rate cannot be deemed exorbitant or oppressive. As long as the husbandman continued to pay the established rent, he retained possession of the farm, which descended, like property from father to son.

These accounts given by ancient authors of the condition and tenure of the renters of land in India, agree so perfectly with what now takes place, that it may be considered almost as a description of the present state of its cultivation. In every part of India, where the native Hindoo princes retain dominion, the *Ryots*, the modern name by which the renters of land are distinguished, hold their possessions by a lease, which may be considered as perpetual, and at a rate fixed by ancient surveys and valuations. This arrangement has been so long established, and accords so well with the ideas of the natives, concerning the distinctions of casts, and the functions allotted to each, that it has been inviolably maintained in all the provinces subject either to Mahomedans or Europeans; and, to both, it serves as the basis on which their whole system of finance is founded. In a more remote period, before the original institutions of India were subverted by foreign invaders, the industry of the husbandman, on which every member of the community depended for subsistence, was as secure as the tenure by which he held his lands was equitable. Even war did not inter-

rupt

rupt his labours, or endanger his property. It was not uncommon, we are informed, that while two hostile armies were fighting a battle in one field, the peasants were ploughing or reaping in the next field in perfect tranquillity.* These maxims and regulations of the ancient legislators of India have a near resemblance to the system of those ingenious modern speculators on political economy, who represent the produce of land as the sole source of wealth in every country, and who consider the discovery of this principle, according to which they contend, that the government of nations should be conducted, as one of the greatest efforts of human wisdom. Under a form of government, which paid such attention to all the different orders of which the society is composed, particularly the cultivators of the earth, it is not wonderful that the ancients should describe the Indians as a most happy race of men ; and that the most intelligent modern observers should celebrate the equity, the humanity, and mildness, of Indian policy. A Hindoo rajah, as I have been informed by persons well acquainted with the state of India, resembles more a father presiding in a numerous family of his own children, than a sovereign ruler over inferiors, subject to his dominion. He endeavours to secure their happiness with vigilant solicitude ; they are attached to him with the most tender affection and inviolable fidelity. We can hardly conceive men to be placed in any state more favorable to their acquiring all the advantages derived from social union. It is

only when the mind is perfectly at ease and neither feels nor dreads oppression, that it employs its active powers in forming numerous arrangements of police, for securing its enjoyments and increasing them. Many arrangements of this nature the Greeks, though accustomed to their own institutions, the most perfect at that time in Europe, observed and admired among the Indians, and mention them as instances of high civilization and improvement. There were established among the Indians three distinct classes of officers, one of which had it in charge to inspect agriculture, and every kind of country work. They measured the portions of land allotted to each renter. They had the custody of the *Tanks*, or public reservoirs of water, without a regular distribution of which, the fields in a torrid climate cannot be rendered fertile. They marked out the course of the highways, along which, at certain distances, they erected stones, to measure the road and direct travellers. To officers of a second class was committed the inspection of the police in cities, and their functions, of course, were many and various ; some of which only I shall specify. They appropriated houses for the reception of strangers ; they protected them from injury, provided for their subsistence, and, when seized with any disease, they appointed physicians to attend them ; and, on the event of their death, they not only buried them with decency, but took charge of their effects, and restored them to their relations. They kept exact registers of births and of deaths. They vi-
sited,

* Strab. lib. xv. p. 1030. A.

sited the public markets and examined weights and measures. The third class of officers superintended the military department; but, as the objects to which their attention was directed are foreign from the subject of my inquiries, it is unnecessary to enter into any detail with respect to them.*

As manners and customs in India descend almost without variation from age to age, many of the peculiar institutions which I have enumerated still subsist there. There is still the same attention to the construction and preservation of tanks, and the distribution of their waters. The direction of roads, and placing stones along them, is still an object of police. *Choultries*, or houses built for the accommodation of travellers are frequent in every part of the country, and are useful as well as noble monuments of Indian munificence and humanity. It is only among men in the most improved state of society, and under the best forms of government, that we discover institutions similar to those which I have described; and many nations have advanced far in their progress, without establishing an arrangement of police equally perfect.

In estimating the progress which any nation has made in civilization, the object that merits the greatest degree of attention, next to its political constitution, is the spirit of the laws, and nature of the forms by which its judicial proceedings are regulated. In the early and rude ages of society, the few disputes with respect to property which arise, are terminated by the interposition of the old men, or by the au-

thority of the chiefs in every small tribe or community; their decisions are dictated by their own discretion, or founded on plain and obvious maxims of equity. But as controversies multiply, cases similar to such as have been formerly determined must recur, and the awards upon these grow gradually into precedents, which serve to regulate future judgements. Thus, long before the nature of property is defined by positive statutes, or any rules prescribed concerning the mode of acquiring or conveying it, there is gradually formed, in every state, a body of customary or common law, by which judicial proceedings are directed, and every decision conformable to it is submitted to with reverence, as the result of the accumulated wisdom and experience of ages.

In this state, the administration of justice seems to have been in India when first visited by Europeans. Though the Indians, according to their account, had no written laws, but determined every controverted point, by recollecting what had been formerly decided;† they assert, that justice was dispensed among them with great accuracy, and that crimes were most severely punished.‡ But in this general observation is contained all the intelligence which the ancients furnish concerning the nature and forms of judicial proceedings in India. From the time of Megasthenes, no Greek or Roman of any note appears to have resided long enough in the country, or to have been so much acquainted with the customs of the natives, as to be capable of entering into any detail with

* Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1034. A. &c. Diod. Sicul. lib ii. p. 354.

† Strabo, lib. xv 1035. D.

‡ Diod. Sicul. lib ii. p. 154.

with respect to a point of so much importance in their policy. Fortunately, the defects of their information have been amply supplied by the more accurate and extensive researches of the moderns. During the course of almost three centuries, the number of persons who have resorted from Europe to India has been great. Many of them, who have remained long in the country, and were persons of liberal education and enlarged minds, have lived in such familiar intercourse with the natives, and acquired so competent a knowledge of their languages, as enabled them to observe their institutions with attention, and to describe them with fidelity. Respectable as their authority may be, I shall not, in what I offer for illustrating the judicial proceedings of the Hindoos, rest upon it alone, but shall derive my information from sources higher and more pure.

Towards the middle of the sixteenth century, Akber, the sixth in descent from Tamerlane, mounted the throne of Indostan. He is one of the few sovereigns intitled to the appellation both of great and good, and the only one of Mahomedan race, whose mind appears to have risen so far above all the illiberal prejudices of that fanatical religion in which he was educated, as to be capable of forming a plan worthy of a monarch who loved his people, and was solicitous to render them happy. As, in every province of his extensive dominions, the Hindoos formed the great body of his subjects, he laboured to acquire a perfect knowledge of their religion, their sciences, their laws and institu-

tions; in order that he might conduct every part of his government, particularly the administration of justice, in a manner as much accommodated as possible to their own ideas. In this generous undertaking he was seconded with zeal by his vizier Abul Fazel, a minister, whose understanding was not less enlightened than that of his master. By their assiduous researches, and consultation of learned men,* such information was obtained as enabled Abul Fazel to publish a brief compendium of Hindoo jurisprudence in the *Ayeen Akbery*,† which may be considered as the first genuine communication of its principles to persons of a different religion.‡ About two centuries afterwards, the illustrious example of Akber was imitated and surpassed by Mr. Hastings, the governor general of the British settlements in India. By his authority, and under his inspection, the most eminent Pundits, or Brahmins learned in the laws, of the provinces over which he presided, were assembled at Calcutta; and, in the course of two years, compiled, from their most ancient and approved authors, sentence by sentence, without addition or diminution, a full code of Hindoo laws;|| which is, undoubtedly, the most valuable and authentic elucidation of Indian policy and manners that has been hitherto communicated to Europe.

According to the Pundits, some of the writers upon whose authority they found the decrees which they have inserted in the Code, lived several millions of years before their time; § and they boast of having a succession

* *Ayeen Akbery*. A. vol. iii. p. 95.

† Vol. iii, p. 197, &c.

‡ A. D. 1773.

|| Preface to the Code, p. 10.

§ Ibid. p. xxxviji.

succession of expounders of their laws from that period to the present. Without entering into any examination of what is so extravagant, we may conclude, that the Hindoos have in their possession treatises, concerning the laws and jurisprudence of their country, of more remote antiquity than are to be found in any other nation. The truth of this depends not upon their own testimony alone, but it is put beyond doubt by one circumstance, that all these treatises are written in the Sanskreet language, which has not been spoken for many ages in any part of Indostan, and is now understood by none but the most learned Brahmins. That the Hindoos were a people highly civilized, at the time when their laws were composed, is most clearly established by internal evidence contained in the Code itself. Among nations beginning to emerge from barbarism, the regulations of law are extremely simple, and applicable only to a few obvious cases of daily occurrence. Men must have been long united in a social state, their transactions must have been numerous and complex, and judges must have determined an immense variety of controversies to which these give rise, before the system of law becomes so voluminous and comprehensive as to direct the judicial proceedings of a nation far advanced in improvement. In that early age of the Roman republic, when the laws of the Twelve Tables were promulgated, nothing more was required than the laconic injunctions which they contain for regulating the decisions of courts of justice; but, in a later period, the body of civil law, ample as its contents are, was found hardly sufficient for that purpose. To the jejune

brevity of the Twelve Tables, the Hindoo Code has no resemblance, but with respect to the number and variety of points it considers, it will bear a comparison with the celebrated digest of Justinian; or with the systems of jurisprudence in nations most highly civilized. The articles of which the Hindoo Code is composed, are arranged in natural and luminous order. They are numerous and comprehensive, and investigated with that minute attention and discernment which are natural to a people distinguished for acuteness and subtilty of understanding, who have been long accustomed to the accuracy of judicial proceedings, and acquainted with all the refinements of legal practice. The decisions concerning every point (with a few exceptions occasioned by local prejudices and peculiar customs) are founded upon the great and immutable principles of justice which the human mind acknowledges and respects, in every age, and in all parts of the earth. Whoever examines the whole work, cannot entertain a doubt of its containing the jurisprudence of an enlightened and commercial people. Whoever looks into any particular title, will be surprised with a minuteness of detail and nicety of distinction, which, in many instances, seem to go beyond the attention of European legislation; and it is remarkable that some of the regulations which indicate the greatest degree of refinement, were established in periods of the most remote antiquity. "In the first of the sacred law tracts (as is observed by a person to whom oriental literature, in all its branches, has been greatly indebted,) which the Hindoos suppose to have been revealed

revealed by Menu some millions of years ago, there is a curious passage on the legal interest of money, and the limited rate of it in different cases, with an exception in regard to adventures at sea; an exception which the sense of mankind approves, and which commerce absolutely requires, though it was not before the reign of Charles I. that our English jurisprudence fully admitted it in respect of maritime contracts.* It is likewise not unworthy of notice, that though the natives of India have been distinguished in every age for the humanity and mildness of their disposition, yet

such is the solicitude of their law-givers to preserve the order and tranquillity of society, that the punishments which they inflict on criminals, are (agreeably to an observation of the ancients already mentioned) extremely rigorous. "Punishment (according to a striking personification in the Hindoo Code) is the magistrate; punishment is the inspirer of terror; punishment is the nourisher of the subjects; punishment is the defender from calamity; punishment is the guardian of those that sleep; punishment, with a black aspect, and a red eye, terrifies the guilty."†

* Sir William Jones's Third Discourse, Asia. Research. p. 421.

† Code, ch. xxi. § 8.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Copy of a letter from John Dunning, esq. to a gentleman of the Inner Temple; containing directions to the student.*

Lincoln's Inn, March 3, 1779.

Dear sir,

THE habits of intercourse in which I have lived with your family, joined to the regard which I entertain for yourself, makes me solicitous, in compliance with your request, to give you some hints concerning the study of the law.

Our profession is generally ridiculed as being dry and uninteresting; but a mind anxious for the discovery of truth and information will be amply gratified for the toil, in investigating the origin and progress of a jurisprudence which has the good of the people for its basis, and the accumulated wisdom and experience of ages for its improvement. Nor is the study itself so intricate as has been imagined; more especially since the labours of some modern writers have given it a more regular and scientific form. Without industry, however, it is impossible to arrive at any eminence in practice; and the man who shall be bold enough to attempt excellence by abilities alone, will soon find himself foiled by many who have inferior understandings, but better attainments. On the other hand, the

most painful plodder can never arrive at celebrity by mere reading; a man calculated for success, must add to native genius an instinctive faculty in the discovery and retention of that knowledge only, which can be at once useful and productive.

I imagine that a considerable degree of learning is absolutely necessary. The elder authors frequently wrote in Latin, and the foreign jurists continue the practice to this day. Besides this, classical attainments contribute much to the refinement of the understanding, and the embellishment of the style. The utility of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, are known and felt by every one. Geometry will afford the most apposite examples of close and pointed reasoning; and geography is so very necessary in common life, that there is less credit in knowing, than dishonour in being unacquainted with it. But it is history, and more particularly that of his own country, which will occupy the attention and attract the regard of the great lawyer. A minute knowledge of the political revolutions and judicial decisions of our predecessors, whether in the more ancient or modern æras of our government, is equally useful and interesting. This will include a narrative of all the material alterations in the Common

* Afterwards Lord Ashburton, for a sketch of his character, see our 23rd. volume, p. 39.

mon Law, and the reasons and exigencies on which they were founded.

I would always recommend a diligent attendance on the courts of justice, as by that means the practice of them (a circumstance of great moment) will be easily and naturally acquired. Besides this, a much stronger impression will be made on the mind by the statement of the case, and the pleadings of the counsel, than from a cold uninteresting detail of it in a report. But above all, a trial at bar, or a special argument, should never be neglected. As it is usual on these occasions to take notes, a knowledge of shorthand will give such facility to your labours, as to enable you to follow the most rapid speaker with certainty and precision. Common-place books are convenient and useful; and, as they are generally lettered, a reference may be had to them in a moment. It is usual to acquire some insight into real business under an eminent special pleader previous to actual practice at the bar: this idea I beg leave strongly to second, and indeed I have known but a few great men who have not possessed this advantage, I here subjoin a list of books necessary for your perusal and instruction, to which I have added some remarks; and wishing that you may add to a successful practice, that integrity which can alone make you worthy of it,

I remain, &c. &c.

JOHN DUNNING.

Read Hume's History of England, particularly observing the rise, progress, and declension of the feudal system. Minutely attend to the Saxon government that preceded

it, and dwell on the reigns of Edward I.—Henry VI.—Henry VII. Henry VIII.—James I.—Charles I. Charles II. and James II.

Blackstone. On the second reading turn to the references.

Mr. Justice Wright's learned Treatise on Tenures.

Coke Littleton, especially every word of Fee-Simple, Fee-Tail, and Tenant in Tail.

Coke's Institutes; more particularly the 1st and 11d; and Serjeant Hawkins's Compendium.

Coke's Reports.—Flowden's Commentary.—Bacon's Abridgement; and First Principles of Equity.—Pigott on Fines.—Reports of Croke, Burrow, Raymond, Saunders, Strange, and Peere Williams.—Paley's Maxims.—Lord Bacon's Elements of the Common Law.

Course of study in law, recommended by lord Mansfield to Mr. Drummond, 1774.

FOR general ethics, which are the foundation of all law, read Xenophon's Memorabilia, Tully's Offices, and Woolaston's Religion of Nature. You may likewise look into Aristotle's Ethics, which you will not like; but it is one of those books, *quid limine salutandi sunt ne verba nobis dentur*.

For the law of nations, which is partly founded on the law of nature, and partly positive, read Grotius, and Puffendorf in Barbeyrac's translation, and Burlamaqui's Droit Naturel: as these authors treat the same subject in the heads, they may be read together and compared.

When you have laid this foundation, it will be time to look into those,

those systems of positive law that have prevailed in their turn. You will begin of course with the Roman Law ; for the history of which read Gravina's elegant work *De Ortu et Progressu Juris Civilis* ; then read and study Justinian's Institutes, without any other comment than the short one by Vinnius. Long comments would only confound you ; and make your head spin round. Dip occasionally into the Pandects. After this, it will be proper to acquire a general idea of feudal law and the feudal system, which is so interwoven with almost every constitution in Europe, that without some knowledge of it, it is impossible to understand modern history. Read Craig De Feudis, an admirable book for matter and method ; and dip occasionally into the Corpus Juris Feudalis, while you are reading Giannone's History of Naples, one of the ablest and most instructive books that ever was written. These writers are not sufficient to give you a thorough knowledge of the subjects they treat of ; but they will give you general notions, general leading principles, and lay the best foundation that can be laid for the study of any municipal law, such as the law of England, Scotland, France, &c. &c.

Thoughts on the late revolution in France, and on the free constitution of England ; from the second volume of " Mitford's History of Greece," just published.

PLUTARCH relates of Alcibiades, that when, on his recall from Sicily, he avoided returning to Athens, being asked, ' If he could not trust his country ? ' he replied

' Yes, ; for every thing else ; but in a trial for life, not my mother ; lest by mistake she should put a black ball for a white one.' Whatever authority there may have been for this anecdote, it contains a very just reproof of the Athenian mode of giving judgment on life and death, by a secret ballot ; which, without preventing corruption, excludes responsibility and covers shame.

But while, under the security of our own admirable constitution, we wonder at the defective polity of a people whom we find so many causes to admire, it is not a little advantageous for the writer of Grecian history, that circumstances have been occurring, in a nation calling itself the most polished of the most polished age of the world, which render all the atrocious, and before scarcely credible, violences of faction among the Greeks, not only probable, but almost make them appear moderate. At the same time it may not be digressing improperly to remark, that as what has been passing in France may tend to illustrate Grecian history, and to exculpate the Grecian character from any innate atrocity, beyond what is common among other nations, there occurs also in Grecian history what may enable to form a juster estimate of the French character, than a view of the late enormities, compared only with what has at any time passed in our own country, might lead us to conceive ; and if the inability of wise and worthy men, such as undoubtedly must exist in France, to hold their just influence among the people, and prevent those disgraceful proceedings, appears itself a disgrace both to themselves and to the nation, Grecian history and the extant writings of the ablest Grecian politicians

cians, will perhaps furnish their fairest apology.

For, of so many men of the brightest talents and highest acquirements, as in Greece, turned their thoughts, with the closest attention, to a subject so universally and deeply interesting, not one seems to have been able even to imagine a form of government which might in a great nation reconcile the jarring pretensions arising from that variety of rank among men, without which even small societies cannot subsist. Our own writers, through mere familiarity with the object, as foreigners from unacquaintance with it, have very much overlooked what, in importance, is perhaps not inferior to any one circumstance in the singular constitution of our government. It is not till since the troubles in France began, that a refugee who has been in situations enabling him to see, and compelling him to observe, has discovered what, but for those troubles, would, perhaps never have occurred to his notice, that, 'nowhere else in the world such harmony subsists between the several ranks of citizens as in England.'*

This harmony is indeed the foundation, the firm foundation, on which the proud superstructure of the British constitution rests. Ranks vary as much, or perhaps more than elsewhere. But no one rank has that gigantic pre-eminence which can enable it to trample upon its next inferior. In the scale of subordination, the distance from top to bottom is great; but the gradation is scarcely perceptible, and the connection intimate. Each rank is in-

terested in the support of its next superior; for none are excluded from the hope of rising; and, of all the various ranks, the highest is most interested in the support of all. We cannot consider without wonder, that an order of things, apparently the most natural, never subsisted in any country but our own.

It has not always perhaps been duly recollected by speculative politicians, that among the ancient republics no such order of citizens existed as that which in Paris lately assumed despotic power, and, while the representatives of the nation were deliberating on the rights of man, trampled under foot all rights. The functions of that order of citizens were, in Athens, performed by slaves; and without keeping this circumstance constantly in mind, we cannot but be liable to the grossest error in applying the rules of ancient policy to modern times. Those writers who would infer, that formerly the lower ranks of people in England were not free, because the lowest ranks were actually slaves, attempt a fallacy upon their readers. In treating of Athens, Lacedæmon, or Rome, they would have distinguished, as they ought to do, slaves from citizens. It is unquestionable, that, from the Anglo-Saxon conquest downward, the constitution of this country has been always free; and though, in unsettled times, and especially under the first Norman kings, law might be overborne by the violence of accidental power, yet both the law, and the established mode of administering the law, never were otherwise than highly

* Lettre au Roi, par M. de Calonne.

y and even singularly favourable to the freedom and property of the lowest citizens.*

Or is it, I apprehend, as some political writers have asserted, of importance to trace the freedom of the constitution of this country and the civil wars of the last century. For the purpose indeed of establishing the right of the English people to freedom, it is unnecessary. But toward a comprehension of the constitution itself; toward a certain knowledge of the broad and deep foundation on which it rests; toward a ready and just perception of the manner in which it may be affected through the various changes which all human things are liable to, some of which we have already seen; extension of dominion, influx of riches, increase of population, increase of revenue, immoderate debt; toward this, an acquaintance with the history of our constitution, from the earliest times, is of great importance.

It then, it is to ourselves important to know the history of our constitution from earliest times, it will

also be not a little important to other nations if any such there are, who would form a constitution on the model of ours, or who would improve the constitution they possess after our example. Nor will it be less important to those who, without any good foundation to build on and without any valuable experience within their own country, propose to raise, with the airy materials of theory, a constitution more perfect than the most perfect that has yet existed upon earth. For want of attention to the breadth and antique firmness of the basis on which our envied and truly enviable government rests, the singular manner in which the materials of the superstructure are adapted to each other, and how they are held together by their natural fitness to coalesce, the complexion of Europe seems to threaten many new and memorable lessons in politics: lessons for every order that can exist in a state separately, and lessons for nations united. Happy, then, those who, gathering wisdom from the sufferings and dangers of others, can avoid the miseries which many will probably feel.†

Obser-

It seems to deserve a notice which, I think, it has not yet met with, that the monarchs to whom our constitution is most indebted, Alfred, Henry II. and Edward I. conquerors. It is certainly a most unworthy slander upon those uncommon great monarchs as well as upon the parliaments, from Edward I. till the time when Fortescue, under Henry VI. to assert, as often has been done, that England had no valuable constitution, and no true freedom, till the opposition to the Stuarts, or, till the expulsion of the Stuarts, procured them.

As M. de Calonne's letter, above referred to, though printed, was never published, it may not be superfluous to give here, in its original language, the passage where the revolution noticed occurs.

J'ignorois, lorsque j'ai commencé cette lettre, à quel point la division éclatoit déjà entre la noblesse et le tiers-état, dans les différentes provinces de votre royaume: depuis que je l'ai appris, j'en frémis. Vu la situation, où les choses ont été amenées, il n'y a lieu d'espérer que la concorde puisse se rétablir d'elle-même, et sans qu'on ait extirpé les germes de dissension qu'on n'a que trop fomentés. Il faut donc y pourvoir par quelque moyen nouveau, puissant, et efficace. Celui que je propose est éprouvé. C'est celui qui qu'il existe en Angleterre, entre les grands et le peuple, plus d'accord, qu'il n'y

Observations respecting the history of physiognomy, by Thomas Cowper, esq. ; from "Memoirs of the Manchester Literary Society," vol. 3.

THE dispute among the literati of the last century, on the comparative merit of the ancients and moderns, has at length subsided. The few late attempts, by some of our

n'y en a, je pense, dans aucune autre nation ; nulle part ailleurs l'esprit public n'est aussi marqué ; nulle part l'intérêt n'a plus d'empire pour réunir tous les états.

"Or il est constant que rien n'y contribue davantage que l'institution d'une chambre haute et d'une chambre basse dans le parlement, ainsi que leur composition respective, les distinctions qui les separent, et les rapports qui les unissent. Plus on étudie cet ensemble, plus on trouve à l'admirer : Les lords qui forment le chambre haute, et qui tous sont titrés (ce sont les seuls qui le soient en Angleterre,) partagent dans une même association, sans préjudice néanmoins à leurs qualifications diverses, l'honneur de la pairie ; et c'est, sans contredit, le premier corps de l'état. Leur prérogative n'est jamais contestée ni enviée par les communes, qui ont parmi leurs membres, leurs cadets, les frères, les parens, de ces mêmes lords at des plus grandes maisons du royaume. C'est ce mélange, cette transfusion, si je le puis dire, de la plus haute noblesse dans le corps représentatif du peuple, qui entretient l'harmonie entre l'un et l'autre, et qui resserre le nœud de leur union ; c'est ce qui fait que les deux chambres fraternisent sans se confondre, qu'elles se contrebalancent sans se rivaliser, que l'une empêche l'autre d'empiéter, et que toutes deux concourent également au maintien de la prérogative royale, et à la conservation des droits nationaux." Lettre adressée au roi, par M. de Calonne, le 9 Fevrier, 1789, p. 67, 68 &c.

The very great advantage to a free constitution, of having an hereditary first magistrate the depositary of the supreme executive power, so distinguished by superior rank, as to exclude all idea of competition, has been very well explained by M. de Lolme ; but the benefit of that singular amalgamation of various rank among the people, which prevails in England, has, I think, nowhere been duly noticed. In no court of Europe, I believe, is rank so exactly regulated among the higher orders, as in England, and yet there is no rank perfectly insulated ; all are in some way implicated with those about them. To begin even with the heir apparent ; as a subject, he communicates in rank with all other subjects. The king's younger sons rank next to the elder, but their rank is liable to reduction : their elder brother's younger sons will rank before them. The archbishops, and the chancellor, and the great officers of state, rank above dukes, not of royal blood, but their rank is that of office only : the dukes, in family rank, are commonly much above the archbishops and chancellor. Thus far our rule, I believe, differs little from that of other European courts : what follows is peculiar to ourselves. The peers, all equal in legal, differ in ceremonial rank. The sons of peers of the higher orders rank above the peers themselves of the lower orders ; but, superior thus in ceremonial rank, they are in legal rank inferior. For the sons of all peers, even of the blood royal, being commoners, while in ceremonial rank they may be above many of the peers, in legal rank they are only peers with the commoners. This implication of the peerage with the body of the people, is the advantageous circumstance which has particularly struck M. de Calonne. But there is another thing, which perhaps not less strongly marks the wise moderation of our ancestors, to whom we owe the present order of things. No distinction between subjects can be really more essential than the being or not being members of the legislative body ; yet the rank of a member of parliament is known neither to the law, nor to the ceremonial of the country. Among untitled commoners, indeed, there is no distinction of rank that can be very exactly defined ; and yet a distinction always subsists in public opinion, decided partly, and perhaps sometimes too much, by wealth, partly by consideration given to birth, connections, or character, which, upon the whole, perhaps more than under any other government, preserves the subordination necessary to the well-being of large societies.

our writers,* to reinstate Plato and Aristotle at the head of the ranks of science, have been coolly received; and the moderns in general have acquiesced in their own pre-eminence. There seems, indeed, some reason for this decision in our favour: and it will be readily acknowledged that, within a century or two, we have greatly extended the bounds of knowledge, by contenting ourselves with slow but sure advances, and by relying upon fact and experiment in preference to conjecture and hypothesis. I cannot help thinking, however, that although we have shown many of the ancient systems to be merely the creatures of imagination, we have in some cases concluded much too hastily; and unreasonably denied the existence of that knowledge, which we have not been at the pains of acquiring.

These observations seem to me to be sufficiently applicable to the science of physiognomy; a science which, though practised by Pythagoras,† defended by Socrates,‡ approved by Plato,§ and treated by Aristotle, || is hardly mentioned at present but in conjunction with magic, alchemy, and judicial astrology. Without any pretensions, however, to a knowledge of physiognomy, as a science, myself, I have always regarded it in a light more respectable; and as the recently-published work of M. La-

vater seems to have excited a considerable degree of attention on the continent, the society, perhaps, will not be displeased, if I lay before them such literary observations respecting the progress of physiognomy as my reading has suggested.

There has been some dispute** respecting the etymology of the term, some deriving it from *φύσις* and *γνωσκω* to know; others from *φύσις* and *γνωμον* an index; others from *φύσις* and *γνωμη* a mark: according to these last derivations, physiognomy will be a knowledge of nature from the indices or marks of it. This extended signification to which the etymology of the word leads, I have noticed, because I think it is remotely connected with the doctrine of signatures.

For the same reason it may be worth while to mention the controversies respecting the definition of physiognomy. The ancients seem to have confined physiognomy to man, or at least to animated nature. Thus Aristotle,†† *Nunc autem dicam ex quibus generibus signa accipiantur: et sint omnia; ex motibus enim physiognomizant et ex figuris et coloribus, et ex moribus apparentibus in facie, et ex levitate, et ex voce, et ex carne, et ex partibus, et ex figura totius corporis.* So Cicero,‡‡ *Hominum mores naturasque, ex corpore, oculis, vultu, fronte, pernoocere.* To the same purpose Aulus Gellius,§§ *Id verbum significat mores naturasque hominum*

* Harris, Monboddo. † Auli Gelli, lib. i. cap. 9. ‡ Cic. de Fat. v. et Tusc. Quest. xx. 4. § in Timæo.

|| Physiognom. Aristotle's Physiognomy has been suspected as spurious, but without sufficient reason. Diogenes Laert. quotes it, lib. v.

** Vossius Etymolog. et Martini Lexicon sub voce.

†† Physiognomic. cap. ii. *ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ ἀνδρὶ.* &c. To save the room that the originals and translations of all the passages quoted would occupy, I have given the Latin versions only of the Greek quotations.

‡‡ De Fato, v. §§ Lib i. cap. 9.
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hominum conjectatione quddam, de oris et vultûs ingenio, deque totius corporis filo atque habitu sciscitari.

But when the study of physiognomy was revived in the middle ages, the comprehensiveness of the etymological meaning (as I imagine) led those who treated on the subject, to indulge the prevailing taste for the marvellous, and extend the signification of the word far beyond the ancient limits. This seems to have been particularly the case among those naturalists who adopted the theory of *signatures*. Hence physiognomy came to signify the knowledge of the internal properties of any corporeal being from the external appearances. Thus Joannes Baptista Porta, a physiognomist and philosopher of great note, wrote a treatise concerning the physiognomy of plants (*Phytognomonica*) throughout which he uses physiognomy as the generic term. The same person, I believe it was, who wrote the treatise *de Physiognomia Avium*. Gaspar Schottus, in his *Magia Physiognomica*, makes the *physiognomia humana* a subdivision of the science. Hen. Alstead* adopts also the extensive signification now mentioned. So also does Boyle,† and it seems to have been the common one with us in the time of *Hudibras*.‡ At present, physiognomy seems to be confined to the knowledge of the moral and intellectual character of human

creatures, from their external manners and appearance.

These variations of the meaning, however, it was proper to notice, not only for the reason before assigned, but because the definition of physiognomy was a subject of long discussion between two modern authors of some note, in the *Berlin Transactions*, § M. Pernetty and M. le Catt. The former insisted that all knowledge whatever was merely physiognomy; and the latter, as unreasonably, confined it to the subject of the human face. M. Pernetty's second memoir is entirely occupied in defending the extensive signification he has annexed to the term, and which had been controverted by M. le Catt. The subject did not drop here: soon after appeared the celebrated treatise of M. Lavater, who, although he expressly defines physiognomy the art of discovering the interior of a man by means of his exterior,|| does more than countenance¶ the extended signification of the term adopted by M. Pernetty. This work produced an attack upon physiognomy itself, in the memoirs of the same academy, for the year 1775, by M. Formey, who bestowed a great deal of pains in controverting the extent which M. Lavater had assigned to his favourite science. The common idea annexed to physiognomy, before mentioned, seems, upon the whole,

* In his *Cyclopædia*.

† *Experimental History of Mineral Waters*; appendix. s. 4. "And I have sometimes fancied there may be a physiognomy of many, if not of most, other natural bodies as well as of human faces, whereby an attentive and experienced considerer may himself discern in them many instructive things, that he cannot so declare to another man as to make him discern them too."

‡ They'll find i' th' physiognomies
O' the planets all mens' destinies.

§ For the years 1769 and 1770.

¶ Ibid. p. 33, and vol. ii. p. 89.

|| Vol. i. p 22, of the French edition, 4to.

as proper as any that have been given.

I do not find any authority sufficient to conclude that physiognomy was treated as a science (at least in Greece) before the time of Pythagoras. Of him it is asserted by Aulus Gellius,* *Ordo atque ratio Pythagoræ ac deinceps Familiæ, successionis ejus recipiendi instituendique discipulos hujusmodi fuisse traditur. Jam a principio Adolescentes qui sese addiscendum obtulerunt* *φυσιογνωμονν.* *Id verbum significat mores naturasque hominum conjectatione quâdam, de oris et vultus ingenio deque totius corporis filo atque habitu sciscitari.* It is not improbable (if this be true) that Pythagoras acquired a great part of his physiognomical knowledge, and his attachment to that science, during his travels; the Indians† and Egyptians‡ being great professors of physiognomy.

In the time of Socrates, it appears not only to have been studied as a science, but adopted as a profession, of which the known story of the judgment passed upon Socrates by Zopyrus§ is a sufficient proof; subsequently it was noticed by Plato,|| and expressly treated by Aristotle in a distinct book. As this forms a kind of literary epoch in the science of physiognomy, it

may be worth while to give a brief outline of Aristotle's sentiments on the subject.

He observes (in substance), that the subject had been treated in three different ways. That some physiognomists classed animals into genera, and ascribed a certain corporeal appearance, and a corresponding mental disposition to each genus. Others distinguished still further, and divided the genera into species. Thus, among men they distinguished the Egyptians, the Thracians, and the Scythians; and wherever else there was a known difference in habits and manners, and assigned the physiognomic marks accordingly. Some decided more from the actions and manners of the individual, taking for granted that such and such manners proceeded from such and such dispositions. His own method of considering the subject was this: there is always a peculiar disposition of mind attendant on a peculiar form of body: so that there is never found a human mind in the corporeal form of any beast. Again, it is evident that the mind and the body act mutually on each other. Thus in the cases of intoxication, sickness, and mania, the mind is affected by the affections of the body. In fear, sorrow, joy, &c.

* Lib. i. cap. 9.—Proclus in Alcib. prim. Plat.—Iamb. in vit. Pythag. sub init.

† Nicostratus, speaking of the Indians, in his book de Nuptiis, says, that in marrying they judge of their wives by their appearance, and declare they are never deceived. Among the physiognomical marks he mentions these:—*benigni enim oculi summam animi pulchritudinem comitantur, et fieri solet ut qui non exardescit, nec faciliè irascitur, aut bile movetur, faciem splendidam serenamque habet. Malignus et dolosus verò, statim et oculis transverse implacideque tuetur. Qui stolidus ac simplex est, pupillas et oculos patentes gerit ut asini et oves. Cui supercilia conjungatur improbus est. Cujus superficies in vultu non rubet, sed obscura caliginosaque est nunquam ullo modo exhilaratur. Ceterum ejusmodi notæ, non modo virginibus et mulieribus, sed etiam viris insunt.* Raynaudi Moral. Discip. p. 367. See also Philost. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. lib. iii. cap. 30, p. 83. πολλά μὲν γὰρ αἱ ὀφθαλμοί, &c. et lib. iii. cap. 5.

‡ Αἰγυπτίοις μὲν γὰρ τοῖς πασι, &c. Gronov. Not. in Aul. Gell. lib. i. cap. 9. from the physiognomy of Adamantius. See also Jambl. in Vit. Pythag. lib. i. cap. 17 παρασκευασθὲν ὡς αὐτῷ, &c.

§ Cic. de Fato, v. || In his Timæus.

&c. the body is affected by the affections of the mind. From these facts he concludes, that, wherever a particular form or bodily character appears in a human creature, and we know beforehand from observation, and an induction of particulars, that a certain mental character is constantly concomitant, and therefore necessarily connected therewith, we have a right in all such cases to infer the disposition from the appearance—and this, whether we have drawn our observation from men or other animals. For, as there is one mental character, and one corporeal form of a lion, and another of a hare, wherever in human creatures we observe the bodily characteristics of a lion (such as a strong and thick hair, large extremities, a deep tone of voice, &c.), we ought to infer, strength, firmness, and courage. Wherever, on the contrary, we see the slender extremities, soft capillament, or any other feature of the hare, we ought to conclude a proportional correspondence in the mental character. Upon this principle he enumerates the various corporeal features of man, and the correspondent dispositions so far as they have been observed; and as opportunities offer, he illustrates them by an appeal to the foregoing analogy, and in some cases attempts to explain them by physiological reasoning.

This plausible, and even probable theory evinces a considerable degree of knowledge on this subject at a very early period—individual physiognomy, national physiognomy, and comparative physiognomy, are here distinctly noticed; but it cannot with truth be asserted, that the enumeration of particular precepts and observations in the

physiognomical treatise of this great man, are equally well founded with this outline of the subject. In fact, the state of knowledge in his time did not admit of a complete elucidation of his general principles, nor was the brief and pithy style of Aristotle adapted to a subject, which even at this day will require frequent periphrasis to make it clearly comprehensible. Such as it is, however, this work of Aristotle appears to have served as a foundation for almost every physiognomical treatise that hath since been published. His comparative physiognomy of men with beasts, indeed, though frequently, has not been universally adopted; but his language and his manner, sententious, obscure, and indiscriminate, have been copied too closely by his imitators of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Beside this work of Aristotle expressly on the subject, there are many incidental observations respecting physiognomy that occur in his History of Animals, and other parts of his writings.

The ethic characters of Theophrastus, the disciple and successor of Aristotle, deserve also to be particularly noticed, as a distinct treatise on a most important branch of the science in question, *The Physiognomy of Manners*. This singular and entertaining performance, composed by the author at the age of ninety-nine, describes synthetically, with great justice and accuracy, the most remarkable traits of behaviour which certainly predominant characters would respectively occasion. The translations and imitations of La Bruyere render it unnecessary to give any examples of what otherwise it would be unpardonable to omit: suffice it to observe, that this work

work of Theophrastus evinces such a degree of accurate observation and lively description, as will preserve it in the rank of classical performances so long as the science of man, and the prominent features of human society shall continue to be regarded as objects of attention.

About this time *Adamantius, the sophist*, appears to have written, whose “*Physiognomics*” were published in several places, about the middle of the sixteenth century. Adamantius, however, only trod in the steps of Polemon, the Athenian, who had written before him, and whose treatise was republished in Greek and Latin much about the time of the former. * So many author† on the subject sufficiently shew that physiognomy was much cultivated as a science among the Greeks about this period. The professors of physiognomy, however, appear soon to have connected with it something of the marvellous, as we may suspect from the story told of Apelles by Apion: *Imaginem adeo similitudinis indiscretæ pinxit ut (incredibile dictu) Apion grammaticus scriptum reliquerit quemdam ex facie hominum addivinantem (quos meloposcopos vocant) ex iis dixisse aut*

futura mortis annos, aut præterita. ‡ From the known practice of the Pythagorean school, § whose novitiates were all subjected to the physiognomic observation of the teachers, it is not improbable that the first physiognomists by profession among the Greeks, || were of that sect; nor is it unlikely from the mysterious and ascetic nature of the doctrines and discipline of the Pythagoreans, that they also were first tempted to disgrace the science of physiognomy in Greece, by annexing to it the art of divination.

From this time to the close of the Roman republic, few observations occur respecting the literary history of physiognomy. About that period, however, and from thence to the decline of the Roman empire under the late emperors, it appears to have been attended to as an important branch of knowledge, and adopted as a profession by persons pretending to superior skill in it.

There are many physiognomical remarks interspersed in the works of Hyppocrates** and of Galen,†† as may well be presumed from their medical profession—Cicero appears to have been particularly attached to it; for he not only relates the story of

* I was not aware till lately, that the Greek writers on the subject of physiognomy were collected and published together by Franzius, “*Physiognomias veteres scriptores Græci*, Gr. and Lat. à Franzio Altenb. 1780, 8vo.” I have not seen the book.

† Hermes Trismegistus, Alchyndus, Helenus, Loxius, Pharaoes Indus (mentioned by Philostratus) are also mentioned as writers on physiognomy, but little more seems to be known of them in this respect than the traditional quotation of their names. *Voss. de Nat. Art. lib. I. cap. v. s. 19.*

‡ Pliny, *Nat. Hist. lib. XXXV. s. 35. par. 9.*

§ Aul. Gell. ubi. sup. *Mos Pythagoræis erat per signa in corpore constituta venientes ad eos judicare, utrum ad meliorem vitam apti forent necne. Natura enim ipsa quæ animis confingit corpora instrumenta eis congrua subministrat, imaginesque animarum in corporibus indicat, per quas et animarum ingenia in hac arte periti deprehendere possunt. Proc. in Alcib. prim. Plat.*

|| There were such probably among the ancient Indians.—Vide preceding note.†

** In his book *de Aquis Aeris et Locis.*

†† In his passages respecting the temperament.

of Zopyrus and Socrates in his book *De Fato*,* and his Tusculan Questions,* but his orations abound with physiognomical opinions. Thus, his oration against Piso commences with the following abusive passage.—*Jamne vides bellua quæ sit hominum querela frontis tuæ? Nemo queritur syrum nescio quem de grege novitiorum factum esse consulem. Non enim nos Color iste servilis, non pilosæ Genæ, non dentes putridi deceperunt. Oculi, Supercilia, frons, cultus denique totus qui sermo quidem tacitus mentis est, hic in errorem homines impulit, hic eos quibus eras ignotus decepit, fefellit, in fraudem induxit. Pauci ista tua lutulenta vitia notamus: pauci tarditatem ingenii, stuporem debilitatemque linguæ; nunquam erat audita vox in foro; nunquam periculum factum Consilii; nullum non modo illustre sed ne notum quidem factum aut militiæ aut domi; obrepisti ad honores errore hominum, commendatione famosarum imaginum, quarum simile habes nihil præter Colorem.* In the same strain he appeals to his auditors against the physiognomy of C. Fannius Chærea, in his oration in favour of Roscius, the comedian. *C. Fannium Chæream, Roscius fraudavit! Oratque obsecro vos qui nostis, vitam inter se utriusque conferte—qui non nostis, faciem utriusque considerate—Nonne ipsum caput, et supercilla penitus abrasa, olere malitiam, et clamitare calliditatem videntur? Nonne ab imis unguibus usque ad verticem summum (siquam conjecturam affert hominibus tacita corporis figura) ex fraude, fallaciis, mendaciis, constare totus videtur? Qui*

idecirco capite et superciliis semper est rasis, ne ullum pilum viri boni habere. I have quoted these passages, not only as instances of Cicero's attachment to the science of physiognomy,† but also as examples of the ancient style of oratorical abuse. Similar instances of Cicero's manner occur in his observation on the features, &c. of Verres, Vatinius, and Anthony:‡ indeed, he asserts generally in his book *De Oratore*, § *omnes enim motus animi suum quendam a natura habent vultum*; which although it may be construed to relate to the transient physiognomy only, may well be applied to the permanent features, in conformity to the passages already adduced from the same author.

Nor was Cicero singular, among the classic authors of Roman literature, in his attention to physiognomic observation. The extracts in the notes from Sallust, Suetonius, and Seneca, those already adduced from Pliny and Aulus Gellius, and the passages I could mention from Petronius, Plutarch, and others, abundantly establish this remark.

Beside the attention paid to physiognomy as a science by authors of repute during the period of the Roman empire, it should seem also, that it continued to be practised as a profession, as well then, as in the classic age of Grecian philosophy. Plutarch, in his Life of Anthony, tells us of an Egyptian physiognomist who bade Anthony beware of Octavius. Petronius Arbiter in his *Satyricon*, introduces a person saying, *Vides me? nec auguria nori, nec mathematicorum*

* Ubi sup.

† See also a passage in his book *De Legibus* 1, 9. *Figuram autem corporis habitum et aptam, &c.*

‡ In his orations against them.

§ Lib. III.

mathematicorum cælum curare soleo, sed ex vultibus tamen hominum mores colligo, et quum spatiantem vidi, quid cogites scio. Quo enim incessus arte compositus, et ne vestigia quidem pedum extra mensuram aberrantia, nisi quod formam prostituis ut vendas.

Suetonius, in the *Life of Titus*, says, that Narcissus sent a physiognomist to examine the features of Britannicus, who returned and predicted that Britannicus would not succeed, but the empire would devolve on Titus. Other instances of physiognomy being exercised as a profession might be adduced, but the preceding passages, however they may contain a mixture of fable with truth, render the general fact sufficiently probable.

When the Roman empire was overthrown by the irruptions of the northern nations, this science shared the same fate with the others, and appears to have been unnoticed (except perhaps by the Arabian commentators on Aristotle, with whom I am unacquainted) till about the beginning of the sixteenth century, from which time to the latter end of the seventeenth it was greatly in vogue, and almost all the approved modern authors, who have treated practically on the subject published within that space. I cannot help regarding it, however, as rather unfortunate for the science of physiognomy, that many opinions now justly exploded were holden in high estimation, not only among the literati in general of the same period, but by the very persons who were authors on the subject of physiognomy, and patrons of the study. Nay, by some of these writers, physiognomy was regarded as essentially connected with doctrines which the literature of the present day would

be ashamed to adopt, and treated accordingly in conjunction with them.

This remark appears to me so intimately connected with the literary history of the science in question, as to demand some farther discussion.

The history of human learning has periods which are marked by the general prevalence of particular studies among the literati of the time. The philosophers of the early period of Grecian literature attended chiefly to *mythological morality*. Among the authors of the most flourishing period of Grecian and Roman literature, until the first emperors, *poetry, history, and oratory*, were the prevailing subjects of attention: under the latter emperors, and for some time after, the works of the learned exhibit, for the most part, the history of *theological controversies*: to them succeeded *metaphysics* and *metaphysical theology*.—When these began to decline, the attention of the learned was awakened to *alchemy, magic, judicial astrology, the doctrine of signatures and sympathies, the Mystic Theosophic, and Rosicrucian, theology and physiognomy*—then succeeded *classic philology*—this gave way to *modern poetry and natural philosophy*—to which, of late, have been joined the studies of *rational theology, chymistry, the philosophy of history, the history of man, and the science of politics*.

This very brief and imperfect outline of the progress of human learning, will, nevertheless, sufficiently illustrate my meaning respecting the injury which physiognomy has suffered from a fortuitous connection with exploded literature. Nothing is more common among mankind than the hasty rejection of valuable opinions

opinions, from their artificial or accidental connection with other opinions untenable and absurd. The history of theology, in particular, and the present complexion of theological opinions in Europe, furnish a pregnant instance of the truth of this remark. It will, therefore, be sufficient for me, to observe at present, that during the space of about one hundred and fifty years from the commencement of the sixteenth century, the authors on the subject of physiognomy were very numerous; and that very many, if not the greatest part of them, treated expressly as subjects of importance, either magic, alchemy, the doctrine of signatures, astrology, or the theosophic philosophy. Nor is it any wonder that physiognomy should fall into contempt, when the prevalence of more rational literature rejected its contemporary sciences. Some few facts and observations respecting this part of the literary history of physiognomy, illustrative of its temporary connection with the doctrines above-mentioned, I shall, with the permission of the society, throw into the form of an illustration or appendix to this essay, because they are, in my opinion, not altogether unworthy of notice, but would form a digression too long for the paper itself.

Excepting that physiognomy was fashionable among the authors who treated on the abstruse sciences above-mentioned, I do not recollect any thing peculiar respecting this stage of its progress. There were some authors, indeed, even during that period, who treated it free from the absurd conjunction of the prevailing subjects of the day, such as Père Honorat Nicquet and Caramont. But the observations even of these writers are too general, in-

determinate, and concise, to be of considerable use; and appear rather as the conclusions of theoretic lubrication, than the well-founded remarks of men conversant with the world. A sufficient specimen of the physiognomic writings of the time may be seen in the quotations which Lavater has selected.

About the commencement of the eighteenth century, and thenceforward, the occult sciences, as they are called, had declined considerably in estimation; and the authors who noticed the science of physiognomy forbore to disgrace it by a connection with those branches of supposed knowledge which had formerly been its companions. Among us, Dr. Gwither noticed it with approbation in the eighteenth volume of the Philosophical Transactions. Dr. Parsons also chose the same subject for the Croonean Lectures, published at first in the second supplement to the forty-fourth volume of the same transactions, and afterwards (1747) republished in English: but these as well as the cursory observations in Lancisius, Haller, and Buffon, relate rather to the transient physiognomy of the passions, than the permanent features of the face and body; the well-known characters of Le Brun are also illustrative of the transient physiognomy.

Earlier, however, than these writers, our Evelyn had inserted a copious digression on the subject in his *Numismata*, a Discourse on Medals; in which there is a panegyric on the science, with several practical remarks and miscellaneous observations. Among the rest is an analysis of the countenances of many great men whose characters were known. It does not appear, however, to contain,

tain, upon the whole, any thing worthy of peculiar notice.

The subject seems to have been attended to now and then during this century, but I do not find any thing remarkable concerning it, till the discussion already mentioned, in the Berlin Transactions, between M. Pernetty and M. Le Catt.

This controversy commenced with a Dissertation on the Advantages and Disadvantages of Physiognomy, by M. Le Catt. In the succeeding volume (the twenty-fifth) is an answer by M. Pernetty; to which follows a reply by M. Le Catt, and a supplementary reply, by the same, in the twenty-sixth volume. This contains also three more dissertations, by way of rejoinder on the part of M. Pernetty. I have already noticed this discussion so far as it relates to the *definition* of physiognomy. The rest of it turned upon these two questions.

First, Whether it would be advantageous or otherwise to society, if each individual carried in his appearance such marks of his character, disposition, and talents, as would enable others to collect with certainty these latter from the former.

Secondly, Whether, on the supposition that the science of physiognomy would enable us to discern a part only of the internal character, and mankind in general being but imperfect physiognomists, it would be advantageous to society to cultivate the study of physiognomy.

These questions were agitated with more prolixity than their importance to the subject of physiognomy in my opinion deserved. No reasoning *a priori* can possibly determine them with any degree of certainty. Time and experience alone

will ascertain what degree of influence any particular kind of knowledge will have upon the manners and characters of mankind. In the mean time it is reasonable to conclude, from the analogy of every fact respecting human science, that *the result upon the whole, of attaining any portion of knowledge heretofore unknown, will not be otherwise than beneficial.* Nor is it likely, that mankind will be permitted to attain any branch of knowledge, not ultimately conducive to the happiness of the species. Indeed the same questions might have been agitated as preliminaries to every science already known: and if the affirmative in similar cases must be clearly established, before we proceed to the investigation of the science itself, the course of human improvement might be stopt for ever.

During this controversy, M. Pernetty laid it down as a principle, that no man can be a physiognomist unless he receives a knowledge of the science originally as a gift from the Deity; and that the faculty of physiognomizing is not acquired, but innate. It is obvious to remark, that if M. Pernetty's opinion be well founded, it was mere waste of time to discuss either the questions before-mentioned or any others relating to the subject; for, whichever way they might be determined, the existence or non-existence of physiognomy, as a species of knowledge, not being optional to the persons addressed, would not be affected by the determination. Such gratuitous and unphilosophical assertions from the supporters of physiognomy, cast a ridicule upon the science itself; and induce mankind to associate the idea of fallacy, even

even with the well-founded arguments of those who advance them. This remark, however, is not applicable to M. Pernetty alone.

Soon after this controversy, appeared the great work of M. Lavater, dean of Zurich, which has excited no inconsiderable degree of attention in the literary world. The magnificence of the work itself, and the supposed visionary nature of the subject treated, has contributed not a little to make it generally known. Indeed, so far as I am able to judge, it is (with all its faults) the most important book on the subject since the days of Aristotle. Sensible that the science is yet in its infancy, M. Lavater professes to give, not a complete synthetical treatise on physiognomy but fragments only, illustrative of the different parts of this branch of knowledge; and it must be confessed that his performance, however desultory and unconnected, is in many particulars much superior to those that have preceded.

In conformity with his design, he has rejected the scholastic systematic method so common among the physiognomists of the last and preceding centuries, and with it be rejected also their manner of writing, dry, concise, indeterminate, and general: the remarks of M. Lavater, on the contrary, are, for the most part, precise and particular, and frequently founded on distinctions extremely acute.—He has omitted entirely (as indeed might reasonably be expected from a writer of the present day) the astrological and similar reveries, so disgraceful to the writings of the generality of his predecessors.—He has (with great good sense) very rarely deduced or confirmed his physiognomical re-

marks by anatomical or physiological reasonings; which, indeed, however important they may prove hereafter, seem even in this present advanced state of our knowledge respecting them, an insufficient foundation to support particular observations.—He has pursued the method first adopted, I believe, by J. Baptista Porta, of illustrating his remarks by engravings, extremely numerous, oftentimes expressive, and, upon the whole, tolerably executed, even for the taste of modern times.

Nor are these variations from the generality of the authors who have gone before him in the same track, the only particulars which justly entitle Mr. Lavater's work to a pre-eminence among the books on this subject. His opinions are more evidently the result of actual observation than those of preceding physiognomists. He appears also to have made the science more peculiarly his study than any other person; and (excepting, indeed, his profession as a divine) it seems to have been the grand pursuit of his life. His attention moreover to *osseal* physiognomy, and the effects of *profiles* and *contours*, evince a comprehension of the subject, much superior to what appears in those who have treated it heretofore. And in addition to these, his style, though somewhat declamatory and digressive, yet forcible and lively; his expressions frequently precise and characteristic, and the spirit of piety and benevolence which pervades the whole of his performance, contribute not a little to render it highly interesting.

With all these good qualities, however, M. Lavater's work has faults that take away considerably from the deference which his physiognomical

nomical opinions would otherwise have claimed. And his imagination has in many instances so evidently gotten the better of his judgment, that a reader who should take up his volumes for the mere purpose of amusement, would be strongly tempted to reject the whole system, as the fanciful conceit of an ingenious but extravagant theorist.

Among the objectionable parts of his book are the following :

1. The mysterious air of importance with which (like many of his predecessors) he has clothed his favourite science, and described the whole of the material world as objects of her dominion.

2. The fanciful necessity which he imposes, that a physiognomist should be a well-shaped handsome man.

3. His language very frequently too peremptory and decisive; not warranted by the substance of his remarks, and disproportioned to the occasion.*

4. His remarks themselves, in numerous instances, unsupported by the illustrations, and sometimes apparently opposite to common observation.*

5. His too great reliance on sin-

gle features as the foundation for deciding on a character.†

6. His premature opinions on the physiognomy of the ears, hands, nails, and feet, of the human species; on hand-writing; on the physiognomy of birds, insects, reptiles, and fishes. On none of these can a sufficient number of accurate observations have been made to warrant the slightest conclusion.‡

7. His introduction of objects, such as the preceding, is the more singular, from the slight and inadequate attention he appears *hitherto* to have bestowed on gesture, voice, manner, and the important topic of national physiognomy: all of which he has indeed in some degree touched upon, but far less than facts might have warranted, or their importance demanded.

8. The repeated introduction of his own face throughout the course of the work, and the singular remarks he makes on it, although his character may fully justify the truth of them, do not serve to prejudice the reader in favour of his judgment.

9. The same observation may be made on his singularly fanciful Theory of Apparitions, which goes
near

* Instances of these, I think, will occur frequently, especially on perusing his *Physiognomical Remarks* on the illustrative engravings; but of these each reader will be the best enabled to judge for himself, until the science shall put on a more systematic form than the present collection of observations will permit.

† That there is such a thing as homogeneity and harmony of feature, there is no doubt; but the instances of exception are so numerous, and the illustrative cases so scattered and unarranged, that it appears to me injudicious presumption in most instances to decide positively on the observation of a single feature.

‡ The old Physiognomists, who (in the spirit of the times) would in no wise have omitted to treat the subject *systematically*, were on that account induced to take into consideration every part of the body in its turn. But the manner of M. Lavater, professedly desultory, did not lead him to this; and he has even exceeded the faults of his predecessors, by the introduction of physiognomical observations on the hand-writing, on insects, &c. which the present state of physiognomy is very short indeed of being so far advanced as to include.

near to a revival of the old opinions of the sympathists.

10. To these may be added the general character of enthusiasm in favour of physiognomy, which is stamped on every page of the work, and to which, indeed, a great part of the merit of it may be due. But it certainly has the salutary tendency of setting his readers on their guard against a too precipitate admission of his physiognomical decisions.

Such appears to me the character of a work, which altogether does credit to the times, as well as to the author.

M. Lavater's book produced an attack upon it from M. Formey, in the Berlin Transactions for the year 1775. M. Formey having discussed the propriety of the extensive signification given to the term physiognomy, by M. Pernetty and Lavater, adopts a definition nearly the same with that which I have taken. He allows that every fibre of the body influences, and is intimately connected with the mental character; but he urges, as his principal argument, that our frame is liable to many accidents, by which it may be altered or modified, that have no connection with the disposition or talents of the person who may be exposed to them, that it far surpasses human skill to distinguish between such modifications of feature as are, and such as are not, connected with the mind; and therefore although there may be truth in the science of physiognomy, the Deity alone can be a physiognomist. He observes, moreover, that our cast of features is liable to be determined by the temperaments of our ancestors, lineal and collateral, by education, by diet, by climate, by sudden emotions, &c. so that the determination given to

our features by our mental character, may be so involved with, or hidden by, accidental circumstances, that it is in vain to attempt the study of a science whose limits are so confined. These objections of M. Formey are worth noticing, although they do not strike me as conclusive on the points towards which he urges them.

Beside this essay by M. Formey, I know of no other subsequent publication of any moment on the subject. From this historical deduction, however, of the literary progress of physiognomy, it appears, that into whatever disrepute the science may now be fallen, there is scarcely a period to be mentioned, wherein any thing of science was known, in which physiognomy had not its abettors and its professors, among men of the greatest learning, and most undoubted abilities; and that, in all probability, the chief reasons why so little attention is paid to the subject at present, are,

First, that it has been treated in conjunction with subjects now properly exploded as unworthy of attention; and secondly, That it has been injured by the injudicious assertions and arguments of those who have undertaken its defence.

The learned and the wise, however, may sometimes be mistaken; nor should any decisive conclusion be drawn against the use of any thing, from its having been abused. The time, therefore, may not be far distant, when physiognomy will be reinstated in her rank among the valuable branches of human knowledge, and be studied with that degree of attention and perseverance which a subject deserves, so essentially connected with the science of man.

On the comparative excellence of the sciences and arts. By Mr. William Roscoe ; from the same.

THERE is, perhaps, no circumstance more injurious, both to our improvement and happiness, than a propensity to engage and persevere in the study of particular branches of science, without first taking that enlarged and general view of our nature and destination, by which we ought to ascertain, and arrange in due succession, the proper objects of our pursuit. For want of attention to this important subject, learning and industry have frequently been exerted on unworthy objects; and genius and taste trifled away, without either affording advantage to mankind, or obtaining reputation to their possessor.

If, from the time of our entrance on the world, we were enabled fully to exercise those powers of mind which are but gradually unfolded, this would be the first consideration which would suggest itself to a rational being; and though those powers are developed only by degrees, yet, there is a period in the life of every man, when, collecting together those ideas which have been suffered to wander almost unrestrained, over the fields of amusement, it behoves him to consider, with serious attention, that tablet which is to contain, in eternal colours, the picture of his future life; and, like a skilful artist, to observe what requires his first attention, and what are only secondary objects of his regard.

As it is the first aim of the painter to produce on his canvas some great and striking effect; and, by a proper arrangement of parts, to form a

beautiful and consistent whole; so it is the business of every man, in the conduct of life, to exhibit to the world a great and consistent character. In order to accomplish this end, it is necessary to keep one grand object in view, and never suffer ourselves to be drawn from it, by too minute an attention to less important parts; for though these may be in themselves commendable, yet, if the principal object has been neglected, in order to bestow more assiduity on these inferior parts, it betrays a deficiency in judgment and true taste, which it will be impossible any other merit can fully compensate.

It is, however, much to be apprehended, that many persons have passed through the world, not only without discovering, but without once reflecting on the proper objects of their pursuit; and the number is not less, perhaps, of those who, having formed clear and determinate ideas of their duty, have, in the course of their conduct, lost sight of them; and suffered those things which required their immediate exertions, totally to supersede the higher ends, to which they ought only to have been auxiliary.

In general life, what is more common, than to suffer the laudable desire of acquiring independence, to degenerate into an eagerness for accumulating riches, without a reference to any farther end? But, can we avoid pitying the man, who employs his time in gilding the frame, when he should be finishing the picture?

In the pursuits of science, this error continually occurs; we suffer some particular study, which, perhaps, accident rather than choice first suggested, to claim the continu-

tinual sacrifice of our time, and the full exertion of our talents; whilst subjects remain neglected, of far more importance, and, perhaps, in fact, more suited to our tempers and abilities.

The difficulty of divesting ourselves of particulars, and looking on things in a general view, will, however, decrease, in proportion as we habituate ourselves to such employment; and it is rather for the purpose of illustrating the propriety of the practice, than with the expectation of facilitating it, that I beg the attention of this respectable society, whilst I enter more fully into the subject.

Man, in his original constitution, is endowed with a variety of faculties, different in their ends and nature; but, I conceive, they may be reduced to the three following, viz. the moral sense, or that which distinguishes virtue and vice; the rational faculty, distinguishing truth and falsehood; and the sentimental faculty, or, as it is usually called, taste, which distinguishes beauty from deformity. To the acquisitions made in improving the rational and moral powers, we give the name of science; whilst the sentimental faculty is the foundation of the pleasures we receive from the study of the polite arts.

As these faculties may be improved by exercise, so they may be injured and decay by neglect, and become totally inapplicable to any good and useful purpose; and it is therefore the duty, of every rational being, to make this improvement the first object of his attainment. But, in doing this, we should first inquire, by what means we may best answer this good end; for, as these original endowments can only be cultivated

by means of the sciences and arts, and as these are much diversified in themselves, disclose to us different views, and lead to different ends; it becomes a business of much importance to enquire what particular branch of science, or of art, is most deserving of our attention, before we suffer ourselves to be attracted by such other less important, though not useless, investigations, as may accidentally come across our way.

Now, it may certainly be taken for granted, that, as beings, accountable for our moral conduct, and influencing, by that conduct, not only our own happiness, but in a great degree, the happiness of others, those studies which have an immediate reference to the moral duties of life are of the first importance.

The study of the works of nature may next be allowed to engage our attention—a study, on the knowledge of which depend many of the conveniencies and pleasures of life; and which has, perhaps, a still higher claim to our notice, as inducing us to form to ourselves proper ideas of the attributes and perfections of the great Creator; who has opened before us his extensive volume, and endowed us with abilities to judge of, and taste to enjoy, the beauties it affords.

Science, then, is either moral or natural: the first, immediately connected with the conduct of human life; the second, more remotely so, through the medium of the works of nature. With respect to the former, as it is the indispensable duty of every man to be as fully acquainted with it as his abilities and situation will permit, so it is disgraceful and dangerous to neglect it; whilst the latter though honourable and useful in the acquisition, may be postponed

postponed, or omitted, till a proficiency be made in more important studies.

Notwithstanding this, it has been observed of late, and experience seems to justify the observation, that the present age is more attached to the study of natural philosophy, than to that of morals: which may possibly arise from an idea, that the latter affords but a small scope for the exercise of the mind, and consists chiefly of propositions, either self-evident, or capable of a simple and decided demonstration. Admitting, for a moment, this to be the case; yet it by no means precludes the necessity of transferring to our own use the result of other men's labours; which can only be done by a diligent application to the same studies and pursuits. It is not whether the science be known, but whether I know it, about which I ought to be solicitous.

It will, however, appear, upon a nearer view, that the science of morals affords a much wider field than may, at first sight, be imagined. The great variety of circumstances and combinations, which arise in a polished and commercial state, open, to an accurate observer; a perpetual source of speculation. It is, however, my province to sketch the outline only; to fill it up properly would require higher abilities and more accurate research.

The duties of life are immediately derived from the different relations in which mankind are placed. As a simple existing being, detached from any other of his species, there is a connection between man and his Creator which subjects him to certain duties, prior, in point of obligation, to every other claim.

As individuals, connected with

other individuals, all entitled to the same rights as ourselves; as members of the particular states from which we derive protection; and from the other social and domestic relations of life, many duties are incumbent on us, which require no small degree of accuracy, care, and attention, to perform in such a manner as to merit the approbation of those with whom we are connected, and of our own minds.

Nor let it be thought beneath the dignity of the philosopher to examine the laws that subsist between man and the inferior animals of the creation; a subject yet but slightly touched on, though highly deserving of farther inquiry. That acts of injustice may be, and too frequently are exercised upon them cannot be doubted; and, if so, the necessity of some regulations, in this respect, is the immediate consequence of such concession. A right of property, according to the present system of things, includes also a right to torment, to mutilate, and to kill; to weary out nature by repeated sufferings; or to destroy at once that vital spark, the immediate gift of the Divinity, which when once extinguished, no human power can restore; but, it is to be hoped, this may not arise so much from a ferocity and wanton propensity to cruelty in the human mind, as from a too prevalent idea, that there are no mutual rights between man and the brute creation; absolute property being vested in the one, and unlimited resignation the lot of the other. To counteract this false and injurious opinion; neither moral injunctions, nor political regulations, should be wanting; nor can the powers of the mind be more honourably exerted than in preventing

ing the unnecessary extension of actual pain in the universe ; or in pleading the cause of that class of beings, to whom nature, though she gave capacity of pain, denied the power of remonstrating against their sufferings.

These then are, of all others, the studies

Que magis ad nos

Pertinent, et nescire malum est.

On the cultivation of these depends, not only our present, but our future welfare ; and shall we, with the ill-timed application of the pretended philosopher, persist in the solution of a mathematical problem, whilst the house burns around us ; or suffer shells and feathers to attract our notice whilst our happiness and our misery hang yet in the balance, and it remains in the power of our utmost exertion to throw an atom into the scale ?

Impressed with the idea that these studies are of the first importance to us, and conscious that we are not uninformed with respect to them ; it may then be allowed us, to engage in the acquisition of other branches of science, which unite, with the gratification of an innocent and natural passion, the expectation of being enabled to render our employment of essential service to the happiness of mankind.

To these studies we may give the name of natural philosophy, though, perhaps, in a more general acceptance than that in which it has been of late understood : but I am not aware of any impropriety in the use of this term, applied to the study of the whole system of nature, as well intellectual as material. The faculties of the human mind, are as much a part of that system, as the form of our bodies, and seem, there-

fore, equally to be included under the study of natural philosophy.

In pursuing the subject, it will, however, be necessary to advert to the different channels, into which this great branch of science is divided. These are, first, the knowledge of intellect, called metaphysics ; secondly, the knowledge of the extent and quantity of substances, called mathematics ; and thirdly, the knowledge of particular properties of substances, usually called physics.

“ The mind of man,” says a late excellent writer, “ is the noblest work of God which nature discovers to us, and therefore, on account of its dignity, deserves our study.” That this is the primary, and most important branch of natural philosophy, must be evident to any one who considers, that, before we apply ourselves to acquire extraneous knowledge, we ought to ascertain what particular kind our faculties are adapted to attain ; and, having seen what is, and what is not, in our power, we may then be enabled to pursue such subjects as are within our reach ; and not imprudently lavish our time on those which come not within the scope of the faculties with which we are endowed.

The science of mathematics is conversant with the extent and quantity of substances ; and teaches the unchangeable and universal properties of visible objects. It therefore precedes the study of physics, whose province it is, to inquire into the particular nature and laws of such objects. If the pleasures received from scientific pursuits depend on the investigation and acquisition of truth, the study of the mathematics is, of all others, the most capable of affording enjoyment, its conclusions not depending on the subtlety of argument,

gument, or the fallacy of language, but being capable, either of sensible demonstration, or immediately referring to the first principles of human reason. It may also be added; that this science seems more complete and perfect than any other; as it generally attains the full and it aims at; whereas, in all other sciences, we expect to improve, rather than to perfect, knowledge.

Under the comprehensive denomination of physics, are included many particular studies, each of which affords ample materials for investigation. The professed subject of its inquiry is the whole system of material nature; in the pursuit of which branch of learning, it seems proper, in the first place, to acquire a general knowledge of the universe, as far as it is discoverable, either by our natural endowments or the artificial assistance with which human invention has supplied us; and from thence to proceed, in our inquiries, through the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms; which employment, as it includes all we know of the earth we inhabit, has acquired the name of natural history.

It is by no means my intention to enter into a detail of the several studies which properly arrange themselves under these different heads: it is sufficient to have indicated the pre-eminence and subordination which seem to subsist between the different objects of science, and to have shown the necessity of adopting similar distinctions.

It must, however, be remarked, that it is not perhaps in our power to pursue the sciences in the precise order here pointed out; for there is a connexion, throughout the whole

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system of human knowledge, which renders it impossible to arrive at excellence in any one branch, whilst we remain totally ignorant of the rest. The tendency of natural philosophy to promote the interests of morality, has already been hinted at; and the science of mathematics is, in like manner intimately connected with other branches of natural philosophy.

I must also remark, that though, under the general heads before mentioned, I mean to comprehend all human science; yet they by no means include every literary attainment, in the pursuit of which mankind are busied; many of which are acquired only for the purpose of being again employed in the attainment of farther knowledge. But, as a skilful artificer, before he commences an important work, will bestow great attention in providing the implement necessary for his purpose; so it will behove us to be diligent in attaining these preliminary endowments, without which our labour may either be partially frustrated, or may entirely fail of success.

Of real knowledge there are two sources, solitary observation or inquiry; and information derived from the previous knowledge of others; which last is by far the most copious of the two; but as this can only be communicated by the aid of language, either oral or written, so the certainty of the ideas we thus acquire, will depend on the skill we have attained in that language, by means of which the information is conveyed.

Thus, the acquisition of different languages becomes necessary; but in this, as in other instances, care must be taken that we mistake not the means for the end; and whilst

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we are employed in preparing further materials, suffer not so much of the building as we have already erected to fall to decay.—To exert ourselves in attaining a knowledge of language, for the purpose of employing that knowledge in higher pursuits, is truly laudable; but to be conversant only with words, and suffer the science to centre in itself, is absurd and improvident.

It is unnecessary to enter into an inquiry, how far translations may supply the deficiency of classical learning; or to point out the many advantages of which such learning is productive; this having been already done, by an author* to whom the public are under many important obligations. On the result of his “Enquiry into the usefulness of Classical Learning,” I shall take it for granted, that a knowledge of the ancient languages is of great advantage in many departments of science; from the exercise of the mind in the abstruser parts of grammatical study, it acquires a facility and accuracy of distinction which no other occupation can bestow: and by a proper selection of authors we may advance our real knowledge in any particular science, whilst we are procuring the means of applying ourselves with advantage to further studies.

If language be considered as an implement for the purpose of attaining, or improving knowledge, logic is that art which teaches us how to make a right use of such implement; whilst philology, or the science of criticism, maintains the purity of language, and guards it against those innovations which inattention, fashion, and habit, are too apt to introduce.

These studies, if they come not properly under the denomination of science, are essential to the due prosecution of it. Whilst they support their dignity, we may rest satisfied that true knowledge maintains its ground; but when these begin to be neglected, there is the greatest reason to believe that ignorance and barbarism are again aiming to establish their ancient empire, and to fear that their endeavours are not without success.

It has been before observed, that the pleasures we receive from the fine arts depend on an original or instinctive power of the mind, which I have chosen to call the sentimental faculty; meaning to infer, that, as the improvements we make in virtue and knowledge, are founded on the moral and rational powers; so the acquisitions we make in the arts, consist in the improvement of certain feelings intimately connected by some secret and inexplicable union with the effects of those arts.

Whether the improvement of this faculty be, like that of our other endowments, a duty incumbent on us; and if so, whether that duty ought to have a preference to any, and which, of those particular occupations we have before noticed; and again, which of those arts, employed in the cultivation of our feelings, is most powerful and efficacious in that respect, and ought more particularly to claim our regard, are questions which might admit of long inquiry, but which I shall touch upon as briefly as possible.

The arts now alluded to, are those of poetry, music, and painting,

* Beattie.

ing, or as they are called, in distinction from manual ingenuity, the polite arts.

Although these arts seem on the first view to be contributory only to our gratification; yet it should seem that Providence, in endowing us with propensities and abilities to investigate and improve them, meant that they should become, in some degree, the objects of our inquiry; and indeed we see throughout the whole creation, that the ends of beauty, amusement, and pleasure, have never been neglected; otherwise we might ask, in the language of Shenstone,

“ Why knows the nightingale to sing?
 Why flows the pine’s nectareous juice?
 Why shines with paint the linnet’s wing?
 For sustenance alone: For use:
 For preservation. Every sphere
 Shall bid fair pleasure’s rightful claim appear.
 And sure there seem of human kind,
 Some born to shun the solemn strife!
 Some for amusive tasks design’d
 To soothe the certain ills of life,
 Grace its lone paths with many a blushing
 rose,
 New founts of bliss disclose,
 Call forth refreshing shades, and decorate
 repose.”

The cultivation of the polite arts seems then to be conducive to the happiness of man, and consistent with the true end of his nature: but there is a still higher purpose to which they should be applied the consideration of which will tend to ascertain the rank they ought to hold, and to determine their relative claims upon our time and abilities.

In admitting that the arts are intended for our gratification, it must not be understood that utility is exclusively the end of science, and amusement the end of the arts.

From the study of the sciences, the understanding is enlarged, and the faculties strengthened; from that of the arts the affections are exercised and the heart is improved.

It would be superfluous, before the present audience, to enter into an explanation of this sentiment; for who has not experienced that delightful glow, that inexpressible sensation, favourable to virtue and humanity, which the labours of the genuine poet never fail to inspire? Who has not felt himself roused to action, or excited to pity, or affected with social sorrow, by the powerful effects of harmony, or the vivid representations of the pencil? After being conversant with these arts, the mind feels itself soothed and softened, and is then capable of receiving more distinctly and deeply, and retaining to more effectual purpose, those finer impressions whence a very considerable share of human happiness is derived, and which either give rise to, or highly improve all the charities of social life.

Let us not then conclude, that, because the fine arts are apparently calculated for the gratification of our feelings, therefore they are to be postponed to all the more serious avocations which have before been noticed. It is their province to act upon our affections and passions, the impulses of which have often as principal a share in the direction of our conduct, as the suggestions of our judgement; and to regulate, correct, and harmonize them by those means which Providence has afforded us, becomes therefore a part of our duty no less essential than the improvement of many of the sciences, or the cultivation of our rational powers.

To ascertain the particular rank to which the arts are entitled, might perhaps be a matter of some difficulty. That they ought by no means to interfere with the attainment of moral science is certain; and perhaps several branches of natural philosophy, closely connected with the utility of mankind, may have a stronger claim on our time and abilities; but that they are invariably to be postponed to the study of nature in all its branches cannot be allowed. From the contemplation of heroic actions, whether communicated by the pen or the pencil, feelings are incited, strongly connected with the first and leading object of our pursuit, and of great importance to the advancement of virtue and the improvement of human life.

I must also remark, that as an unvaried application to one pursuit is not only irksome to us, but frequently defeats the end it aims at, those occupations, by whose assistance the mind can relax without debilitating, and amuse without degrading itself, must ever stand high in our estimation; and by being intermingled with our more serious labours, will afford a degree of cheerfulness, vigour, and activity, which will tend more than any other means to insure success in higher pursuits.

Of an endeavour to fix the comparative excellence of the polite arts with each other, the result would be of little use, nor is the subject susceptible of novelty. There is no great difficulty in influencing the judgement to the pursuit of any particular study; but the sentimental faculty chooses its own objects, and seldom makes a proficiency in any

branch of art which it has not spontaneously adopted.

I have thus made a faint attempt to elucidate an idea which I conceive to be of considerable importance; and though I pretend not to have balanced with an accurate hand the comparative merit of the sciences, it is enough for my purpose, if I induce others to reflect, that there is a considerable difference in the degree of attention that ought to be paid to them. And it will, I hope, sufficiently appear, that the cultivation of the moral sense ought to be the grand object of our endeavours, and that even the improvement of our intellect is laudable, principally, as it promotes this great end.

Let it however be permitted me to remark, that throughout this essay, I have considered every individual of mankind as engaged to improve his abilities, and thereby promote his own happiness to the utmost of his power; but that I by no means would be thought to detract from the characters of those men who have employed their time and talents in the pursuit of particular sciences, even to the exclusion of others; and by arriving at eminence in them, have extended the bounds of human knowledge, and smoothed the way for future travellers. Infinite are the obligations mankind are under to the illustrious characters who have thus devoted themselves to the public good: but we may reasonably expect to stand excused, if, whilst we enjoy the fruits of such generous ardour, we aim at the security of our private happiness, and prefer the secret consciousness of a proper discharge of the duties of life, to the popular approbation,

tion, which deservedly waits those who have successfully d their abilities on subjects have little or no connexion he promotion of virtue and advancement of moral recti-

*appiness of a married life; from
Joiterer, a periodical work.*

all the men I ever knew, Charles Sedley was the most as in the grand affair of ng a wife; and after mature ation, discovered that fash- e women were vain, and ac- shed women affected. He ore married the daughter of his tenants, with no charm ing a little health and fresh- nd no acquirements beyond f a country boarding-school; persuaded that because she norant she must be humble, ause low-born, unexpensive. ooth these inferences he lived erience the falsity; for his osa soon became intoxicated : possession of pleasure of he had till then entertained no ntered with eagerness into pecies of fashionable dissipa- d paid small regard to a hus- or whom she felt little grati- d less affection.

as in vain he argued, im- and threatened; too weak on, too obstinate for intreaty, passionate for remonstrance, rd him with the vacant laugh , or answered him in the ulence of vulgar invective; y part of her country educa- ich she never forgot.

r battling it in vain for some with an enemy to whom he

was a very unequal antagonist, he submitted to an evil which he could not remedy, and is content to be ruined by the expences, and tormented by the follies of a vulgar termagant, for the sake (as he says) of *peace and quietness*.—Very different was the opinion and the fate of his brother Edward.—Determined not to be made miserable by a low-born vixen, he early attached himself to lady Caroline Almeria Horatia Mackenzie, who inherited together with the blood, the spirit and the pride of a long line of North British nobility.—After a long and tedious courtship, in which she took care to make him completely sensible of the honour done to him, her ladyship obligingly condescended to give him her hand; and still more obligingly introduced to his acquaintance and his house something more than a dozen of her great relations, who have ever since taken up their abode with him.

After this, it is needless to say how much he is master in his own family: since every subject of conjugal discussion is immediately laid before this impartial jury; who instantly pronounce judgement on the case, and exhort him to pay proper regard to a woman of lady Caroline's understanding, accomplishments, and rank. So that he possesses no other advantage over his brother than the privilege of being made miserable in the very best company.

"The two Sedleys," said my old friend, Frank Blunt, on entering my room the other morning, "were a couple of silly fellows, and are deservedly punished for their folly. He who sets out in a wrong road must not wonder if he does not reach his journey's end. Had I followed their example I should have been
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as miserable as they are—but I have chosen wisely, and am happy—very happy.—I have married a woman of the genteelst manners and the sweetest disposition. I wish, my dear friend, you would come over and take your mutton with us to-day, and you shall be convinced, that when a man chooses well, marriage is the happiest state upon earth.”—As I love to see my friends happy, I readily accepted his invitation, and accompanied him to his house, which is an easy ride from Oxford. The lady received us in the most gracious manner, and testified the highest satisfaction at seeing any friend of her husband’s,—giving him at the same time a gentle rebuke, for having so much out-staid his time, and exposed her to all those uneasy sensations which she always felt in his absence. He excused himself in the most tender manner, and they both left the room, in order to prepare either the dinner, or themselves. I, of course, took up a book; but whether the author was particularly stupid, or whether I was in a bad humour for reading, I know not, but I soon flung it down, and began to amuse myself with my own reflections. They were, however, soon interrupted by a dialogue, not of the most tender kind, between the master and mistress of the house, which the thinness of the partition suffered me to hear with tolerable correctness.—“Indeed, my dear Mr. Blunt, I wonder you could think of bringing your friend here to-day, when you know there is nothing in the house but a breast of mutton, and some minced chicken for the children’s dinner; besides, the servants are all ironing—But you men have no sort of contri-

vance.”—“Indeed, my dear,” replied the husband, “I am very sorry it should be inconvenient to receive him, but really Mr. is such a particular friend I could not avoid inviting him.”—“Lord, you are always bringing some *particular friend* or other to Oxford with you, and I suppose *particular friend* means to sleep to-night, but I am sure I know where to put him: the bed-chamber has been just washed, and I shall certainly not let him come into the chintz-room with his boots. If he does stay, he shall sleep in the *green garret*. I daresay he has been used at college to sleep without curtains, and I believe the glazier mended the windows yesterday.”—“Sorry am I to say, I have heard no more of this curious cation, and the more so as I have possibly never again have such an opportunity of making myself acquainted with the regulations of *domestic economy*: but the moment I was just then unluckily entered to make preparations for dinner, and such a clattering with his knives and forks, that I totally lost sight of Mr. Blunt’s answer, and could only discover that (whatever it was) was spoken in a low and submissive tone of voice.

Soon after this, the master, mistress of the house, the breast of mutton, and the minced chicken all made their appearance, and sat down apparently in high humour with each other!—No farther, worth notice, passed during the visit, and I returned to Cambridge in the evening (in spite of my *earnest and sincere* endeavours to detain me), where I surveyed my fire-side with peculiar compla-

and thanked my stars, that I had escaped the honours of the *green garret*.

*Letter from Menander to Glycera;
from Alciphron's Epistles.*

I Swear, my Glycera, by the Eleusinian* mysteries, and the goddesses who preside over them (before whose altars I have already sworn in the presence of you only), that, in what I now affirm and commit to writing, I do not seek to exalt myself in your eyes, or to ingratiate myself with you by flattery; for what change of fortune could be so pleasant to me, bereft of you, as that I now enjoy? Or to what higher pitch of happiness can I be exalted than the possession of your love? By the help of your disposition, and your manners, old age shall wear the appearance of youth. Let us then enjoy our youth together, let us together grow old, and by the gods we will together visit the grave, lest jealousy descend with either of us, should the survivor enjoy any of the goods of fortune. But let it not be my lot to seek enjoyment when you are no more; for what enjoyment can then remain? But the reasons which induced me to write to you from Piræus, where I am detained by ill health† (you know my usual infirmities, which my enemies call effeminacy and af-

fection); my reasons, I say for writing to you while you remain in the city to finish the celebration of the feast of Haloa,† are these: I have received letters from Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, in which he invites, by every mode of persuasion, myself and Philemon, promising us in a princely manner the good things, as they call them, of the earth. His letters say, also, that he has written to Philemon, who has indeed sent me his letters; but they are less ceremonious than those which are addressed to Menander, and less splendid in their promises. Let him consult for himself; I shall want no consultations. Thou, my Glycera, art my counsel; thou art to me the whole synod of Areopagites; thou art in my estimation all the counsellors of the forum; thou, by Minerva, ever hast been, and shalt continue to be, my every thing. I have sent you, therefore, the king's letters, that I might not give you the additional trouble of reading, in my transcript, what you would meet with afterwards in the original. I wish you also to be acquainted with what I mean to say in answer to them. To set sail and depart for Ægypt, a kingdom so far removed from us, by the twelve great gods! never entered into my thoughts; nay, if Ægypt was situated in Ægina, near as that is to us, I would not even then (sacrificing the kingdom which I enjoy in your love) be a wanderer

* The Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated every fifth year by the Athenians at Eleusis, a borough town in Attica. This solemnity was sacred to Ceres and her daughter Proserpina. It was the most mysterious and solemn festival of any in Greece, and often called, by way of eminence, the mysteries; so careful were they to conceal the sacred rites, that, if any person divulged any part of them, he was thought to have called down some divine judgement upon his head: and if any person, not lawfully initiated, through chance, or ignorance, or mistake, happened to be present, he was put to death.

† The Haloan feast was in honour of Ceres, and the offerings consisted of the fruits of the earth. It takes its name from Haloas, a title of Ceres.

wanderer amidst Ægyptian multitudes, in a place which would be to me without my Glycera, a populous desert. With more pleasure and more safety I court your favour than that of satraps and of kings. Besides, the loss of liberty is the loss of security; flattery is despicable; and Fortune, though in smiles, is not to be trusted.

I would not exchange for his Herculean goblets, his great cups, his golden vases, and all the boasted and envied ornaments of his court, our annual Choan* sacrifices, our shews in honour of Bacchus, the exercises of our Lyceum, and our scholastic employments; I would not make such an exchange, by Bacchus I swear, and his wreaths of ivy! that ivy with which, in the theatre, I would rather be crowned in the presence of my Glycera, than wear the diadem of Ptolemy. In what part of Ægypt shall I see the people assembled and giving their votes? where shall I behold a multitude enjoying the sweets of liberty? Where shall I look for the dispensers of justice crowned with ivy. The sacred area? the choice of magistrates? the libations? the Ceramicus? † the Forum? the seat of judgement? Leaving then my old neighbourhood Salamis, ‡ and Psytalia, and Marathon, all Greece in the city of Athens, all Ionia, the Cyclades, and above all my Glycera; shall I pass over into Ægypt? For what? That I may receive gold and silver, and other articles of

wealth? With whom then am I to enjoy these, when my Glycera is separated from me by such seas? Will not these possessions be poverty to me without her? And if I should hear that she has transferred her affections to another, will not all my treasures become as ashes? then, indeed, in death I should bear away my sorrows and myself, while my riches would be exposed to the plunder of my enemies.

Is it then any great honour to live with Ptolemy, and a train of satraps (empty titles!) among whom friendship is not without infidelity, nor enmity without danger? When my Glycera happens to be angry, I can snatch a kiss from her; if she continues to look grave, I am doubly peremptory with her; if she still hardens herself against me, I have recourse to tears. She then, in her turn, no longer able to support the task of tormenting me, betakes herself to her intreaties. These are the only weapons I have to cope with; she has neither soldiers, nor spearmen, nor guards; I am all these to her.

Is it then great and wonderful to behold the Nile? And is not the Euphrates too a noble object of admiration? Is not the Danube great, and as extensive, the Thermodon; the Tigris; the Halys; and the Rhine? Where I to visit all the rivers I could enumerate, my whole life would be sunk without looking on my Glycera. Besides, this Nile, beautiful as it is, is full of monsters; and it

* The Choan sacrifices were offered up to appease the manes of the deceased. They consisted of honey, wine, and milk; and are called Choan, from *χοη*, a libation.

† The Ceramicus was a range of buildings, so called from Ceramus, the son of Bacchus and Ariadne.

‡ Salamis, an island in the Ægean Sea. So Psytalia. Marathon, a village in Attica, rendered famous by the battle fought there, in which Miltiades, with ten thousand men, overthrew the Persian army, consisting of a hundred and ten thousand.

it is dangerous to approach the banks of a river baited with so many mischiefs. Ever then may it be my lot to be crowned, Oh king Ptolemy, with the ivy of Attica!* May I meet death in my own country, and be buried in the land of my fathers! May I join in the annual celebration of Bacchus before our altars, and be initiated in the complete course of religious mysteries! At our annual exhibitions may I present every now and then some new play,† and laugh, and rejoice, and

contend among my equals, now agitated with fear, and now crowned with victory! Let Philemon, then, enjoy in Ægypt the allurements held out to me; he has no Glycera, nor perhaps is he worthy of such a blessing. But do thou, I intreat thee, my dear Glycera, as soon as the Haloan feasts are finished, come flying to me upon your mule.

I never knew the festival so tedious before, or so unseasonable. May'st thou at last, Oh Ceres, be propitious!

* *Crowned with the ivy of Attica.*] Menander takes this method elegantly to insinuate his determination never to quit Attica, his native land.

† It is remarkable that Menander bore away the prize only eight times, though he exhibited a hundred and five dramas. Philemon, a writer of inferior celebrity, but who found means to obtain influence among the judges, was frequently complimented with the honours which more properly belonged to Menander. Of this Menander was so conscious, that, meeting one day with Philemon, he said, "dost thou not blush, oh, Philemon, when the judges decide the contest in thy favour?"

POETRY.

ODE *for the NEW YEAR, 1791.* By Henry James Pye, *esq.*
Poet Laureat.

I.

WHEN from the bosom of the mine
The magnet first to light was thrown,
Fair Commerce hail'd the gift divine,
And, smiling, claim'd it for her own.
" My bark," she said, " this gem shall guide
" Through paths of ocean yet untried,
" While as my daring sons explore
" Each rude inhospitable shore,
" 'Mid desart sands and ruthless skies,
" New seats of industry shall rise,
" And culture wide extend its genial reign,
" Free as the ambient gale, and boundless as the main."

II.

But Tyranny soon learn'd to seize
The art improving Science taught,
The white sail courts the distant breeze,
With horror and destruction fraught;
From the tall mast fell War unfurl'd
His banners to a new-found world;
Oppression arm'd with giant Pride,
And bigot Fury by her side;
Dire Desolation bath'd in blood,
Pale Av'rice, and her harpy brood,
To each affrighted shore in thunder spoke,
And bow'd the wretched race to Slavery's iron yoke.

III.

Not such the gentler views that urge
Britannia's sons to dare the surge;
Not such the gifts her Drake, her Raleigh bore
To the wild inmates of th' Atlantic shore,
Teaching each drear wood's pathless scene
The glories of their Virgin Queen—

Nor such her later chiefs, who try,
 Impell'd by soft Humanity,
 The boist'rous wave, the rugged coast,
 The burning zone, the polar frost,
 That climes remote, and regions yet unknown,
 May share a GEORGE'S sway, and bless his patriot throne.

IV.

Warm Fancy, kindling with delight,
 Anticipates the lapse of age,
 And as she throws her eagle's sight
 O'er Time's yet undiscover'd page,
 Vast continents, now dark with shade,
 She sees in Verdure's robe array'd;
 Sees o'er each island's fertile steep
 That frequent studs the southern deep,
 His fleecy charge the shepherd lead,
 The harvest wave, the vintage bleed;
 Sees Commerce, springs of guiltless wealth explore,
 Where frowns the western world on Asia's neighbouring shore.

V.

But lo! across the blackening skies
 What swarthy dæmon wings his flight?
 At once the transient landscape flies,
 The splendid vision sets in night.—
 And see Britannia's awful form,
 With breast undaunted, brave the storm:
 Awful, as when her angry tide
 O'erwhelm'd the wrecked Armada's pride,
 Awful, as when th' avenging blow
 Suspending o'er a prostrate foe,
 She snatch'd, in Vict'ry's moment prompt to save,
 Iberia's sinking sons from Calpe's glowing wave.

VI.

Ere yet the Tempest's mingled sound
 Burst dreadful o'er the nations round,
 What angel shape, in beaming radiance dight,
 Pours through the severing clouds celestial light!
 'Tis Peace—before her seraph eye
 The fiends of Devastation fly.
 Auspicious round our monarch's brow
 She twines her olive's sacred bough;
 This victory, she cries, is mine,
 Nor torn from War's terrific shrine!
 Mine, the pure trophies of the wise and good,
 Unbought by scenes of woe, and undefiled with blood,

ODE *for his MAJESTY'S BIRTH DAY, June 4, 1791. By Henry James Pye, esq. Poet Laureat.*

L OUD the whirlwind rag'd around
 That shook affrighted Britain's shore,
 In peals of louder thunder drown'd
 That mingled with the wint'ry roar;
 Dreadful amid the driving storm
 The gliding meteor's horrid form
 With transient gleam illum'd the air,
 While through December's murky night
 Refulgent with unwonted light,
 The livid flashes glare.

But see! the radiant Lord of Day
 Now northward rolls his burning car,
 And scatters with victorious ray
 The rage of elemental war.
 To rest the troubled waves subside,
 And gently o'er the curling tide
 Young Zephyr leads the vernal hours,
 Adorns with richest dyes the vale,
 And fragrance wafts on ev'ry gale
 From June's ambrosial flowers.

O, may no lowering gloom o'ercast
 Th' auspicious morn to Britain dear,
 Or Eurus check with envious blast
 The promise of the rip'ning year!
 Or should some transitory cloud
 Awhile th' ethereal splendor shroud;
 Soon shall the sun his stream renew—
 Soon shall the landscape smile around
 With more luxuriant verdure crown'd,
 And bloom with livelier hue.

Exulting in her prince rever'd,
 Whose mild parental virtues grace
 The sacred Throne by Glory rear'd
 On Freedom's adamant base;
 While Albion pours the festive strain,
 Responsive to her choral train
 The muse enraptur'd joins the throng,
 Proud that a grateful people's praise
 Echoes the votive verse she pays,
 And consecrates her song.

ODE ON CAMBRIA, a Mountain in Cornwall,
by Peter Pindar, esq.

NEAR yonder solitary tower,
'Lone glooming 'midst the moony light,
I roam at midnight's spectred hour,
And climb the wild majestic height:
Low to the mountain let me reverence hew,
Where Wisdom, Virtue, taught their founts to flow.

Pale on a rock's aspiring steep,
Behold a Druid sits forlorn,
I see the white-rob'd phantom weep,
I hear his harp of sorrow mourn.
The vanish'd grove provokes his deepest sigh,
And altars open'd to the gazing eye.

Permit me, Druid, here to stray,
And ponder 'mid thy drear retreat;
To wail the solitary way
Where Wisdom held her hallow'd seat;
Here let me roam, in spite of Folly's smile,
A pensive pilgrim, o'er each pitied pile.

Poor ghost! no more the Druid race
Shall here their sacred fires relume:
No more their show'rs of incense blaze;
No more their tapers gild the gloom.
Lo! snakes obscene along the temples creep,
And foxes on the broken altars sleep.

No more beneath the golden brook,
The treasures of the grove shall fall;
Time triumphs o'er each blasted oak,
Whose power at length shall crush the ball.
Led by the wrinkled Pow'r, with gladden'd mien,
Gigantic Ruin treads the weeping scene.

No more the bards, in strains sublime,
The actions of the brave proclaim,
Thus rescuing from the rage of Time
Each glorious deed approv'd by Fame.
Deep in the dust each lyre is laid unstrung,
While mute for ever stops each tuneful tongue.

Here

Here Wisdom's, Virtue's awful voice
 Inspired the youths of Cornwall's plains :
 With such, no more these hills rejoice,
 But sullen, death-like, silence reigns,
 While melancholy, in yon mould'ring tow'r,
 Sits list'ning to old ocean's distant roar.

Let others, heedless of the bill,
 With eye incurious pass along ;
 My muse with grief the scene shall fill
 And swell with softest sighs her song.

PROLOGUE to the "School for Arrogance."

GREAT news! Great news! Extraordinary news!
 Who'll buy, or give three-halfpence to peruse?
 [Sounds] Great news!—Pray, did you call, sirs? Here am I?
 Of wants, and wanted, I've a large supply!
 Of fire and murder, marriage, birth, and death,
 Here's more than I can utter in a breath!
 Rapes, riots, hurricanes, routs, rogues, and faro!
 Famine and fire in Turkey, and the plague at Cairo!
 Here's tincture for the gums, which dentists make,
 Whose teeth eat most when other people's ache.
 Here are rich soups, hams, tongues, oils, sauce, sour crout;
 And here's the grand specific for the gout!
 Here's turtle newly landed; lamb house-fed:
 And here's a wife and five small children wanting bread:
 Wholesale and retail British spirits here:
 And here's the dying speech of poor small-beer!
 Here are tall men, short women, and fat oxen;
 And here are Sunday-schools, and schools for boxing.
 Here ruin'd rakes for helpmates advertise;
 And only want 'em handsome, rich, and wise.
 Great news! Here's money lent on bond! rare news!
 By honest, tender-hearted, Christian Jews!
 Here are promotions, dividends, rewards;
 A list of bankrupts, and of new-made lords.
 Here the debates at length are, for the week:
 And here the deaf and dumb are taught to speak!
 Here HAZARD, GOODLUCK, SHERGOLD, and a band
 Of gen'rous gentlemen, whose hearts expand
 With honour, rectitude, and public spirit,
 Equal in high desert, with equal merit,

Divide

Divide their tickets into shares and quarters ;
 And here's a servant-maid found hanging in her garters !
 Here ! here's the fifty thousand, sold at ev'ry shop ;
 And here's the Newgate calendar—and drop.
 Rare news ! Strange news ! Extraordinary news !
 Who would not give three-halfpence to peruse ?

[*Going, returns.*] 'Sblud ! I forgot—Great news again I say !
 To-night, at Covent-Garden, a new play !
 [*In raptures.*] Oh ! I'll be there, with Jack, our printer's devil !
 We're judges !—We know when to clap or cavil !
 We've heard our pressmen talk of, of—Rome and Greece !
 And have read Harry—Harry—Harry Stottle's Masterpiece !
 When we have paid our shilling, we're the Town !
 As wisely can find fault, as those who pay their crowns !
 Nay, we, like them, if it be bad or good,
 Can talk as fast as, as—as if we understood !
 Oh ! I'll be there ; get the first row, and with my staff
 I'll act the trunkmaker, thump, roar, encore, and laugh !

The prompter's boy has call'd our Jack aside,
 And says, the play's to cure the world of pride !
 That rich folks will no longer think they're born
 To crush the weak, and laugh the poor to scorn !
 The great 'twill teach that virtue, truth, and merit !
 They may perchance possess, but can't inherit !
 That learning, wisdom, genius, wit, and worth,
 Are far more rich and rare than ribbands, rank, and birth !
 Lord ! Lord ! Who ever heard of such a scheme ?
 Teach sense to wealth and pride ! Your poets always dream !
 Could he do this, there's no one will deny
 That news ! strange news ! would be the gen'ral cry. [Exit.

EPILOGUE to the same.

THE curtain dropt, of course the author sends
 Me to salute our gen'rous noble friends,
 To me you listen, he politely says,
 Whene'er I prattle, with a wish to praise.
 For kindness so unceasing, may you be
 As happy, ev'ry soul, as your applause makes me !

But to my text—The theme to-night is pride :
 Much have we said, and much more have implied ;
 Our boldest strokes are feeble, nor can show
 The child of pride with half his genuine glow ;

Of

Of pride, which can such various forms assume,
Now rise an emperor, now sink a groom.

Mounted aloft, the wonder of his age,
With hackney-coachmen furious war to wage ;
Six swan-down waistcoats swathe him into shape,
His legs all buck-skin, and his coat all cape ;
With manners, looks, and language, such, you'd swear
His tutor had been Piccadilly's bear ;
When most contemptible, most hoping praise,
And only envious of the groom he pays ;
Four dappled greys in front, behind three men,
Down 'James-street dashing, to dash up again,
Then only in his height and pomp of pride,
When girl or gambler's seated by his side,
Driving by day, dicing by night, his passion ;
Such is the modern man of high-flown fashion !
Such are the scions sprung from Runnymede !
The richest soil that bears the rankest weed !
Potatoe-like, the sprouts are worthless found,
And all that's good of them is under ground.

Of pride—one single sketch in crayons more,
Behold her torch ! hark ! thunder shakes the door !
The carriage stops—the footmen make a lane—
The feathers stoop—and enter lady Jane ;
Perfect in How d'ye do—drop—bob, and bow—
(Curtsies, my friends, are out of fashion now)—(*To the galleries*)
First, to his grace—next, to the next of birth—
She none forgets—save genius, wit, and worth :
Whom, if she mark, 'tis with a modish stare,
To ask, Who knows them ? or, How came they there ?

Now at the bank, in anti-chamber kept,
Where Pharaoh's host twelve tedious hours had slept,
She seats herself, like palpitating lover,
Eager the last night's losses to recover.
“ No sense of virtue, dignity, or shame,
“ Her greatest pride's her knowledge of the game,
“ That pride most picqued, most mortified to see
“ A nabob's wife stake larger sums than she !”
And now three anxious hours have slipt away,
Three hundreds have been lost in piddling play.
No luck for her ! Aloud “ fresh cards !” she calls—
Her passions rising as her pocket falls.
She punts : again she loses, and again !
Oaths quiver on her lip ! she names the ten.

Stung

Stung to the soul, a deep'rate set she makes,
'Till even the winning banker deals and quakes.
Ghastly she pants, with horror in her eye,
To be the first the fatal card to spy.
The fatal card is turn'd, and ends the reign
Of fashion, folly, pride, and lady Jane.

Here too we end, oblig'd ourselves to own,
Our pride is great—when we can please the town. [Exit.

PROLOGUE to the " Road to Ruin." Spoken by Mr. FAWCETT.

Enters, driving a boy across the stage.

AWAY! 'Sblood! Run for the author! We can do nothing till he
appears;
Tell him in less than five minutes we shall have the house about our
ears!

[To the Audience.]

O, Sirs! the prompter has mislaid the prologue, and we are all *a-mort*.
I suppose our friends above yonder will soon be making pretty sport!
For pity's sake, suffer us to go on without it—Good, dear sirs, do!
'Twas most abominably dull—Zounds! there stands the writer. Well
'tis very true.
One of our te-tum-ti heroes was to have spoken it, who measure out
nonsense by the yard;
'And our chief hope was you'd make too much noise for it to be heard.
The author had mounted on the stilts of oratory and elocution;
Not but he had a smart touch or two about Poland, France, and the—the
Revolution;
Telling us, that Frenchmen, and Polishmen, and every man is our
brother;
And that all men, ay, even poor negroe men, have a right to be free:
one as well as another!
Freedom, at length, said he, like a torrent, is spreading and swelling,
To sweep away pride, and reach the most miserable dwelling:
To ease, happiness, art, science, wit, and genius to give birth;
Ay, to fertilize a world, and renovate old Earth!

Thus he went on, not mentioning a word about the play;
For he says prologues are blots which ought to be wip'd away;
A Gothic practice, and in spite of precedent, not the better for being
old;
For, if we tell any part of the plot, it then becomes a tale twice told!
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And such twice telling can rarely once excite our wonder :
 Ergo, he that says nothing is least likely to blunder.
 Since therefore prologues are bad things at best, pray, my good friends,
 Never mind the want of one, but live in hopes the play will make amends.
 [Exit.

EPILOGUE. *Spoken by Mrs. Mattocks.*

MY scenic faults and follies laid aside,
 No widow now, nor disappointed bride,
 My own plain self I once again resume ;
 Sent by the author here, to know his doom,
 Would you condemn him ? do, with all my heart ;
 'To own the truth, I don't half like my part :
 Through five long acts the butt of ridicule,
 A hard unfeeling heart, a flirt, a fool,
 My daughter's tyrant, and my lover's tool ;
 I hop'd the bitter pill he'd overcome,
 By making up an Epilogue sugar-plum.
 But no ! madam, said he, take my advice,
 And conquer feelings which are much too nice :
 Fear not to hold the mirror up to vice.
 We, who paint human characters, must shew them
 Such as they are ; or nobody would know them.
 —But, sir, the sex ! a woman !—very true :
 I'm sorry so many sat for me, while I drew.
 —Sure,—really, sir !—nay, don't be angry, madam :
 Both ate the apple, Eve as well as Adam ;
 And while through thick and thin the passions goad,
 Nor Eve nor Adam stay to pick their road :
 And as for Epilogue, I'll not descend
 Bad play by worse buffoonery to mend.
 —Mister, said I, you are too wise by half ;
 Folks dont come here to learn, they come to laugh :
 And if they choose like Hottentots their meat,
 You must provide them what they please to eat.
 Lord, sir ! the beauties of proportion never please
 Such as delight in frippery and frieze !
 Do we not see, by men of travelled taste,
 In open hall, on rising pillar plac'd,
 Griffon or Sphinx, th' insulted eye before,
 While Plato's bust stands hid behind the door ?
 But good advice I find is thrown away !
 —Yes, good advice is like a rainy day ;
 Which, though it make our barns and coffers full,
 Is often splenetic and always dull.
 Our common cause, then, let us fairly trust
 With those who are to sense and nature just.

[To

[To the Audience.]

"The richest soil, and most invig'rate seed,
 "Will here and there infected be with weed :
 "The gaudy poppy rears its broad bull head
 "Among the wheat, somnif'rous dew to shed :
 "Then whersoe'er rank couch-grass, fern, or tares, are found,
 "'Tis yours to hand-weed, horse-hoe, clear, and till the ground."

Inscription in an obscure part of the garden of the late Mrs. Clive, at Strawberry-hill, on a pedestal supporting a beautiful urn.

By the hon. Horace Walpole.

YE smiles and jests still hover round,
 This is Mirth's consecrated ground !
 Here liv'd the laughter-loving dame,—
 A matchless actress, CLIVE her name.
 The comic muse with her retir'd,
 And shed a tear when she expir'd. H. W.

To Mr. Horace Walpole.

On his inscription on an urn, dedicated to Mrs. Clive.

By Peter Pindar, esq.

HORACE ! of Strawberry-hill—I mean, not Rome—
 Lo ! all thy geese are swans, I do presume—
 Truth and thy trumpet seem not to agree ;
 Know Comedy is hearty—all alive—
 The sprightly lass no more expired with Clive
 Than dame Humility will die with thee.

The herald and the husbandman, a fable in the new edition of Smart's Poems.

—*Nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.* Juvenal.

I With friend Juvenal agree,
 Virtue's the true nobility ;
 Has of herself sufficient charms,
 Although without a coat of arms.
 HONESTUS does not know the rules,
 Concerning Or, and Fez, and Gules.
 Yet sets the wond'ring eye to gaze on
 Such deeds as heralds ne'er could blazon.
 Tawdry atchievements out of place,
 Do but augment a fool's disgrace ;

A coward is a double jest
 Who has a lion for his crest;
 And things have come to such a pass,
 Two horses may support an ass;
 And on a gamester or buffoon,
 A moral motto's a lampoon.
 An honest rustic, having done
 His master's work 'twixt sun and sun,
 Retir'd to dress a little spot
 Adjoining to his homely cot,
 Where, pleased, in miniature he found
 His landlord's culinary ground,
 Some herbs that feed, and some that heal,
 The winter's medicine or meal.
 The sage, which in his garden seen,
 No man need ever die,* I ween;
 The marjoram, comely to behold,
 With thyme and ruddiest marygold,
 And mint, and penny-royal sweet,
 To deck the cottage-windows meet;
 The baum, that yields a finer juice
 Than all that China can produce;
 With carrots red, and turnips white,
 And leeks, Cadwallader's delight;
 And all the savory crop that vie
 To please the palate and the eye,
 Thus as, intent, he did survey
 His plot, a herald came that way,
 A man of great escutcheoned knowledge,
 A member of the motley college.
 Heedless the peasant pass'd he by,
 Indulging this soliloquy;
 "Ye gods! what an enormous space,
 'Twixt man and man does nature place;
 While some, by deeds of honour, rise
 To such a height as far out-vies
 The visible diurnal sphere;
 While others like this rustic here,
 Grope in the grovelling ground content,
 Without or lineage or descent.—
 Hail, heraldry! mysterious art,
 Bright patroness of all desert,
 Mankind would on a level lie,
 And undistinguished live and die,
 Depriv'd of thy illustrious aid!
 Such! so momentous, is our trade."

* *Cui moriatur homo, cui salvia crescit in horto?*

POETRY, LAUNIA

" Sir, says the clown why sure you joke,
 (And kept on digging as he spoke)
 And prate not to extort conviction,
 But merrily by way of fiction.
 Say, do your manuscripts attest,
 What was old father Adam's crest;
 Did he a nobler coat receive
 In right of marrying Mrs. Eve;
 Or had supporters when he kias'd her,
 On dexter side, and side sinister;
 Or was his motto, prithee, speak,
 English, French, Latin, Welsh, or Greek;
 Or was he not without a lie,
 Just such a nobleman as I?"

Song of a Spirit ; from Mrs. Radcliffe's Romance of the Forest.

IN the sightless air I dwell,
 On the sloping sun-beams play;
 Delve the cavern's inmost cell,
 Where never yet did day-light stray;

Dive beneath the green-sea waves,
 And gambol in the briny deeps;
 Skim ev'ry shore that Neptune laves,
 From Lapland's plains to India's steeps.

Oft I mount with rapid force
 Above the wide earth's shadowy zone;
 Follow the day-star's flaming course
 Through realms of space to thought unknown;

And listen to celestial sounds
 That swell the air unheard of men,
 As I watch my nightly rounds
 O'er woody steep, and silent glen.

Under the shade of waving trees,
 On the green bank of fountain clear,
 At pensive eve I sit at ease,
 While dying music murmurs near.

And oft, on point of airy clift,
 That hangs upon the western main,
 I watch the gay tints passings swift,
 And twilight veil the liquid plain.

Then,

Then, when the breeze has sunk away,
And ocean scarce is heard to lave,
For me the sea-nymphs softly play
Their dulcet shells beneath the wave.

Their dulcet shells ! I hear them now,
Slow swells the strain upon mine ear ;
Now faintly falls—now warbles low,
Till rapture melts into a tear.

The ray that silvers o'er the dew,
And trembles through the leafy shade,
And tints the scene with softer hue,
Calls me to rove the lonely glade ;

Or hie me to some ruin'd tower,
Faintly shewn by moon-light gleam ;
Where the lone wanderer owns my power,
In shadows dire that substance seem ;

In thrilling sounds that murmur woe,
And pausing silence makes more dread ;
In music breathing from below
Sad solemn strains, that wake the dead.

Unseen I move—unknown am fear'd !
Fancy's wildest dreams I weave ;
And oft by bards my voice is heard
To die along the gales of eve.

Moody having invented the game of whist, to silence two old maids and his mother, lays down the laws of the game ; from Whist, a poem, by A. Thompson, esq.

BUT though Confusion's voice was heard no more,
And silence reign'd where all was noise before ;
Yet still at times occasions would arise,
Where each restraint the sisters could despise ;
And still disturb the youth's unlucky state
With all the violence of keen debate.—
Perhaps the dealer might the cards confuse,
Nor yet her privilege could bear to lose :
Perhaps a card might on the table fall—
Its mistress never meant to play at all ;
Who then her error might lament in vain,
And urge her right to take it up again :

Perhaps

Perhaps her haste a trick with trumps had gain'd,
 While of the suit her hand a card retain'd—
 A sad mistake; which, when it once was found,
 In endless strife embroil'd the table round:
 Or, worse than all, perhaps Oblivion's pow'r
 Had miss'd entirely *scoring's* proper hour;
 And now too late those honours rose to mind,
 Which to their tricks they might have justly join'd;
 A loss which never pass'd from Mem'ry's sight,
 But clouded still each after triumph bright,
 And fill'd with murmur's voice the whole repining night.
 All this young Moody with displeasure saw,
 And vainly strove to keep the storm in awe:
 From this he found, that, though so much was done,
 He had not wholly yet the battle won;
 From this he knew, that somewhat still remain'd,
 Ere silence here a perfect triumph gain'd.
 Oft had he read the tracks of fertile ground,
 With lavish Nature's richest bounty crown'd,
 In rude neglect and savage wildness lay,
 To desolation and to waste a prey;
 From this one single but important cause,
 The want of regular and wholesome laws.
 And, since capricious fortune's blind control
 Had thus already made his favour'd soul
 The bold discov'rer of a region new,
 Resolv'd to prove its legislator too.
 Nor did the strength of his inventive mind
 This second task an arduous duty find:
 For two short hours of one tempestuous day
 Suffic'd to range his laws in neat array;
 And, lest his subjects might, perhaps, disdain
 The recent offspring of his youthful brain,
 His prudent art a cautious method chose,
 And feign'd (for fiction well each lawyer knows)
 That he these laws had in the pages found
 Of one whose genius had been long renown'd.
 Success, as usual, crown'd his artful plan,
 And, leave of reading gain'd, he thus began:

I.

The cards to shuffle long as may him suit,
 Is ev'ry player's right, without dispute:
 But when this right thro' all the hands has pass'd,
 Still with the dealer it should rest at last:
 Who, ere he deals, should have the painted band
 Cut by the person on his better hand;
 As else th' unlawful deal will never stand.

II.

If in the pack a card display its face
 * He must begin again in such a case :
 And should he one in dealing chance to turn,
 The foes, if so inclin'd, that deal may spurn.

III.

But if he gives not each his number due,
 To one too many, or to one too few,
 † He then must be content the deal to lose,
 Unless his luck supplies the sole excuse,
 That, while he dealt, by either of the foes
 The cards were touch'd ; for then we may suppose
 From them, and not from him, the fault arose.

IV.

Still on the board, the whole commencing round,
 ‡ Let his trump card expos'd to view be found :
 Nor, after that, though you may trumps inquire,
 Can you of it another sight desire.

V.

Let each, before he play, his hand review,
 And mark if he possess the number due ;
 § For should he not, and yet proceed to play,
 Till he perceives at last a card away,
 He must for each *revoke* the forfeit pay.

VI.

Let each with constant eye the board survey,
 ¶ Nor ask another what he chanc'd to play,
 Though he may bid him draw his card away.

VII.

Nor here, as in your former game, *Quadrille*,
 May one examine all the tricks at will :
 The latest can alone return to sight ;
 The rest must ne'er again behold the light.

VIII.

The card which once has fairly touch'd the board,
 Must never more be to the hand restor'd.

IX.

When, from mistake, as it at times proceeds,
 The one rash partner for the other leads ;

* Vide Hoyle, chap. xviii. laws ix. and xi. † Vide Id. chap. xxii. law. xiii.
 ‡ Id. chap. xviii. law xviii. § Id. ibid. law xii. ¶ Id. chap. xxii. law. viii.
 * Then

* Then may the foes a just occasion seize,
To make his brother play what suit they please ;
And for that card, which was so keen to fall,
They have a right at any time to call.

X.

For each *revoke* your foe may chance to make,
From his collected tricks you three can take
Or from his score (if tricks he yet has none)
† Take down three points, or add them to your own :
But this to do you ne'er can urge the right,
Until the trick is turn'd, and out of sight ;
Though then its influence boasts a fairer claim
Than any other score in all the game.

XI.

The tricks, fair children of superior skill,
Before the casual honours reckon still.

XII.

Remember always, when the hand is o'er,
‡ At once your honours and your tricks to score;
For should you wait till trumps be turn'd again,
Your right you then may claim, but claim in vain.

XIII.

But if beyond the truth you chance to go,
Your score diminish'd must enrich the foe.

XIV.

The proper season on your friend to call,
§ Is just before your hand a card lets fall ;
A moment later and you lose the claim,
And even a moment sooner is the same.

XV.

|| But when the trump has once appear'd in sight,
Let none remind his friend of calling a right.

XVI.

Although of tricks one side should make them all,
That rarest triumph which a *slam* we call,
Yet they from this no profit e'er must claim,
Which would not suit the spirit of the game.

* Hoyle, chap. xviii. law i. † Id. chap. xviii. laws iii. and ii. ‡ Id. Ibid. law. vi.
§ Id. chap. xviii. law xxi. || Id. Ibid. law v.

Such were the laws, which now to all appear,
 So just, so useful, so concise, and clear,
 That one consenting voice, without delay,
 Engag'd their future influence to obey :
 And should he doubt their word, for sanction's sake,
 They proffer'd too, that very hour, to take
 Whatever oath he might be pleas'd to make.

The youth delighted made a pensive pause,
 And rising, to their sight display'd the laws :
 Then the three sisters held their hands on high,
 While each upon the ceiling fixed her eye ;
 And all in decent order thus dispos'd,
 He then in solemn tone his oath propos'd.

“ By tea and scandal's ever dear delights ;
 “ By liberty of speech, that first of rights ;
 “ That right which virgins, wives, and widows claim,
 “ To use all freedom with their neighbour's fame ;
 “ By all the joys that pensive mem'ry knows,
 “ When to that glorious time she backward goes,
 “ When o'er your days the pow'r of courtship threw
 “ The magic lustre of his brilliant hue ;
 “ Whose musky breath perfumed each precious hour
 “ With the sweet scent of pleasure's myrtle bow'r :
 “ By those regrets which now your bosom feel,
 “ That virgin pride had armed your hearts with steel,
 “ And made you deaf to every lover's pray'r,
 “ Till they at last resigned the fruitless care,
 “ And left you to repentance and despair :
 “ And by those hopes which yet your fancies fill,
 “ That, aided by your own alluring skill,
 “ Propitious fortune will permit you still
 “ With festive pomp to deck the bridal day,
 “ And pass the night in nuptial joys away.”

Such was that oath, of strength unknown before ;
 By whose emphatic words the sisters swore :
 Nor need I surely add, that they transgress'd no more.

*The Magpie and Robin Red-Breast : a tale,
 by Peter Pindar, esq.*

A Magpie, in the spirit of Romance,
 Much like the fam'd Reformers now of *France*,
 Flew from the dwelling of an old *POISSARDE* ;
 Where sometimes *in* his cage, and sometimes *out*,

He

He justified the revolution rout,
That is, call'd names, and got a sop for his reward.

Red-hot with monarch-roasting coals,
Just like his old fish-thund'ring dame,
He left the queen of crabs, and plaice, and soles,
To kindle in old England's realm a flame.

Arriv'd at ev'ning's philosophic hour,
He rested on a rural antique tow'r,
Some BARON's castle in the days of old ;
When furious wars, misnomer'd civil,
Sent mighty chiefs to see the devil,
Leaving behind their bodies for rich mould,
That pliable from form to form patroles,
Making fresh houses for new souls.

Perch'd on the wall, he cocks his tail and eye,
And hops like modern beaux in country-dances ;
Looks dev'lish knowing, with his head awry,
Squinting with connoisseurship glances.

All on a sudden, MAGGOT starts and stares,
And wonders, and for somewhat *strange* prepares ;
But, lo ! his wonder did not hold him long—
Soft from a bush below, divinely clear,
A modest warble melted on his ear,
A plaintive, soothing, solitary song—

A stealing, timid, unpresuming sound,
Afraid dim NATURE's deep repose to wound ;
That hush'd (a death-like pause) the rude *SUBLIME*,
This was a novelty to MAG indeed,
Who, pulling up his spindle-shanks with speed,
Dropp'd from his turret, half-devour'd by *TIME*,
A-la-Francoise, upon the spray,
Where a lone Red-breast pour'd to eve his lay.

Staring the modest minstrel in the face ;
Familiar, and with arch grimace,
He conn'd the dusky warbler o'er and o'er,
As though he knew him years before,
And thus began, with seeming great civility,
All in the Paris ease of volubility :—

" What BOBBY ! dam'me, is it *you*,
" That thus your pretty phiz to music screw,

" So far from hamlet, village, town, and city,
 " To glad old battlements with dull psalm ditty?
 " 'Sdeath! what a pleasant, lively, merry, scene!
 " Plenty of bats, and owls, and ghosts, I ween;
 " Rare midnight screeches, BOB, between you all;
 " Why, what's the name on't, BOBBY? Dismal Hall?

" Come, to be serious—curse this queer old spot,
 " And let thy owlish habitation rot!
 " Join *me*, and soon in riot we will revel:
 " I'll teach thee how to curse, and call folks names,
 " And be expert in treason, murder, flames,
 " And most *divinely* play the devil.

" Yes, thou shalt leave this spectred hole,
 " And prove thou hast a bit of soul:
 " Soon shalt thou see old stupid LONDON *dance*:
 " There shall we shine immortal knaves;
 " Not steal unknown, like cuckoos, to our graves,
 " But imitate the geniuses of FRANCE.

" Who'd be that monkish, cloister'd thing, a muscle?
 " Importance only can arise from bustle!
 " Tornado, thunder, lightning, tumult, strife;
 " These *charm* and add a *dignity* to life,
 " That thou should'st choose this spot, is monstrous odd;
 " Poh, poh! thou canst not like this life, by G—!"

" Sir!" like one thunder-stricken, staring wide—
 " Can you be serious, sir?" the ROBIN cried,
 " Serious!" rejoin'd the MAGPIE, "aye, my boy—
 " So come, let's play the devil, and enjoy."

" Flames!" quoth the ROBIN—"and in riot revel!
 " Call names, and curse, *divinely* play the devil!
 " I cannot, for my life, the fun discern."—
 " No!—blush, then, BOB, and follow me, and learn."

" Excuse me, sir," the modest HERMIT cried—
 " Hell's not the hobby-horse I wish to ride!"
 " Hell!" laugh'd the MAGPIE, "hell no longer dread;
 " Why, BOB, in FRANCE the devil's lately dead:

" Damnation vulgar to a Frenchman's hearing,—
 " The word is only kept alive for swearing.
 " Against futurity they all protest;
 " And God and Heav'n are grown a standing jest.

" Brimstone

" Brimstone and sin are downright out of fashion ;
 " FRANCE is quite alter'd—now a *thinking* nation :
 " No more of penitential tears and groans !
 " PHILOSOPHY has crack'd RELIGION's bones.

" As for your Saviour of a wicked world,
 " Long from his consequence has he been hurl'd :
 " They *do* acknowledge such a man, d'ye see ;
 " But then they call him simple MONSTER CHRIST.
 " Now, for thy ignorance, pray blush for shame—
 " Behold, thy DOCTOR PRISERLY says the same.

" Well ! now thou fully art convinc'd—let's go."—
 " What cursed doctrine !" quoth the ROBIN, " No—
 " I won't go—no ! thy speeches make me shudder."—
 " Poor ROBIN !" quoth the MAGPIE, " what a pudder ;
 " Be damn'd then, BOBBY !"—flying off, he rav'd—
 " And (quoth the ROBIN) sir, may you be *sav'd* !"
 This said, the tuneful sprite renew'd his lay ;
 A sweet and farewell hymn to parting day.—

In THOMAS PAINE the MAGPIE doth appear :
 That I'm POOR ROBIN, is not quite so clear.

The Sea Shore ; from poems by Dr. Aikin.

FREQUENT along the pebbly beach I pace,
 And gaze intent on Ocean's varying face.
 Now from the main rolls-in the swelling tide,
 And waves on waves in long procession ride :
 Gath'ring they come, 'till, gained the ridgy height,
 No more the liquid mound sustains its weight :
 It curls, it falls, it breaks, with hideous roar,
 And pours a foamy deluge on the shore.
 From the bleak pole now driving tempests sweep,
 Tear the light clouds, and vex the ruffled deep :
 White on the shoals the spouting breakers rise,
 And mix the waste of waters with the skies :
 The anch'ring vessels, stretched in long array,
 Shake from their bounding sides the dashing spray :
 Lab'ring they heave, the tighten'd cables strain,
 And danger adds now horror to the main :
 Then shifts the scene, as to the western gales
 Delighted Commerce spreads her crowded sails.
 A cluster'd groupe the distant fleet appear,
 That, scatt'ring, breaks in varied figures near.

Now,

Now, all-illumin'd by the kindling ray,
Swan-like, the stately vessel cuts her way :
The full-wing'd barks now meet, now swiftly pass,
And leave long traces in the liquid glass :
Light boats, all sail, athwart the currents bound,
And dot with shining specks the surface round.
Nor with the day the sea-born splendors cease :
When ev'ning lulls each ruder gale to peace,
The rising moon with silv'ry lustre gleams,
And shoots across the flood her quiv'ring beams.
Or, if deep gloom succeed the sultry day,
On Ocean's bosom native meteors play,
Flash from the wave, pursue the dipping oar,
And roll in flaming billows to the shore.

Account of Books for 1791.

The Life of Samuel Johnson, L. L. D. comprehending an account of his studies and numerous works, in chronological order; a series of his epistolary correspondence and conversation with many eminent persons; and various original pieces of his composition, never before published. The whole exhibiting a view of literature and literary men in Great Britain, for near half a century, during which he flourished; by James Boswell, esq. 4to. 2 vols. 1791.

NOTHING can afford a stronger proof of the high estimation in which the character and writings of Dr. Johnson are held by the public, than the great attention that has been paid to the various, we might say numerous, accounts of his life, of his opinions, of his writings, and of his social connexions, which have appeared, since the presence of this distinguished luminary of literature was withdrawn from us by the common destiny of mankind:—but the hand of death could only reach his mortal part, which alone was vulnerable: his fame will survive; and his works will continue to be regarded as his most splendid monument, when stone and brass, when temples and cathedrals, are mouldered away, and are returned, like

their builders, to the earth, from which they sprang.

Among the numerous friends, the admirers, we are tempted to add, the idolizers, of Johnson (for the admiration of some, however justly founded, has been carried to length a little short of idolatry), Mr. Boswell is well known, as not the least considerable, in the esteem and confidence of that great and singular character,—the memorials of which he has, at length, presented to us: we say at length, because the promised work has been long expected.

With regard to the form in which Mr. Boswell's work is given to the public, if not altogether new, is somewhat extraordinary as to the manner in which the author has written it: but to us the novelty is not unpleasant. Xenophon's *Memorabilia* of Socrates may, possibly, have first suggested to Mr. Boswell the idea of preserving and giving to us the *Memorabilia* of Johnson: but he professes to have followed a model of later times: that of Mason, in his *Memoirs of Gray*. He has, however, by much, the advantage of Mr. Mason, in the quantity, variety, and richness of his materials.

"Indeed," says the biographer, "I cannot conceive a more perfect mode

mode of writing any man's life, than not only relating all the most important events of it in their order, but interweaving what he privately wrote, and said, and thought; by which mankind are enabled, as it were, to see him live, and to 'live o'er each scene' with him, as he actually advanced through the several stages of his life. Had his other friends been as diligent and ardent as I was, he might have been almost entirely preserved. As it is, I will venture to say, that he will be seen, in this work, more completely than any man who has ever yet lived.—And he will be seen as he really was; for I profess to write, not his panegyric, which must be all praise, but his life; which, great and good as he was, must not be supposed to be entirely perfect."

It is but justice to declare, that although Mr. Boswell fondly indulges the feelings of friendship for the memory of his friend whenever the occasion will permit, he does not appear in any instance to have been seduced from the strict impartiality, and love of truth, which the duty of the historian requires. To follow the author in all the domestic privacies and minute details of the daily life and conversation of Johnson, which he has here exhibited in such abundant variety, might gratify our own inclinations, but would greatly exceed the limits we prescribe to ourselves in this department of our volume. We shall therefore endeavour to extract from these volumes the outline of Johnson's life, preserving, as far as it is possible, in a connected series, those peculiarities of thought and action by which this extraordinary character is distinguished.

Before we proceed to our selections, let us attend to Mr. Boswell's general introductory paragraph, relative to his opportunities of becoming acquainted with the more remarkable incidents of Johnson's early years, as well as with those of the subsequent part of his life:

"As I had the honour and happiness of enjoying his friendship for upwards of twenty years; as I had the scheme of writing his life constantly in view; as he was well apprized of this circumstance, and from time to time obligingly satisfied my inquiries, by communicating to me the incidents of his early years; as I acquired a facility in recollecting, and was very assiduous in recording his conversation, of which the extraordinary vigour and vivacity constituted one of the first features of his character; and as I have spared no pains in obtaining materials concerning him, from every quarter where I could discover that they were to be found, and have been favoured with the most liberal communications by his friends; I flatter myself that few biographers have entered upon such a work as this, with more advantages, independent of literary abilities, in which I am not vain enough to compare myself with some great names who have gone before me in this kind of writing."

Such opportunities for obtaining biographical materials, relative to an individual, perhaps never before fell to the lot of any writer; and greater and more unremitted application in the use of them cannot, we believe, easily be conceived. We have, indeed, been astonished at Mr. Boswell's industry and perseverance!—to say nothing of the multiplicity

tiplicity and variety of his own occasional and pertinent observations, which are properly interspersed with the anecdotes, letters, and details.

Samuel Johnson was born at Litchfield, in Staffordshire, on the 18th of September, N. S. 1709; and baptized the same day, as appears by the register of St. Mary's parish, in that city. His father, Michael Johnson, was a native of Derbyshire, of obscure extraction, who settled in Litchfield, as a bookseller and stationer. His mother, Sarah Ford, was descended of an ancient race of substantial yeomanry, in Warwickshire. They were well advanced in years when they married; and never had more than two children, both sons; Samuel, "who lived to be," says Mr. Boswell, "the illustrious character whose various excellence I am to endeavour to record," their first-born; and Nathaniel, who died in his twenty-fifth year. Mr. Michael Johnson, although endowed with a strong and active mind, was afflicted with a mixture of that disease the nature of which eludes the most minute inquiry, though the effects are well known to be a weariness of life, an unconcern about those things which agitate the greater part of mankind, and a general sensation of gloomy wretchedness; and from him his son Samuel inherited "a vile melancholy," which, to use his own expression, "made him mad all his life, or at least not sober." The father of Johnson was a pretty good Latin scholar, and his mother a woman of distinguished understanding and great piety; but the early instances he exhibited of the strength of his memory and extraordinary parts soon rendered a more extensive

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source of information necessary; and after being taught to read English by Dame Oliver, a widow, who kept a school for young children at Litchfield, and by a master whom he familiarly called Tom Brown, and who had published a spelling-book, and dedicated it *To the Universe*, he began to learn *Latin* with Mr. Hawkins, usher or under master of Litchfield school; and rose in the course of two years to be under the care of Mr. Hunter, the head master. Of this master Johnson used to say, "He beat us unmercifully, and did not distinguish between ignorance and negligence; for he would beat a boy equally for not knowing a thing and for neglecting to know it. He would ask a boy a question; and if he did not answer it he would beat him, without considering whether he had an opportunity of knowing how to answer it. For instance, he would call up a boy and ask him Latin for a candlestick, which the boy could not expect to be asked. Now, sir, if a boy could answer every question, there would be no need of a master to teach him." Mr. Boswell, however, thinks it necessary, in justice to the memory of Mr. Hunter, to mention, that though he might err in being too severe, the school of Litchfield was very respectable in his time; and Johnson himself afterwards attributed his accurate knowledge of Latin to his thus enforcing instruction by means of the rod; a mode of chastisement of which he, upon all occasions, expressed his approbation. "I would rather," said he, "have the rod to be the general terror of all, to make them learn, than tell a child, 'If you do thus or thus you will be more esteemed than your brothers or sisters.' The rod produces

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duces an effect which terminates in itself. A child is afraid of being whipped, and gets his task, and there's an end on't; whereas, by exciting emulations and comparisons of superiority, you lay the foundations of lasting mischief; you make brothers and sisters hate each other." Johnson, after having resided for some time at the house of his uncle, Cornelius Ford, was, at the age of fifteen, removed to the school of Stourbridge, in Worcestershire, of which Mr. Wentworth was then master. He remained at Stourbridge little more than a year, and then returned home, where he may be said to have loitered for two years in a state very unworthy of his uncommon abilities, of which he had already given several proofs. On the 31st of October, 1728, being then in his nineteenth year, he went to Oxford, was entered a commoner of Pembroke-College, and placed under the tuition of Mr. Jorden, fellow of the college, of whose learning and abilities he does not appear to have entertained any very exalted idea, but for whose worth he had so high a love and respect, that he used to say, "when ever a young man becomes Jorden's pupil, he becomes his son." Soon after his introduction to this seminary, he translated, by the desire of Mr. Jorden, Pope's *Messiah* into Latin verse, and performed it with such uncommon rapidity, and in so masterly a manner, that he obtained great applause from it, which ever after kept him high in the estimation of his college, and indeed of all the university.

The rapidly-increasing energies of Johnson's mind were, soon after this proof of his genius, unfortunately suspended by the "morbid

melancholy" which was lurking in his constitution, and to which may be ascribed those particularities, and that aversion to regular life, which at a very early period marked his character. While he was at Litchfield, in the college vacation of the year 1729, he felt himself overwhelmed with a horrible hypochondria, and was sometimes so languid and inefficient, that he could not distinguish the hour upon the town clock. Upon the first violent attack of this disorder, he strove to overcome it by forcible exertions; but all in vain; and his distress became so intolerable, that he applied to Dr. Swinfen, physician, in Litchfield, his godfather, and put into his hands a state of his case written in Latin, with such extraordinary acuteness, research, and eloquence, that he shewed it to several persons as an instance of the deep erudition of his patient and godson; but Johnson was so much offended by this breach of confidence, that he was never afterwards fully reconciled to him. The medical advice of Dr. Swinfen does not seem to have been very effectual; for we are informed, that the oppression and distraction of this disease were so great, that insanity was the object of his most dismal apprehension, and that he fancied himself seized by it, or approaching to it, at the time when he was giving proofs of a more than ordinary soundness and vigour of judgement. The particular course of his reading while at Oxford, and during the time of vacation which he passed at home, cannot be traced, but it was most probably deep and varied; until, in the autumn of the year 1731, the *res angusta domi*, and the neglect of a friend to whom he had trusted for support, obliged him to leave

leave college, after having been a member of it little more than three years, without a degree, or the advantage of a complete academical education. Johnson, under all these inauspicious circumstances, returned to his native city, destitute, and not knowing how he should gain even a decent livelihood; and to add to his embarrassments, his father, whose misfortunes in trade rendered him unable to support his son, died, in the month of December following, in a state of poverty, thus described in one of Johnson's little diaries of the following year: "1732, *Julii 15. Undecim aureas deposui, quod die quicquid ante matris funus (quod serum sit precor) de paternis bonis sperari licet, viginti libras accepi. Usque adeo mihi fortuna fingenda est. Interea, ne paupertate vires animi languescant, nec in flagitia egestas abigat, cavendum:*" a circumstance which, as Mr. Boswell justly observes, displays his spirit and virtuous dignity of mind. In this forlorn state, Johnson accepted of an offer to be employed as usher in the school of Market-Bosworth, in Leicestershire, to which place he went on foot on the 16th of July. The aversion which he soon felt from the uniform tenor and painful drudgery of this situation was greatly enhanced by a disagreement between him and sir Woolston Dixey, the patron of the school, in whose house, as Mr. Boswell has been told, he officiated as a kind of domestic chaplain, so far at least as to say grace at table, and where he was treated with what he represented as such intolerable harshness, that he relinquished a situation which all his life afterwards he recollected with the strongest aversion. Being now totally unoccupied, he was invited by Mr. Hector to pass some time with him at Bir-

mingham, as his guest, at the house of Mr. Warren, an eminent bookseller, with whom Mr. Hector boarded and lodged. Here he executed his first prose work, a translation of Lobo's *Voyages to Abyssinia*, from the French into the English language, which was completed and published in 1735, with London upon the title page, though it was in reality printed at Birmingham. Johnson returned to Litchfield early in 1734, and in August, that year, published proposals for printing by subscription the *Latin Poems of Politian*; but there were not subscribers enough to ensure a sufficient sale, so the work never appeared, and, probably, never was executed. During the course of this year he returned again to Birmingham, and in the month of November wrote an anonymous letter to Mr. Cave, the original compiler and editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, pointing out the defects of the poetical article of that Miscellany, and offering, on reasonable terms, "sometimes to fill a column." This letter was answered the ensuing month, but whether any thing was done in consequence of it we are not informed. On the 9th July, 1735, Johnson was married to Mrs. Porter, of Birmingham; but the marriage ceremony was performed at Derby, for which place the bride and bridegroom set out on horseback. Of this event Johnson afterwards gave to Mr. Boswell the following curious account: "Sir, it was a love marriage upon both sides. Sir, she had read old romances, and had got into her head the fantastical notion that a woman of spirit should use her lover like a dog. So, Sir, at first she told me that I rode too fast, and she could not keep up with me; and, when I rode a little slower, she

passed me, and complained that I lagged behind. I was not to be made the slave of caprice; and I resolved to begin as I meant to end. I therefore pushed on briskly, till I was fairly out of sight. The road lay between two hedges, so I was sure she could not miss it; and I contrived that she should soon come up with me. When she did, I observed her to be in tears." But Johnson, notwithstanding this singular beginning of connubial felicity, proved a most affectionate and indulgent husband, to the last moment of Mrs. Johnson's life.

We are now to behold him emancipated from his family, without fortune, without friends, and nothing to depend upon for his success in life, but the exertion of those strong powers of mind with which nature had endowed him, improved by intense study, and exclusively directed, by the academical fame he had already acquired, to the pursuits of philosophy and literature. To procure subsistence for himself and his family, he set up a private school at Edial, near Litchfield, the place of his nativity; but he soon became dissatisfied with the character of a *master*, as he had before been in that of an *usher*, and after a trial of about eighteen months, he gave up all hopes of success; and, having made some progress in his tragedy of Irene, he soon afterwards relinquished the school, and turned his thoughts towards the stage, as a dramatic writer. By the advice of Mr. Walmsley, he finished the tragedy, and, being highly flattered with the prospect of its success, he formed a resolution, in conjunction with his friend and pupil (the late celebrated David Garrick) to leave the country, and try his for-

tune in London, "the great field of genius and exertion," says Mr. Boswell, "where talents of every kind have their fullest scope, and highest encouragement." To give a successful effect to the joint expedition of these two eminent men, they were warmly recommended by Mr. Walmsley, to the rev. Mr. Colson, at that time a celebrated mathematician, and the master of an academy in London.* The employment and future success of Garrick, upon their arrival in the metropolis, is well known; but how Johnson lived, or employed himself, for a long time afterwards, remains in obscurity. The first lodgings at which he was known to be, were at the house of Mr. Norris, stay-maker, in Exeter-street, adjoining Catharine-street, in the Strand, and during this residence, said Johnson, "I dined very well for eight-pence, with very good company, at the Pine-apple, in New-street, just by; but it used to cost the rest a shilling, for they drank wine, I had a cut of meat for sixpence, and bread for a penny, and gave the waiter a penny, so that I was quite well served, nay, better than the rest, for they gave the waiter nothing." But, amidst this cold obscurity, there was one brilliant circumstance to cheer him, his acquaintance with Mr. Henry Hervey, one of the branches of the noble family of that name, who had a house at this time in London, where Johnson was frequently entertained, and had an opportunity of meeting genteel company. "He was a vicious man," said Johnson, "but very kind to me. If you call a dog Hervey I shall love him." At this time he retired to Greenwich, to enjoy the rural solitude of the

* See Mr. Walmsley's letter to Mr. Colson in our Annual Register for 1765 vol. 8. p. 38.

the Park, and give the finishing touch to his *Irene*; but this design was not accomplished until, in the course of the summer of the year 1737, when he returned to Litchfield, and, on his return to London, which was in the course of three months. Mr. Fleetwood, the patentee of Drury-lane theatre, refused to accept it, and it was not acted until the year 1749, when his friend, David Garrick, became the manager of that stage. Disappointed in his hopes of success as a dramatic writer, he commenced a monthly writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, begun and carried on by Edmond Cave, under the name of Sylvanus Urban; and he was thus employed as a mere literary labourer "for gain, not glory," solely to obtain an honest support, during some of the best years of his life. The literary world, however, discovered his merit, though his name was concealed, and this periodical publication, perhaps, owes the greatest share of its success to the celebrity into which it was raised, by the merit of Johnson's contributions. But what first displayed his transcendent powers, "and gave the world assurance of the man," was his "*London*," a poem in imitation of the third satire of Juvenal, which came out in the month of May, 1738, "and burst forth," says Mr. Boswell, "with a splendor, the rays of which will for ever encircle his name." This poem, excellent as it certainly is, was offered, without the author's name, to several booksellers, none of whom would purchase it; but Johnson at length inclosed it in a letter to Mr. Cave, as the production of an author of his acquaintance, who, to procure the recommendation of a good publish-

er's name, read it to Mr. Robert Dodsley, who had taste enough to perceive its uncommon merit, and thought it *creditable* to have a *share* in it; and the fact is, that Mr. Dodsley, at a future conference, had taste enough to bargain for the whole property in it, for which he generously gave Johnson ten guineas. "I might perhaps," said Johnson, "have accepted less; but that Paul Whitehead had, a little before, got ten guineas for a poem; and I would not take less than Paul Whitehead." The merit of this poem was immediately acknowledged by Pope, who then filled the poetical throne without a rival, and, with a candour and liberality, not usual upon such occasions, he was indefatigable to discover its author, and ever after continued his patron and his friend. From this time until the year 1744, Johnson continued, under very embarrassed circumstances, to write miscellaneous pieces, both in verse and prose, for the *Gentleman's Magazine*, all of which Mr. Boswell has enumerated, and accompanied with a history of the transactions which gave them birth. In the beginning of the year 1744, he published his celebrated *Life of the ingenious, eccentric, and unfortunate Mr. Savage*; and, *Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth*; but his literary career appears to have been almost totally suspended in the civil wars, in the years 1745 and 1746. But the year 1747, is distinguished as the epoch when Johnson's arduous and important work, his "*Dictionary of the English Language*," was announced to the world, by the publication of its plan, or *prospectus*. The booksellers who contracted with Johnson for the execution of this

this stupendous work, were, Mr. Robert Dodsley, Mr. Charles Hitch, Mr. Andrew Millar, the two Messrs. Longman, and the two Messrs. Knapton; and the price stipulated was fifteen hundred and seventy-five pounds. The plan, in consequence of a particular communication for that purpose, was addressed to Philip Dormer, earl of Chesterfield, then one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, "a nobleman," says Mr. Boswell, "who was very ambitious of literary distinction, and who, upon being informed of the design, had expressed himself in terms very favourable to its success." Of the manner in which lord Chesterfield was first informed of this work, Mr. Boswell gives the following account: "Dr. Taylor told me, that Johnson sent his plan to him in *manuscript*, for his perusal, and that when it was lying on the table, Mr. William Whitehead happened to pay him a visit, and being shewn it, was highly pleased with such parts of it as he had time to read, and begged to take it home with him, which he was allowed to do; that from him it got into the hands of a noble lord, who carried it to lord Chesterfield," This was afterwards mentioned to Johnson, by Dr. Taylor, as a circumstance that might be an advantage to the work. "No sir," replied Johnson, "it would have come out with more bloom if it had not been seen before by any body." While the dictionary was going forward, he published, in January 1749, "The Vanity of Human Wishes," a poem, in imitation of the tenth satire of Juvenal, which he had composed the year preceding; and for which he only received the sum of five guineas.

Garrick being now vested with

the theatrical power, by being manager of Drury-lane theatre, generously made use of it to bring out Johnson's tragedy of Irene; but Johnson could not for some time brook, that a drama which he had formed with much study, and had been obliged to keep more than the nine years of Horace, should be revised and altered at the pleasure of an actor. "Sir," said Johnson to Dr. Taylor, upon this subject, "the fellow (Garrick) wants to make Mahomet run mad, that he may have an opportunity of tossing his hands and kicking his heels." The poet, however, was at length persuaded to submit. The representation, by the zeal of Garrick to serve his friend, was continued through *nine nights*; but it received its death wound upon the first representation; for, when Mrs. Pritchard, the heroine of the piece, was to be strangled on the stage, and was to speak two lines with the bow-string about her neck, the audience, who, before the curtain drew up, did not appear to have conceived a very favourable opinion of it, cried out *Murder, Murder*, and though she attempted several times to speak, she was at length obliged to go off the stage alive; and, in the subsequent representations, was supposed to be murdered behind the scenes. Of this play, Mr. Boswell has given a very just and ingenious criticism. Johnson, when asked how he felt upon the ill success of his tragedy, replied, "Like the monument," "meaning," says his historian, "that he continued firm and unmoved as that column." In 1750, he came forth in a character for which he was eminently qualified, a majestic teacher of moral and religious wisdom; by commencing the publication

publication of "The Rambler," a periodical work, which was continued to March, 1752, and increased in fame as it advanced in age. From this time he was almost entirely occupied with his dictionary, until the death of his wife, which happened in the succeeding year; when, to relieve the melancholy with which this event afflicted his mind, he took an active part in the composition of the periodical publication, called, "The Adventurer," in which he began to write on the 10th April, 1753. The labours of the dictionary, however, were only, occasionally suspended, and, as the three years in which he had engaged to complete it were nearly expired, it is probable that he worked at it with redoubled vigour. "Lord Chesterfield," says Mr. Boswell, "to whom Johnson had paid the high compliment of addressing the plan of this work, had, by continued neglect during its progress, behaved to him in such a manner as to excite his contempt and indignation; but when the dictionary was upon the eve of publication, his lordship, who, it is said, had flattered himself with expectations that Johnson would dedicate the work to him, attempted, in a courtly manner, to soothe and insinuate himself with the author, conscious, as it should seem, of the cold indifference with which he had treated him; and farther attempted to conciliate him, by writing two papers in "The World," in recommendation of the work. The high-strained panegyric in which his lordship expresses his complimentary observations, and advice to Johnson, do indeed fully speak the inclination of his mind upon this subject; but "this courtly advice," continues Mr. Boswell, "failed of

its effect." Johnson thought that "*all was false and hollow*," despised the honeyed words, and was even indignant that lord Chesterfield should for a moment imagine that he could be the dupe of such an artifice. Johnson, therefore, upon this occasion, wrote to his lordship that celebrated letter, of which so much has been said, and about which curiosity has been so long excited, without being satisfied. With this letter, however, Mr. Boswell has, by the favour of Johnson and Mr. Langton, been enabled to enrich his work; which we shall here lay before our readers.

"*To the right honourable the earl of Chesterfield. Feb. 1755.*

"My lord,

"I have been lately informed, by the proprietor of 'the World,' that two papers, in which my dictionary is recommended to the public, were written by your lordship. To be so distinguished, is an honour, which, being very little accustomed to favours from the great, I know not well how to receive, or in what terms to acknowledge.

"When, upon some slight encouragement, I first visited your lordship I was overpowered, like the rest of mankind, by the enchantment of your address; and could not forbear to wish that I might boast myself *Le vainqueur du vainqueur de la terre*; that I might obtain that regard for which I saw the world contending;—but I found my attendance so little encouraged, that neither pride nor modesty would suffer me to continue it. When I had once addressed your lordship in public, I had exhausted all the art
of

of pleasing which a retired and uncourtly scholar can possess. I had done all that I could; and no man is well pleased to have his all neglected, be it ever so little.

“Seven years, my lord, have now past, since I waited in your outward rooms, or was repulsed from your door; during which time I have been pushing on my work through difficulties, of which it is useless to complain, and have brought it, at last, to the verge of publication, without one act of assistance, * one word of encouragement, or one smile of favour. Such treatment I did not expect, for I never had a patron before.

“The shepherd in Virgil grew at last acquainted with Love, and found him a native of the rocks.

“Is not a patron, my lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and, when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help? The notice which you have been pleased to take of my labours, had it been early, had been kind; but it has been delayed till I am indifferent, and cannot enjoy it; till I am soli-

tary, and cannot impart it; † till I am known, and do not want it. I hope it is no very cynical asperity, not to confess obligations, where no benefit has been received, or to be unwilling that the public should consider me as owing that to a patron, which Providence has enabled me to do for myself.

“Having carried on my work thus far, with so little obligation to any favourer of learning, I shall not be disappointed though I should conclude it, if less be possible, with less; for I have been long wakened from that dream of hope, in which I once boasted myself with so much exultation,

“My lord,

“Your lordship’s most humble,

“Most obedient servant,

“SAM. JOHNSON.” ‡

“While this was the talk of the town (says Dr. Adams, in a letter to me), I happened to visit Dr. Warburton, who, finding that I was acquainted with Johnson, desired me earnestly to carry his compliments to him, and to tell him, that he honoured him for his manly behaviour,

* The following note is subjoined by Mr. Langton: “Dr. Johnson, when he gave me this copy of his letter, desired that I would annex to it his information to me, that whereas it is said in his letter, that ‘no assistance has been received,’ he did once receive from lord Chesterfield the sum of ten pounds; but, as that was so inconsiderable a sum, he thought the mention of it could not properly find place in a letter of the kind that this was.”

“† In this passage Dr. Johnson, evidently alludes to the loss of his wife. We find the same tender recollection recurring to his mind upon innumerable occasions; and, perhaps, no man ever more forcibly felt the truth of the sentiment so elegantly expressed by my friend Mr. Malone, in his prologue to Mr. Jephson’s tragedy of ‘Julia:’

‘Vain—wealth, and fame, and fortune’s fostering care,
If no fond breast the splendid blessings share;
And, each day’s bustling pageantry once past,
There only there, our bliss is found at last.’”

‡ “Upon comparing this copy with that which Dr. Johnson dictated to me from recollection, the variations are found to be so slight, that this must be added to the many other proofs which he gave of the wonderful extent and accuracy of his memory.”

behaviour, in rejecting these condescensions of lord Chesterfield, and for resenting the treatment he had received from him, with a proper spirit. Johnson was visibly pleased with this compliment, for he had always a high opinion of Warburton. Indeed, the force of mind which appeared in this letter, was congenial with that which Warburton himself amply possessed.

"There is a curious minute circumstance which struck me, in comparing the various editions of Johnson's imitations of Juvenal. In the tenth satire, one of the couplets upon the vanity of wishes, even for literary distinction, stood thus :

"Yet think what ill the scholar's life
assail,
"Pride, envy, want, the garret, and the
jail."

But after experiencing the uneasiness which lord Chesterfield's fallacious patronage made him feel, he dismissed the word *garret* from the sad group, and, in all the subsequent editions, the line stands

"Pride envy, want, the *patron*, and the
jail."

That lord Chesterfield must have been mortified by the lofty contempt, and polite, yet keen, satire with which Johnson exhibited him to himself in this letter, it is impossible to doubt. He, however, with that glossy duplicity which was his constant study, affected to be quite unconcerned. Dr. Adams mentioned to Mr. Robert Dodsley, that he was sorry Johnson had written his letter to lord Chesterfield. Dodsley, with the true feelings of trade, said, "he was very sorry too; for that he had a property in the dictionary, to

which his lordship's patronage might have been of consequence." He then told Dr. Adams, that lord Chesterfield had shewn him the letter. "I should have imagined (replied Dr. Adams) that lord Chesterfield would have concealed it."—"Poh! (said Dodsley) do you think a letter from Johnson could hurt lord Chesterfield? not at all, sir. It lay upon his table, where any body might see it. He read it to me; said, 'this man has great powers,' pointed out the severest passages, and observed, how well they were expressed." This air of indifference, which imposed upon the worthy Dodsley, was certainly nothing but a specimen of that dissimulation which lord Chesterfield inculcated as one of the most essential lessons for the conduct of life. His lordship endeavoured to justify himself to Dodsley, from the charge brought against him by Johnson; but we may judge of the flimsiness of his defence, from his having excused his neglect of Johnson, by saying, that "he had heard he had changed his lodgings, and did not know where he lived;" as if there could have been the smallest difficulty to inform himself of that circumstance, by inquiring in the literary circle with which his lordship was well acquainted, and was, indeed, himself one of its ornaments.

Dr. Adams expostulated with Johnson, and suggested, that his not being admitted when he called on him, was, probably, not to be imputed to lord Chesterfield; for his lordship had declared to Dodsley, "that he would have turned off the best servant he ever had, if he had known that he denied him to a man who would have been always more than welcome;" and, in confirmation

tion of this, he insisted on lord Chesterfield's general affability, and easiness of access, especially to literary men. "Sir (said Johnson), that is not lord Chesterfield, he is the proudest man this day existing."—"No, (said Dr. Adams,) there is one person, at least as proud; I think, by your own account, you are the prouder man of the two."—"But mine (replied Johnson, instantly) was *defensive* pride." This as Dr. Adams well observed, was one of those happy turns, for which he was so remarkably ready.

Johnson having now explicitly avowed his opinion of lord Chesterfield, did not refrain from expressing himself concerning that nobleman with pointed freedom: "This man (said he) I thought had been a lord among wits; but I find he is only a wit among lords!" And when his letters to his natural son were published, he observed, that, "they teach the morals of a whore, and the manners of a dancing master."

The character of "a respectable Hottentot," in lord Chesterfield's Letters, has been generally understood to be meant for Johnson, and I have no doubt but it was. But I remember, when the *literary property* of those letters was contested in the court of session in Scotland, and Mr. Henry Dundas, one of the counsel for the proprietors, read this character as an exhibition of Johnson, sir David Dalrymple, lord Hailes, one of the judges, maintained, with some warmth, that it was not intended as a portrait of Johnson, but of a late noble lord, distinguished for abstruse science. I have heard Johnson himself talk of the character, and say, that it was meant for George, lord Lyttelton, in which I could by no means agree;

for his lordship had none of that violence which is a conspicuous feature in the composition. Finding that my illustrious friend could not bear to have it supposed that it might be meant for him, I said, laughingly, that there was one trait which unquestionably did not belong to him; "he throws his meat any where but down his throat." "Sir (said he), lord Chesterfield never saw me eat in his life."

The most important periods of an author's life are, perhaps, best distinguished by the publication of his works. In our account, therefore, of the life of this monarch of English literature, we have traced his eventful progress, from the first eminences, raised by his youthful pen until he reach that stupendous pile of learning, which at the age of forty-five, the publication of his dictionary, presented to the inspection of the world. Previous however, to the issuing of this work from the press, the author of it made an excursion to Oxford, to procure the degree of master of arts, "in order to grace the title-page;" and this honour was conferred upon him without a dissentient voice. Of this excursion, and of many interesting circumstances in the life of Johnson, during an interval when he conversed but little with the world, Mr. Boswell has given a particular account, from the liberal communications of the rev. Mr. Thomas Warton, and the literary correspondence which has by this means been preserved, places the abilities of Dr. Johnson, as an epistolary writer, in a new and elevated point of view. Two years after the publication of his dictionary, Johnson engaged to superintend and contribute largely to a periodical publication, intituled "The

“The Literary Magazine ; or, Universal Review,” and the particular papers which he wrote in the service of this work, are pointed out by Mr. Boswell, upon authority so unquestionable, that they will, doubtless, be added to the new edition of his works ; but it is not in those subordinate employments that we are to look for the exertion of those talents which distinguished the character of this great man, and rendered him, in the language of Mr. Malone, “the brightest ornament of the eighteenth century.” On the 15th April, 1758, he began a new periodical paper, intituled, “The Idler,” which was continued in weekly numbers until 5th April, 1760. This work is evidently of the same mind which produced the “Rambler,” but has less body, and more spirit. Of the facility with which the author wrote it, Mr. Boswell produces the following instance : “Mr. Langton remembers Johnson, when on a visit at Oxford, asking him one evening how long it was till the post went out, and, on being told half an hour, he exclaimed, ‘then we shall do very well.’ He, upon this, instantly sat down, and finished an Idler, which it was necessary should be in London the next day. Mr. Langton having signified a wish to read it, ‘Sir,’ said he, ‘you shall not do more than I have done myself.’ He then folded it up, and sent it off.” In the month of January, 1759, Johnson’s mother died, at the advanced age of ninety, and the affliction with which this event tinged his mind, seems to have occasioned, in a great measure, that dark and discontented temper which pervades his “Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia ;” a work which he wrote

in the evenings of one week, immediately on her decease, and sent it to the press in portions as it was written, in order that with the profits of it he might defray the expence of her funeral, and pay some little debts which she had contracted. This act of filial attention he was enabled to perform by selling the copy of this highly celebrated and eloquent work for one hundred pounds ; the rapidity of its sale, indeed, afterwards extorted from the purchasers a farther donation of twenty-five pounds, when it came to a second edition. Of the utility of this performance opinions have certainly differed. Mr. Boswell’s observations on this subject appear so candid and just, that we shall take the liberty to insert them.

“Considering the large sums which have been received for compilations, and works requiring not much more genius than compilations, we cannot but wonder at the very low price which he was content to receive for this admirable performance, which, though he had written nothing else, would have rendered his name immortal in the world of literature. None of his writings has been so extensively diffused over Europe ; for it has been translated into most, if not all, of the modern languages. This Tale, with all the charms of oriental imagery, and all the force and beauty of which the English language is capable, leads us through the most important scenes of human life, and shews us that this stage of our being is full of ‘vanity and vexation of spirit.’ To those who look no farther than the present life, or who maintain that human nature has not fallen from the state in which it was created, the instruction of this sublime story will be

be of no avail. But they who think justly, and feel with strong sensibility, will listen with eagerness and admiration to its truth and wisdom. Voltaire's *Candide*, written to refute the system of Optimism, which it has accomplished with brilliant success, is wonderfully similar in its plan and conduct to Johnson's *Rasselas*; insomuch that I have heard Johnson say, that if they had not been published so closely one after the other that there was not time for imitation, it would have been in vain to deny that the scheme of that which came latest was taken from the other. Though the proposition illustrated by both these works was the same, namely, that in our present state there is more evil than good, the intention of the writers was very different. Voltaire, I am afraid, meant only by wanton profaneness, to obtain a sportive victory over religion, and to discredit the belief of a superintending Providence: Johnson meant, by shewing the unsatisfactory nature of things temporal, to direct the hopes of man to things eternal. *Rasselas*, as was observed to me by a very accomplished lady, may be considered as a more enlarged and more deeply philosophical discourse in prose upon the interesting truth which in his 'Vanity of Human Wishes,' he had so successfully enforced in verse.

"The fund of thinking which this work contains is such, that almost every sentence of it may furnish a subject of long meditation. I am not satisfied if a year passes without my having read it through; and at every perusal, my admiration of the mind which produced it is so highly raised, that I can scarcely

believe that I had the honour of enjoying the intimacy of such a man.

"I restrain myself from quoting passages from this excellent work, or even referring to them, because I should not know what to select, or, rather, what to omit. I shall, however, transcribe one, as it shews how well he could state the argument of those who believe in the appearance of departed spirits, a doctrine which it is a mistake to suppose that he himself ever positively held.

"If all your fear be of apparitions (said the prince), I will promise you safety: there is no danger from the dead; he that is once buried will be seen no more.

"That the dead are seen no more (said Imlac), I will not undertake to maintain against the concurrent and unvaried testimony of all ages, and of all nations. There is no people, rude or learned, among whom apparitions of the dead are not related and believed. This opinion, which prevails as far as human nature is diffused, could become universal only by its truth; those that never heard of one another, would not have agreed in a tale which nothing but experience can make credible. That it is doubted by single cavillers, can very little weaken the general evidence; and some who deny it with their tongues, confess it by their fears.

"Notwithstanding my high admiration of *Rasselas*, I will not maintain that the 'morbid melancholy' in Johnson's constitution may not, perhaps, have made life appear to him more insipid and unhappy than it generally is; for I am sure that he had less enjoyment from it than I have. Yet, whatever additional
shade

shade his own particular sensations may have thrown on his representation of life, attentive observation and close inquiry have convinced me, that there is too much of reality in the gloomy picture. The truth, however, is, that we judge of the happiness and misery of life differently at different times, according to the state of our changeable frame. I always remember a remark made to me by a Turkish lady, educated in France; '*Ma foi, monsieur, notre bonheur depend du facon que notre sang circule.*' This have I learnt from a pretty hard course of experience, and would, from sincere benevolence, impress upon all who honour this book with a perusal, that until a steady conviction is obtained, that the present life is an imperfect state, and only a passage to a better, if we comply with the divine scheme of progressive improvement; and also that it is a part of the mysterious plan of Providence, that intellectual beings must 'be made perfect through suffering;' there will be a continual recurrence of disappointment and uneasiness. But if we walk with hope in 'the mid-day sun' of Revelation, our temper and disposition will be such, that the comforts and enjoyments in our way will be relished, while we patiently support the inconveniences and pains. After much speculation and various reasonings, I acknowledge myself convinced of the truth of Voltaire's conclusion, '*Après tout, c'est un monde passable.*'"

During the remainder of the reign of George the Second, the pen of Johnson appears to have been principally employed in corresponding with his friends, and particularly

with the late Mr. Baretti, who was then at Milan; but on the accession of his present majesty to the throne of these kingdoms, "a new and brighter prospect," says Mr. Boswell, "opened to men of literary merit." This Johnson very soon experienced, for, having been represented to the king as a very pious and learned man without any certain provision, his majesty was pleased to grant him a pension of three hundred pounds a year. In the year 1763, soon after this event, the first acquaintance between Mr. Boswell and Dr. Johnson commenced; and the particular circumstances by which it happened, and was continued, are detailed with great vivacity and force. Among the many highly entertaining relations which we meet with in this part of the work, is the following character of Goldsmith:

"He was a native of Ireland, and a contemporary with Mr. Burke, at Trinity College, Dublin, but did not then give much promise of future celebrity. He, however, observed to Mr. Malone, that "though he made no great figure in mathematics; which was a study in much repute there, he could turn an Ode of Horace better than any of them." He afterwards studied physic, at Edinburgh, and upon the Continent; and, I have been informed, was enabled to pursue his travels on foot, partly by demanding at universities to enter the lists as a disputant, by which, according to the custom of many of them, he was entitled to the premium of a crown, when luckily for him his challenge was not accepted; so that, as I once observed to Dr. Johnson, he *disputed his passage through Europe.* He

He then came to England, and was employed successively in the capacities of an usher to an academy, a corrector of the press, a reviewer, and a writer for a newspaper. He had sagacity enough to cultivate assiduously the acquaintance of Johnson, and his faculties were gradually enlarged by the contemplation of such a model. To me and many others it appeared that he studiously copied the manner of Johnson, though, indeed, upon a smaller scale.

“At this time I think he had published nothing with his name, though it was pretty generally known that *one Dr. Goldsmith* was the author of ‘An Essay on the present state of Polite Literature,’ and of ‘The Citizen of the World,’ a series of letters supposed to be written from London by a Chinese. No man had the art of displaying with more advantage as a writer, whatever literary acquisitions he made. ‘*Nihil quod tetigit non ornavit.*’* His mind resembled a fertile, but thin soil. There was a quick, but not a strong vegetation, of whatever chanced to be thrown upon it. No deep root could be struck. The oak of the forest did not grow there; but the elegant shrubbery and the fragrant parterre appeared in gay succession. It has been generally

circulated and believed, that he was a mere fool in conversation;† but in truth, this has been greatly exaggerated. He had, no doubt, a more than common share of that hurry of ideas which we often find in his countrymen, and which sometimes produces a laughable confusion in expressing them. He was very much what the French call *un étourdi*, and from vanity and an eager desire of being conspicuous wherever he was, he frequently talked carelessly without knowledge of the subject, or even without thought. His person was short, his countenance coarse and vulgar, his deportment that of a scholar awkwardly affecting the easy gentleman. Those who were in any way distinguished, excited envy in him to so ridiculous an excess, that the instances of it are hardly credible. When accompanying two beautiful young ladies with their mother on a tour in France, he was seriously angry that more attention was paid to them than to him; and once at the exhibition of the *Fantoccini*, in London, when those [who sat next him observed with what dexterity a puppet was made to toss a pike, he could not bear that it should have such praise, and exclaimed with some warmth, ‘Pshaw! I can do it better myself.’

“He,

* See his epitaph in Westminster-Abbey, written by Dr. Johnson.

† In allusion to this, Mr. Horace Walpole, who admired his writings, said he was “an inspired idiot;” and Garrick described him as one

“_____ for shortness call’d Noll,

“Who wrote like an angel, and talk’d like poor Poll.”

Sir Joshua Reynolds has mentioned to me, that he frequently heard Goldsmith talk warmly of the pleasure of being liked, and observe how hard it would be if literary excellence should preclude a man from that satisfaction, which he perceived it often did, from the envy which attended it; and therefore sir Joshua was convinced that he was intentionally more absurd, in order to lessen himself in social intercourse, trusting that his character would be sufficiently supported by his works. If it indeed was his intention to appear absurd in company, he was often very successful. But with due deference to sir Joshua’s ingenuity, I think the conjecture too refined.

“ He, I am afraid, had no settled system of any sort, so that his conduct must not be strictly scrutinized; but his affections were social and generous, and when he had money he gave it away very liberally. His desire of imaginary consequence predominated over his attention to truth. When he began to rise into notice, he said he had a brother who was dean of Durham; a fiction so easily detected, that it is wonderful how he should have been so inconsiderate as to hazard it. He boasted to me at this time of the power of his pen in commanding money, which I believe was true in a certain degree, though in the instance he gave he was by no means correct. He told me that he had sold a novel for four hundred pounds.

“ This was his ‘ Vicar of Wakefield.’ But Johnson informed me, that *he* had made the bargain for Goldsmith, and the price was sixty pounds. ‘ And sir, (said he) a sufficient price too, when it was sold; for then the fame of Goldsmith had not been elevated, as it afterwards was, by his “ Traveller;” and the bookseller had such faint hopes of profit by his bargain, that he kept the manuscript by him a long time, and did not publish it till after The Traveller had appeared. Then, to be sure, it was accidentally worth more money.’

“ Mrs. Piozzi* and sir John Hawkins† have strangely misstated the history of Goldsmith’s situation and Johnson’s friendly interference, when this novel was sold. I shall give it authentically from Johnson’s own exact narration:

“ ‘ I received one morning a message from poor Goldsmith, that he was in great distress, and, as it was not in his power to come to me, begging that I would come to him as soon as possible. I sent him a guinea, and promised to come to him directly. I accordingly went as soon as I was drest, and found that his landlady had arrested him for his rent, at which he was in a violent passion. I perceived that he had already changed my guinea, and had got a bottle of Madeira and a glass before him. I put the cork into the bottle, desired he would be calm, and began to talk to him of the means by which he might be extricated. He then told me, that he had a novel ready for the press, which he produced to me. I looked into it, and saw its merit; told the landlady I should soon return, and having gone to a bookseller, sold it for sixty pounds. I brought Goldsmith the money, and he discharged his rent, not without rating his landlady in a high tone for having used him so ill’ ” ‡

“ To

* Anecdotes of Johnson. p. 119. † Life of Johnson, p. 420.

‡ It may not be improper to annex here Mrs. Piozzi’s account of this transaction, in her own words, as a specimen of the extreme inaccuracy with which all her anecdotes of Dr. Johnson are related, or rather discoloured and distorted. “ I have forgotten the year, but it could scarcely, I think, be later than 1765 or 1766, that he was *called abruptly from our house after dinner*, and returning *in about three hours*, said he had been with an enraged author, whose landlady pressed him for payment within doors, while the bailiffs beset him without; that he was *drinking himself drunk* with Madeira, to drown care, and fretting over a novel, which, when *finished*, was to be his *whole fortune*, but *he could not get it done for distraction*, nor could he step out of doors to offer it for sale. Mr. Johnson, therefore, sent away the bottle, and went to the bookseller, recommending the performance, and *desiring some immediate relief*, which, when he brought back to the writer, *he called the woman of the house directly to partake of punch, and pass their time in merriment.*” Anecdotes of Johnson, p. 119.

To select the most prominent and striking features in the life of Dr. Johnson, such as should exhibit not only the character of *the author*, but the disposition of *the man*, has been our first object ; and we have in this course, proceeded to the beginning of the year 1767, when this extraordinary genius had attained the age of fifty-seven years ; at which period there happened one of the most remarkable instances of his life ; an incident, says his biographer, which gratified his monarchical enthusiasm, and which he loved to relate, with all its circumstances, when requested by his friends. This was, his being honoured by a *private conversation* with his majesty in the library at the queen's house. The circumstances of this interview are thus related by Mr. Boswell :—" It seems that Johnson had frequented the library, by means of the friendship of Mr. Barnard, the librarian, who took care that he should have every ease and convenience while indulging his literary taste in that place ; and his majesty having been informed of his occasional visits, was pleased to signify a desire that he should be told when Dr. Johnson came next to the library.

" Accordingly, the next time that Johnson did come, as soon as he was fairly engaged with a book, on which, while he sat by the fire, he seemed quite intent, Mr. Barnard stole round to the apartment where the king was, and, in obedience to his majesty's commands mentioned that Dr. Johnson was then in the library. His majesty said he was at leisure, and would go to him ; upon which Mr. Barnard took one of the candles that stood on the king's table, and lighted his majesty through a suite of rooms, till they came to a private door into the li-

brary, of which his majesty had the key. Being entered, Mr. Barnard stepped forward hastily to Dr. Johnson, who was still in a profound study, and whispered him, ' sir, here is the king.' Johnson started up and stood still. His majesty approached him, and at once was courteously easy.

" His majesty began by observing, that he understood he came sometimes to the library ; and then, mentioning his having heard that the doctor had been lately at Oxford, asked him, if he was not fond of going thither. To which Johnson answered, that he was indeed fond of going to Oxford sometimes, but was likewise glad to come back again. The king then asked him what they were doing at Oxford. Johnson answered, he could not much commend their diligence, but that in some respects they were mended, for they had put their press under better regulations, and were at that time printing Polybius. He was then asked whether there were better libraries at Oxford or Cambridge. He answered, he believed the Bodleian was larger than any they had at Cambridge ; at the same time adding, ' I hope, whether we have more books or not than they have at Cambridge, we shall make as good use of them as they do.' Being asked whether All-Souls or Christ-Church Library was the largest, he answered, ' All-Souls Library is the largest we have, except the Bodleian.' ' Aye (said the king), that is the public library.'

" His majesty enquired if he was then writing any thing. He answered, he was not, for he had pretty well told the world what he knew, and must now read to acquire more knowledge. The king,

as it should seem with a view to urge him to rely on his own stores as an original writer, and to continue his labours, then said, "I do not think you borrow much from any body." Johnson said, he thought he had already done his part as a writer. "I should have thought so too (said the king), if you had not written so well."—Johnson observed to me, upon this, that no man could have paid a handsomer compliment; and it was fit for a king to pay. It was decisive. When asked by another friend, at sir Joshua Reynolds's, whether he made any reply to this high compliment, he answered, "No, sir, when the king had said it, it was to be so. It was not for me to bandy civilities with my sovereign." Perhaps no man, who had spent his whole life in courts, could have shewn a more nice and dignified sense of true politeness, than Johnson did in this instance.

His majesty having observed to him that he supposed he must have read a great deal; Johnson answered, that he thought more than he read; that he had read a great deal in the early part of his life, but having fallen into ill health, he had not been able to read much, compared with others: for instance, he said, he had not read much compared with Dr. Warburton. Upon which the king said, that he heard Dr. Warburton was a man of such general knowledge, that you could scarce talk with him on any subject on which he was not qualified to speak; and that his learning resembled Garrick's acting, in its universality. His majesty then talked of the controversy between Warburton and Lowth, which he seemed to have read, and asked Johnson what he thought of it. Johnson answered, "Warburton has most

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general, most scholastic learning; Lowth is the more correct scholar. I do not know which of them calls names best." The king was pleased to say, he was of the same opinion; adding, "You do not think then, Dr. Johnson, that there was much argument in the case." Johnson said he did not think there was. "Why truly (said the king), when once it comes to calling names, argument is pretty well at an end."

His majesty then asked him, what he thought of lord Lyttleton's History, which was then just published. Johnson said, he thought his style pretty good, but that he had blamed Henry the Second rather too much. "Why (said the king), they seldom do these things by halves." "No, sir (answered Johnson), not to kings." But fearing to be misunderstood, he proceeded to explain himself; and immediately subjoined, "that for those who spoke worse of kings than they deserved he could find no excuse, but that he could more easily conceive how some might speak better of them than they deserved, without any ill intention; for as kings had much in their power to give, those who were favoured by them would frequently, from gratitude, exaggerate their praises; and as this proceeded from a good motive, it was certainly excuseable, as far as error could be excuseable."

"The king then asked him, what he thought of Dr. Hill. Johnson answered, that he was an ingenious man, but had no veracity; and immediately mentioned, as an instance of it, an assertion of that writer, that he had seen objects magnified to a much greater degree, by using three or four microscopes at a time, than by using one. "Now (added Johnson), every one acquainted with

G g microscopes

microscopes knows, that the more of them he looks through, the less the objects will appear." "Why (replied the king), this is not only telling an untruth, but telling it clumsily; for, if that be the case, every one who can look through a microscope will be able to detect him."

"I now (said Johnson to his friends, when relating what had passed) began to consider that I was depreciating this man in the estimation of his sovereign, and thought it was time for me to say something that might be more favourable." He added, therefore, that Dr. Hill was, notwithstanding, a very curious observer; and if he would have been contented to tell the world no more than he knew, he might have been a very considerable man, and needed not to have recourse to such mean expedients to raise his reputation.

The king then talked of literary journals, mentioned particularly the *Journal des Sçavans*, and asked Johnson if it was well done; Johnson said it was formerly very well done, and gave some account of the persons who began it and carried it on for some years; enlarging at the same time on the nature and use of such works. The king asked him if it was well done now. Johnson answered he had no reason to think that it was. The king then asked him, if there were any other literary journals published in this kingdom, except the *Monthly* and *Critical Reviews*; and on being answered there were no other, his Majesty

asked which of them was the best: Johnson answered, that the *Monthly Review* was done with the most care, the *Critical* upon the best principles; adding, that the authors of the *Monthly Review* were enemies to the Church. This the king said he was sorry to hear.

The conversation next turned on the *Philosophical Transactions*, when Johnson observed, that they had now a better method of arranging their materials than formerly. "Aye (said the king), they are obliged to Dr. Johnson for that;" for his majesty had heard and remembered the circumstance, which Johnson himself had forgot.

His majesty expressed a desire to have the literary biography of this country ably executed, and proposed to Dr. Johnson to undertake it. Johnson signified his readiness to comply with his majesty's wishes.

During the whole of this interview, Johnson talked to his majesty with profound respect, but still in his firm manly manner, with a sonorous voice, and never in that subdued tone which is commonly used at the levee and in the drawing-room. After the king withdrew, Johnson shewed himself highly pleased with his majesty's conversation and gracious behaviour. He said to Mr. Barnard, "sir, they may talk of the king as they will; but he is the finest gentleman I have ever seen." And he afterwards observed to Mr. Langton, "sir, his manners are those of as fine a gentleman as we may suppose Lewis the Fourteenth or Charles the Second."*

From

* The particulars of this conversation I have been at great pains to collect with the utmost authenticity, from Dr. Johnson's own detail to myself; from Mr. Langton, who was present when he gave an account of it to Dr. Joseph Warton, and several other friends, at sir Joshua Reynolds'; from Mr. Barnard; from the copy of a letter written by the late Mr. Strahan, the printer, to Bishop Warburton; and from a minute, the original of which is among the papers of the late sir James Caldwell, and a copy of which

From this period Johnson seems to have employed himself in the company and conversation of his private friends, until the year 1771, when he published the celebrated political pamphlet intituled "Falkland's Islands," and again resigned himself to the pleasures of private life. "During these enjoyments I dined with him," says Mr. Boswell, "on Monday, 6th April, 1772, at sir Alexander Macdonald's where was a young officer in the regimentals of the Scots Royal, who talked with a vivacity, fluency, and precision so uncommon, that he attracted particular attention. He proved to be the honourable Thomas Erskine, youngest brother to the earl of Buchan, who has since risen into such brilliant reputation at the bar in Westminster-hall. After a detail of some conversation respecting the comparative merits of Fielding and Richardson, and the vice of gaming, sacred history appears to have been mentioned. Mr. Erskine seemed to object to the passage in Scripture where we are told, that the angel of the Lord smote in one night forty thousand Assyrians. 'Sir,' said Johnson 'you should recollect that there was a supernatural interposition; they were destroyed by pestilence. You are not to suppose that the angel of the Lord went about and stabbed each of

them with a dagger, or knocked them on the head man by man.'" During the three successive years of his life, Dr. Johnson made an excursion into Wales, a tour to the Hebrides, and a journey to Paris, and on his return paid a visit, in the beginning of the year 1776, to the university of Oxford, all of which Mr. Boswell has detailed with an extraordinary degree of ingenuity; but of these and a still more lively relation of the interview and conversation which passed between Dr. Johnson and Mr. Wilkes, we can only lament that the limits of our account prevent us from extracting them. The scene of pleasure, however, was at length interrupted by the anxieties he felt from the situation into which unthinking extravagance had plunged his unfortunate friend, Dr. Dodd, whose speech to the Recorder of London, when sentence of death was about to be pronounced upon him, and, "The Convict's Address to his unhappy Brethren," a sermon delivered in Newgate, and also a supplicatory letter to the king, imploring the royal clemency, he wrote. The melancholy ideas with which the sad catastrophe of this unhappy man's life filled the mind of Johnson, were in some degree relieved by a visit which he made in the year 1777 to Dr. Taylor, of Ashbourn, in Derbyshire,

which was most obligingly obtained for me from his son sir John Caldwell, by sir Francis Lumm. To all these gentlemen I beg leave to make my grateful acknowledgments, and particularly to sir Francis Lumm, who was pleased to take a great deal of trouble, and even had the minute laid before the king by lord Caermarthen, now duke of Leeds, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, who announced to sir Francis the royal pleasure concerning it by letter, in these words: "I have the king's commands to assure you, sir, how sensible his majesty is of your attention in communicating the minute of the conversation previous to its publication. As there appears no objection to your complying with Mr. Boswell's wishes on the subject, you are at full liberty to deliver it to that gentleman, to make such use of in his Life of Dr. Johnson, as he may think proper."

Derbyshire, where he had the pleasure to meet his friend Mr. Boswell; and among the many conversations recorded to have passed at this place, we shall select the following, as it seems to contain traits peculiar to the characters both of Johnson and his biographer.

“We entered seriously,” says Mr. Boswell, “upon a question of much importance to me, which Johnson was pleased to consider with friendly attention. I had long complained to him that I felt myself discontented in Scotland, as too narrow a sphere, and that I wished to make my chief residence in London, the great scene of ambition, instruction, and amusement! a scene, which was to me, comparatively speaking, a heaven upon earth.” Johnson—
 “Why, sir, I never knew any one who had such a *gust* for London as you have; and I cannot blame you for your wish to live there: yet, sir, were I in your father’s place, I should not consent to your settling there; for I have the old feudal notions, and I should be afraid that Auchinleck would be deserted, as you would soon find it more desirable to have a country seat in a better climate. I own, however, that to consider it as a *duty* to reside on a family estate is a prejudice: for we must consider, that working people get employment equally, and the produce of land is sold equally, whether a great family resides at home or not; and if the rents of an estate be carried to London, they return again in the circulation of commerce; nay, sir, we must perhaps allow, that carrying the rents to a distance is a good, because it contributes to that circulation. We must, however allow, that a well-regulated great family may improve a neighbourhood in

civility and elegance, and give an example of good order, virtue, and piety; and so its residence at home may be of much advantage. But if a great family be disorderly and vicious, its residence at home is very pernicious to a neighbourhood.—There is not now the same inducement to live in the country as formerly; the pleasures of social life are much better enjoyed in town; and there is no longer in the country that power and influence in proprietors of land which they had in old times, and which made the country so agreeable to them. The laird of Auchinleck now is not near so great a man as the laird of Auchinleck was a hundred years ago.”

“I told him, that one of my ancestors never went from home without being attended by thirty men on horseback. Johnson’s shrewdness and spirit of inquiry were exerted upon every occasion. ‘Pray (said he) how did your ancestor support his thirty men and thirty horses, when he went at a distance from home, in an age when there was hardly any money in circulation?’ I suggested the same difficulty to a friend, who mentioned Douglas’s going to the Holy Land with a numerous train of followers. ‘Douglas could, no doubt, maintain followers enough while living upon his own lands, the produce of which supplied them with food, but he could not carry that food to the Holy Land; and as there was no commerce by which he could be supplied with money, how could he maintain them in foreign countries?’

“I suggested a doubt, that if I were to reside in London, the exquisite zest with which I relished it in occasional visits might go off, and
 I might

I might grow tired of it." Johnson. "Why, sir, you find no man, at all intellectual, who is willing to leave London. No, sir, when a man is tired of London, he is tired of life, for there is in London all that life can afford."

"To obviate his apprehension, that by settling in London I might desert the seat of my ancestors, I assured him that I had old feudal principles to a degree of enthusiasm, and that I felt all the *dulcedo* of the *natale solum*. I reminded him, that the laird of Auchinleck had an elegant house, in front of which he could ride ten miles forward upon his own territories, upon which he had upwards of six hundred people attached to him; that the family seat was rich in natural romantic beauties of rock, wood, and water; and that, in my 'morn of life,' I had appropriated the finest descriptions in the ancient classics to certain scenes there, which were thus associated in my mind. That when all this was considered, I should certainly pass a part of the year at home, and enjoy it the more from variety, and from bringing with me a share of the intellectual stores of the metropolis. He listened to all this, and kindly 'hoped it might be as I now supposed.'

"He said, 'A country gentleman should bring his lady to visit London as soon as he can, that they may have agreeable topics for conversation when they are by themselves.'

We have now accompanied the Colossus of modern literature through a course of sixty-eight years, and have endeavoured to bring into review the most distinguishing and prominent features of his character and life. The lively sallies of wit, the profound and philosophical observa-

tions, the acute and powerful reasonings, which Mr. Boswell has recorded of him during his visit to Dr. Taylor, of Ashbourne, in Derbyshire, shew that hitherto neither age nor misfortunes had in any degree impaired the strong faculties of his stupendous mind: "he was," says Mr. Boswell, "more uniformly social, cheerful, and alert, more prompt on great occasions and on small than I had almost ever seen him." Soon afterwards, indeed, on his return to London, he gave the world a luminous proof that the vigour of his mind in all its faculties, whether memory, judgment, or imagination, was not in the least abated; for in the year 1778 were published the first four volumes of his "Prefaces, Biographical and Critical" to the most eminent of the English Poets, which were followed in less than two years by the remaining volumes. This work, which, according to his own account of it, he wrote in his usual way, dilatory and hastily, unwilling to work, and working with great vigour and haste, "is the work," says Mr. Boswell, "which of all Dr. Johnson's writings will perhaps be read most generally and with most pleasure." Philology and biography were his favourite pursuits, and those who lived most in intimacy with him, heard him upon all occasions, when there was a proper opportunity, take delight in expatiating upon the merits of the English poets; upon the niceties of their characters, and the events of their progress through the world which they contributed to illuminate. His mind was so full of that kind of information, and it was so well arranged in his memory, that in performing what he had undertaken in this way, he had little more to do than to put his thoughts upon paper, exhibiting first each

each poet's life and then subjoining a critical examination of his genius and works. But when he began to write, the subject swelled in such a manner, that instead of prefaces to each poet of no more than a few pages, as he had originally intended, he produced an ample, rich, and most entertaining view of them in every respect. In this he resembled Quintilian, who tells us, that in the compositions of his *Institutions of Oratory*, "*latius se tamen aperiente materiâ plus quàm imponebatur oneris sponte suscepti.*" The booksellers, justly sensible of the great additional value of the copy-right, presented him with another hundred pounds, over and above two hundred, for which his agreement was, to furnish such prefaces as he thought fit.

"While my friend (continues Mr. Boswell) is contemplated in the splendor derived from this his last and perhaps most admirable work, I introduce him with peculiar propriety as the correspondent of Warren Hastings, a man whose regard reflects dignity even upon Johnson; a man, the extent of whose abilities was equal to that of his power; and who, by those who are fortunate enough to know him in private life, is admired for his literature and taste, and beloved for the candour, moderation, and mildness of his character. Were I capable of paying a suitable tribute of admiration to him, I should certainly not withhold it a moment* when it is not possible that I should be suspected of being an interested flatterer. But how weak would be my voice after that of the millions whom he governed. His condescending and obliging compliance with my

solicitation, I with humble gratitude acknowledge; and while by publishing his letter to me, accompanying the valuable communication, I do eminent honour to my great friend, I shall entirely disregard any invidious suggestions, that as I in some degree participate in the honour, I have, at the same time, the gratification of my own vanity in view."

To James Boswell, Esq.

"Park-lane, Dec. 2, 1790.

"Sir,

"I have been fortunately spared the troublesome suspense of a long search, to which, in performance of my promise, I had devoted this morning, by lighting upon the objects of it among the first papers that I laid my hands on: my veneration for your great and good friend Dr. Johnson, and the pride, or I hope something of a better sentiment, which I indulged in possessing such memorials of his good-will towards me, having induced me to bind them in a parcel containing other select papers, and labelled with the titles appertaining to them. They consist but of three letters, which I believe were all that I ever received from Dr. Johnson. Of these, one, which was written in quadruplicate, under the different dates of its respective dispatches, has already been made public, but not from any communication of mine. This, however, I have joined to the rest; and have now the pleasure of sending them to you for the use to which you informed me it was your desire to destine them.

"My promise was pledged with the condition, that if the letters were found

found to contain any thing which should render them improper for the public eye, you would dispense with the performance of it. You will have the goodness, I am sure, to pardon my recalling this stipulation to your recollection, as I should be loth to appear negligent of that obligation which is always implied in an epistolary confidence. In the reservation of that right I have read them over with the most scrupulous attention, but have not seen in them the slightest cause on that ground to withhold them from you. But, though not on that, yet on another ground I own I feel a little, yet but a little, reluctance to part with them: I mean on that of my own credit, which I fear will suffer by the information conveyed by them, that I was early in the possession of such valuable instructions for the beneficial employment of the influence of my late station, and (as it may seem) have so little availed myself of them. Whether I could, if it were necessary, defend myself against such an imputation, it little concerns the world to know. I look only to the effect which these relics may produce, considered as evidences of the virtues of their author: and believing that they will be found to display an uncommon warmth of private friendship, and a mind ever attentive to the improvement and extension of useful knowledge, and solicitous for the interests of mankind, I can cheerfully submit to the little sacrifice of my own fame to contribute to the illustration of so great and venerable a character. They cannot be better applied, for that end, than by being entrusted to your hands. Allow me, with this offering, to infer

from it a proof of the very great esteem with which I have the honour to profess myself, sir,

"Your most obedient,

"And most humble servant,

"WARREN HASTINGS.

"P.S. At some future time, and when you have no farther occasion for these papers, I shall be obliged to you if you would return them."

"The last of the three letters thus graciously put into my hands, and which has already appeared in public, belongs to this year (1781); but I shall previously insert the two first in the order of their dates. They all together form a grand group in my biographical picture."

To the hon. Warren Hastings, Esq.

"Sir,

"Though I have had but little personal knowledge of you, I have had enough to make me wish for more; and though it be now a long time since I was honoured by your visit, I had too much pleasure from it to forget it. By those whom we delight to remember, we are unwilling to be forgotten; and therefore I cannot omit this opportunity of reviving myself in your memory by a letter which you will receive from the hands of my friend Mr. Chambers,* a man, whose purity of manners and vigour of mind are sufficient to make every thing welcome that he brings.

"That this is my only reason for writing, will be too apparent by the uselessness of my letter to any other purpose. I have no questions to ask; not that I want curiosity after either the ancient or present state of regions

* Now sir Robert Chambers, one of his majesty's judges in India.

gina in which have been seen all the power and splendour of wide-extended empire; and which, as by some grant of natural superiority, supply the rest of the world with almost all that pride desires, and luxury enjoys. But my knowledge of them is too scanty to furnish me with proper topics of inquiry; I can only wish for information; and hope, that a mind comprehensive like yours will find leisure, amidst the cares of your important station, to inquire into many subjects of which the European world either thinks not at all, or thinks with deficient intelligence and uncertain conjecture. I shall hope, that he who once intended to increase the learning of his country, by the introduction of the Persian language, will examine nicely the traditions and histories of the East; that he will survey the wonders of its ancient edifices, and trace the vestiges of its ruined cities; and that, at his return, we shall know the arts and opinions of a race of men, from whom very little has been hitherto derived.

"You, sir, have no need of being told by me, how much may be added by your attention and patronage to experimental knowledge and natural history. There are arts of manufacture practised in the countries in which you preside, which are yet very imperfectly known here, either to artificers or philosophers. Of the natural productions, animate and inanimate, we yet have so little intelligence, that our books are filled, I fear, with conjectures about things which an Indian peasant knows by his senses.

"Many of those things my first wish is to see; my second to know

by such accounts as a man like you will be able to give.

"As I have not skill to ask proper questions, I have likewise no such access to great men as can enable me to send you any political information. Of the agitations of an unsettled government, and the struggles of a feeble ministry, care is doubtless taken to give you more exact accounts than I can obtain. If you are inclined to interest yourself much in public transactions, it is no misfortune to you to be so distant from them.

"That literature is not totally forsaking us, and that your favourite language is not neglected, will appear from the book,* which I should have pleased myself more with sending, if I could have presented it bound; but time was wanting. I beg, however, sir, that you will accept it from a man very desirous of your regard: and that if you think me able to gratify you by any thing more important, you will employ me.

"I am now going to take leave, perhaps a very long leave, of my dear Mr. Chambers. That he is going to live where you govern, may justly alleviate the regret of parting; and the hope of seeing both him and you again, which I am not willing to mingle with doubt, must at present comfort as it can, sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON,

"March 30, 1774,"

To the same.

"Sir,

"Being informed that by the departure of a ship, there is now an oppor-

* Jones's "Persian Grammar."

opportunity of writing to Bengal, I am unwilling to slip out of your memory by my own negligence, and therefore take the liberty of reminding you of my existence, by sending you a book which is not yet made public.

“I have lately visited a region less remote and less illustrious than India, which afforded some occasions for speculation; what occurred to me, I have put into the volume,* of which I beg your acceptance.

“Men in your station seldom have presents totally disinterested; my book is received, let me now make my request.

“There is, sir, somewhere within your government, a young adventurer, one Chauncy Lawrence, whose father is one of my oldest friends. Be pleased to shew the young man what countenance is fit, whether he wants to be restrained by your authority, or encouraged by your favour. His father is now president of the college of physicians, a man venerable for his knowledge, and more venerable for his virtue.

“I wish you a prosperous government, a safe return, and a long enjoyment of plenty and tranquillity.

“I am, sir,

“Your most obedient,

“And most humble servant,

“SAM. JOHNSON.

“*London, Dec. 20. 1774.*”

To the same.

“Sir, *Jan. 9, 1781.*

“Amidst the importance and multiplicity of affairs in which your great office engages you, I take the liberty of recalling your attention for a moment to literature, and will not prolong the interruption by an

apology which your character makes needless.

“Mr. Hoole, a gentleman long known and long esteemed in the India-House, after having translated Tasso, has undertaken Ariosto. How well he is qualified for his undertaking he has already shewn. He is desirous, sir, of your favour in promoting his proposals, and flatters me by supposing that my testimony may advance his interest.

“It is a new thing for a clerk of the India-House to translate poets—it is new for a governor of Bengal to patronize learning. That he may find his ingenuity rewarded, and that learning may flourish under your protection, is the wish of, sir,

“Your most humble servant,

“SAM. JOHNSON.”

But the period was now fast approaching, when Johnson himself was to become the subject of those feelings of tenderness and humanity with which his own heart was constantly set in motion. In the month of March, 1781, Mr. Boswell, who had been for some time absent from London, met, on his return to the metropolis, his illustrious friend, at the age of seventy-two, in Fleet-street, walking, or rather indeed moving along; for what with the constant roll of his head, and the concomitant motion of his body, he appeared to make his way independent of his feet: he drank wine sometimes, but not socially, and every thing about his character and manners was forcible and violent. On Wednesday, the 4th of April, 1781, his friend Mr. Thrale died, and Johnson took upon him, with a very earnest concern, the office of one

* “Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland.”

one of his executors, the importance of which seemed greater than usual to him, from his circumstances having been always such that he had scarcely any share in the real business of life. His friends were in hopes that Mr. Thrale might have made a liberal provision for him for his life, which, as Mr. Thrale left no son and a very large fortune, it would have been highly to his honour to have done, and, considering Dr. Johnson's age, could not have been of long duration: but he bequeathed him only two hundred pounds, which was the legacy given to each of his executors.—“I could not,” says Mr. Boswell, “but be somewhat diverted by hearing Johnson talk in a pompous manner of his new office, and particularly of the concerns of the brewery, which it was at last resolved should be sold.” Lord Lucan tells a very good story, which, if not precisely exact, is certainly characteristic:—that when the sale of Thrale's brewery was going forward, Johnson appeared bustling about with an inkhorn and a pen in his button-hole, like an exciseman; and on being asked what he really considered to be the value of the property which was to be disposed of, answered, “We are not here to sell a parcel of boilers and vats, but the potentiality of growing rich beyond the dreams of avarice.”—Mr. Thrale's death, however, was a very essential loss to Johnson, who, though he did not foresee all that afterwards happened, was sufficiently convinced that the comforts which the family had afforded him would now in a great measure cease.

The event of Mr. Thrale's death tended greatly to increase the return of those gloomy moments which, from his earliest infancy,

so frequently afflicted Johnson's mind; but religion and philosophy came constantly to his aid, dispelled the lowring clouds of discontent, and restored his mind to the exercise of those brilliant faculties, which, in the enjoyments of friendly and social conversation, procured him invariably the highest applause, whether he “talked for victory,” or “to illustrate and inform.” Mr. Boswell has preserved many curious and entertaining proofs of the colloquial powers of his friend's mind; and, as an instance, that at the age of seventy-two they had suffered little or no decay, we shall insert the following conversation between him and Mr. Wilkes.

“On Tuesday, May 8, 1781, I had the pleasure (says Mr. Boswell) of again dining with him and Mr. Wilkes, at Mr. Dilly's. No negotiation was now required to bring them together, for Johnson was so well satisfied with the former interview, that he was very glad to meet Wilkes again, who was this day seated between Dr. Beattie and Dr. Johnson (between truth and reason, as general Paoli said, when I told him of it).—Wilkes. ‘I have been thinking, Dr. Johnson, that there should be a bill brought into parliament that the controverted election for Scotland should be tried in that country, at their own abbey of Holy-Rood-house, and no there; for the consequence of trying them here is, that we have an inundation of Scotchmen, who come up and never go back again. Now here is Boswell, who has come upon the election for his own county, which will not last a fortnight.’—Johnson. ‘Nay, sir, I see no reason why they should be tried at all; for, you know, one Scotchman is as good as another.’

ther.'—Wilkes. 'Pray, Boswell, how much may be got in a year by an advocate at the Scotch bar?'—

Boswell. 'I believe two thousand pounds.'—Wilkes. 'How can it be possible to spend that money in Scotland?'—Johnson. 'Why, sir, the money may be spent in England: but there is a harder question. If one man in Scotland gets possession of two thousand pounds, what remains for all the rest of the nation!'—Wilkes. 'You know, in the last war, the immense booty which Thurot carried off from the complete plunder of seven Scotch isles. He embarked with three and sixpence.' Here again Johnson and Wilkes joined in extravagant sportive railery upon the supposed poverty of Scotland, which Dr. Beattie and I did not think it worth our while to dispute.

"The subject of quotation being introduced, Mr. Wilkes censured it as pedantry.—Johnson. 'No, sir it is a good thing; there is a community of mind in it. Classical quotation is the parole of literary men all over the world.'—Wilkes. 'Upon the continent they all quote the Vulgate bible. Shakespeare is chiefly quoted here; and we quote also Pope, Prior, Butler, Waller, and sometimes Cowley.'

"We talked of letter writing.—Johnson. 'It is now become so much the fashion to publish letters, that in order to avoid it, I put as little into mine as I can.'—Boswell. 'Do what you will, sir, you

cannot avoid it. Should you even write as ill as you can, your letters would be published as curiosities.

"Behold a miracle! instead of wit,
"See two dull lines with Stanhope's
"pencil writ."

"He gave us an entertaining account of Bet Flint, a woman of the town, who with some eccentric talents and much effrontery, forced herself upon his acquaintance. 'Bet (said he) wrote her own life in verse,* which she brought to me, wishing that I would furnish her with a preface to it (laughing). I used to say of her, that she was generally slut and drunkard—occasionally whore and thief. She had, however, genteel lodgings, a spinnet on which she played, and a boy that walked before her chair. Poor Bet was taken up on a charge of stealing a counterpane, and tried at the Old Bailey. Chief Justice——, who loved a wench, summed-up favourably, and she was acquitted.' After which, Bet said, with a gay and satisfied air, 'Now that the counterpane is my own, I shall make a petticoat of it.'

"Talking of oratory, Mr. Wilkes described it as accompanied with all the charms of poetical expression.'—Johnson. 'No, sir; oratory is the power of beating down your adversary's arguments, and putting better in their place.'—Wilkes. 'But this does not move the passions.'—Johnson. 'He must be a weak man who is to be so moved.'

—Wilkes.

* "Johnson, whose memory was wonderfully retentive, remembered the first four lines of this curious production, which have been communicated to me by a young lady of his acquaintance:

"When first I drew my vital breath,
"A little minikin I came upon earth;
"And then I came from a dark abode;
"Into that gay and gaudy world."

Wilkes (naming a celebrated orator*). 'Amidst all the brilliancy of——'s imagination, and the exuberance of his wit, there is a strange want of taste. It was observed of Apelles's Venus, that her flesh seemed as if she had been nourished by roses: his oratory would sometimes make one suspect that he eats potatoes and drinks whiskey.'

"Mr. Wilkes observed, how tenacious we are of forms in this country, and gave us an instance, the vote of the house of commons for remitting money to pay the army in America in Portugal-pieces, when, in reality, the remittance is made, not in Portugal money, but, in our own specie.'—Johnson. 'Is there not a law, sir, against exporting the current coin of the realm?'—Wilkes. 'Yes, sir: but might not the house of commons, in case of real evident necessity, order our own current coin to be sent out into our own colonies?'—Here Johnson, with that quickness of recollection which distinguished him so eminently, gave the Middlesex patriot an admirable retort upon his own ground. 'Sure, sir, you don't think a resolution of the house of commons equal to the law of the land?'—Wilkes (at once perceiving the application). 'God forbid, sir.' To hear what had been treated with such violence in 'The False Alarm,' now turned into pleasant repartee, was extremely agreeable. Johnson went on—'Locke observes well, that a prohibition to export the current coin is impolitic; for when the balance of trade happens to be against a state, the current coin must be exported.'

"Mr. Beauclerk's great library was this season sold in London by auction. Mr. Wilkes said, he won-

dered to find in it such a numerous collection of sermons, seeming to think it strange that a gentleman of Mr. Beauclerk's character in the gay world should have chosen to have many compositions of that kind.—Johnson. 'Why, sir, you are to consider that sermons make a considerable branch of English literature; so that a library must be very imperfect if it has not a numerous collection of sermons; and in all collections, sir, the desire of augmenting it grows stronger in proportion to the advance in acquisition; as motion is accelerated by the continuance of the impetus. Besides, sir (looking at Mr. Wilkes with a placid but significant smile), a man may collect sermons with intention of making himself better by them. I hope Mr. Beauclerk intended, that some time or other that should be the case with him.'

"Mr. Wilkes said to me loud enough for Dr. Johnson to hear, 'Dr. Johnson should make me a present of his 'Lives of the Poets,' as I am a poor patriot who cannot afford to buy them.'—Johnson seemed to take no notice of this hint; but in a little while, he called to Mr. Dilly, 'Pray, sir, be so good as to send a set of my Lives to Mr. Wilkes, with my compliments.' This was accordingly done; and Mr. Wilkes paid Dr. Johnson a visit, was courteously received, and sat with him a long time.

"The company gradually dropped away, Mr. Dilly himself was called down stairs upon business; I left the room for some time; when I returned, I was struck with observing Dr. Samuel Johnson and John Wilkes, esq. literally *tête-à-tête*; for they were reclined upon their chairs, with their heads leaning almost

* Probably Mr. Burke.

most close to each other, and talking earnestly, in a kind of confidential whisper, of the personal quarrel between George the Second and the king of Prussia. Such a scene of perfectly easy sociality between two such opponents in the war of political controversy, as that which I now beheld, would have been an excellent subject for a picture. It presented to my mind the happy days which are foretold in Scripture, when the lion shall lie down with the kid.*

It is not, however, the character and conversations of Dr. Johnson only which the biographer upon the present occasion has undertaken to write; but, in the language of the title-page, "to exhibit a view of literature and literary men in Great Britain," during the time in which Johnson flourished. This will afford us the opportunity of presenting to our readers, without the necessity of an apology, a lively and entertaining trait of the character and conversation of the biographer himself, whose hilarity, good humour, ingenuity, and candour, renders his portrait, in every point of view, pleasing and respectable. "About this time (the year 1781), it was much the fashion," says Mr. Boswell, "for several ladies to have evening assemblies, where the fair sex might participate in conversation with literary and ingenious men, animated by a desire to please. These societies were denominated *blue-stocking clubs*, the origin of which title being little known, it may be worth while to relate it.

One of the most eminent members of those societies, when they first commenced, was Mr. Stillingfleet, whose dress was remarkably grave, and in particular it was observed that he wore blue stockings.—Such was the excellence of his conversation, that his absence was felt as so great a loss, that it used to be said, 'we can do nothing without the *blue stockings*;' and thus by degrees the title was established. Miss Hannah More has admirably described a *blue-stocking-club* in her '*Bas Bleu*,' a poem, in which many of the persons who were most conspicuous there are mentioned.

"Johnson was prevailed with to come sometimes into these circles, and did not think himself too grave even for the lively Miss Monckton (now countess of Corke), who used to have the finest bit of blue at the house of her mother, lady Galway. Her vivacity enchanted the sage, and they used to talk together with all imaginable ease. A singular instance happened one evening, when she insisted that some of Sterne's writings were very pathetic.—Johnson bluntly denied it. 'I am sure (said she) they have affected me.'—'Why (said Johnson, smiling, and rolling himself about), that is because, dearest, you're a dunce.' When she sometime afterwards mentioned this to him, he said, with equal truth and politeness, 'Madam, if I had thought so, I certainly should not have said it'.

"Another evening Johnson's kind indulgence towards me had a pretty difficult

* "When I mentioned this to the bishop of Killaloe, 'With the goat,' said his lordship. Such, however, is the engaging politeness and pleasantry of Mr. Wilkes, and such the social good-humour of the bishop, that when they dined together at Mr. Dilly's, where I also was, they were mutually agreeable."

difficult trial. I had dined at the duke of Montrose's, with a very agreeable party, and his grace, according to his usual custom, had circulated the bottle very freely. Lord Graham and I went together to Miss Monckton's where I certainly was in very extraordinary spirits, and above all fear or awe. In the midst of a great number of persons of the first rank, amongst whom I recollect with confusion a noble lady of the most stately decorum, I placed myself next to Johnson, and thinking myself now fully his match, talked to him in a loud and boisterous manner, desirous to let the company know how I could contend with Ajax. I particularly remember pressing him upon the

value of the pleasures of the imagination, and as an illustration of my argument, asking him, 'What, sir, supposing I were to fancy that the (naming the most charming duchess in his majesty's dominions) were in love with me, should I not be very happy?' My friend with much address evaded my interrogatories, and kept me as quiet as possible; but it may easily be conceived how he must have felt.* When a few days afterwards I waited upon him, and made an apology, he behaved with the most friendly gentleness."

In the month of June, 1782, Mr. Boswell set out for the metropolis of Scotland, and was accompanied to "the hospitable mansion of 'squire Dilly,"

* "Next day I endeavoured to give what had happened the most ingenious turn I could by the following verses:

To the honourable Miss Monckton.

Not that with th' excellent Montrose
I had the happiness to dine;
Not that I late from table rose,
From Graham's wit, from generous wine;

It was not these alone which led
On sacred manners to encroach:
And made me feel, what most I dread,
Johnson's just frown, and self-reproach.

But when I enter'd, not abashed,
From your bright eyes were shot such rays,
At once intoxication flash'd,
And all my frame was in a blaze!

But not a brilliant blaze I own,
Of the dull smoke I'm yet asham'd;
I was a dreary ruin grown,
And not enlighten'd, though inflam'd.

Victim at once to wine and love,
I hope, MARIA, you'll forgive;
While I invoke the Powers above,
That henceforth I may wiser live.

"The lady was generously forgiving, returned me an obliging answer, and I thus obtained an *Act of Oblivion*, and took care never to offend again."

Dilly," at Southhill, in Bedfordshire, by Dr. Johnson, who soon afterwards returned to London. From this period until the month of March, 1783, the work consists of a variety of letters to and from Dr. Johnson and his friends, upon various subjects; in all of which however, he makes serious complaints of the ill state of his health; but still discovers, that although his body was weak, his mind was vigorous and strong. On Friday, March 21, 1783, Mr. Boswell, having arrived in London the night before, found his friend at Mrs. Thrale's house, in Argyll-street, very ill, looking pale, and distressed, with a difficulty of breathing.

The generous attention of his friends, however, in some measure alleviated his sufferings, and enabled him, on his part, to bestow those friendly assistances to others which had formed the honour and happiness of his life. The earl of Carlisle had some years before written a tragedy, intituled "*The Father's Revenge*;" and some of his lordship's friends applied to Mrs. Chapone to prevail on Dr. Johnson to read and give his opinion of it, which he accordingly did. This opinion was expressed in a letter to Mrs. Chapone, which, by the kindness of lord Carlisle, is inserted in the work, and, as Mr. Boswell truly observes, "displays at once the critical skill and politeness of his illustrious friend." Notwithstanding the complication of disorders under which he now laboured, he did not resign himself to despondency and discontent, but with wisdom and spirit endeavoured to console and amuse his mind with as many innocent enjoyments as he could procure. For this purpose he instituted

a club at the Essex Head, in Essex-street, which was then kept by an old servant of his former friend Mr. Thrale; but, alas! the pleasures he promised to himself from this institution were but of short duration, for we learn from his letter of Feb. 11, 1784, to Mr. Boswell, who was then in Scotland, but nominated one of the members as being a very *clubbable* man, that on his going thither to meet the company he was seized with a spasmodic asthma so violent, that it was with difficulty he got to his own house; "but," continues he, "the asthma is not the worst. A dropsy gains ground upon me; my legs and thighs are very much swoln with water, which I should be content if I could keep there; but I am afraid that it will soon be higher. My nights are very sleepless and very tedious; and yet I am *extremely afraid of dying*." And soon afterwards, in a letter to Mrs. Porter, of Litchfield, although the dropsy was then removed by the sudden discharge of twenty pints of water, he expresses the same fear of death.—"Death, my dear, is very dreadful; let us think nothing worth our care but how to prepare for it." The strength of his constitution, however, and those kind and generous assistances which the most eminent of the faculty both in England and Scotland were anxious to afford him, procured him a temporary relief, and Mr. Boswell, on his return from Scotland, on May 5, 1784, had the pleasure to find his friend greatly recovered. "One morning afterwards," says Mr. Boswell, "when I found him alone, he communicated to me, with solemn earnestness, a very remarkable circumstance which had happened in the course of his illness,

ness, when he was much distressed by the dropsy. He had shut himself up, and employed a day in particular exercises of religion, fasting, humiliation, and prayer. On a sudden, he obtained extraordinary relief, for which he looked up to heaven with grateful devotion. He made no direct inference from this fact; but from his manner of telling it, I could perceive that it appeared to him as something more than an incident in the common course of events. For my own part, I have no difficulty to avow that cast of thinking, which by many modern pretenders to wisdom is called *superstitious*. But here I think even men of pretty dry rationality may believe, that there was an intermediate interposition of Divine Providence, and that 'the fervent prayer of this righteous man' availed."

Of his more lively conversation Mr. Boswell finds only the following three small particulars:—One, when a person was mentioned who said, "I have lived fifty-one years in this world without having had ten minutes of uneasiness," he exclaimed, "The man who says so lies. He attempts to impose on human credulity." The bishop of Exeter in vain observed, that men were very different. His lordship's manner was not impressive; and I learnt afterwards that Johnson did not find out that the person who talked to him was a prelate; if he had, I doubt not that he would have treated him with more respect; for once talking of George Psalmanazar, whom he revered for his piety, he said, "I should as soon think of contradicting a bishop." One of the company provoked him greatly by doing what he could least of all

bear, which was quoting something of his own writing, against what he then maintained. "What, sir (cried the gentleman), do you say to

'The busy day, the peaceful night,
'Unfelt, uncounted, glided by?'"

Johnson having thus had himself presented as giving an instance of a man who had lived without uneasiness, was much offended, for he looked upon such quotation as unfair. His anger burst out in an unjustifiable retort, insinuating that the gentleman's remark was a sally of obriety; "Sir, there is one passion I would advise you to command. When you have drunk out the glass, don't drink another." Here was exemplified what Goldsmith said of him, with the aid of a very witty image from one of Cibber's comedies, "There is no arguing with Johnson; for if his pistol misses fire, he knocks you down with the butt end of it."—Another, when a gentleman of eminence in the literary world was violently censured for attacking people by anonymous paragraphs in newspapers; he, from the spirit of contradiction, as I thought, took up his defence, and said, "Come, come, this is not so terrible a crime; he means only to vex them a little. I do not say that I should do it; but there is a great difference between him and me; what is fit for Hephæstion is not fit for Alexander."—Another, when I told him that a young and handsome countess had said to me, "I should think that to be praised by Dr. Johnson would make one a fool all one's life;" and that I answered, "Madam, I shall make him a fool to-day, by repeating this to him," he said, "I am too old to be made a fool; but if you say

say I am, I shall not deny it. I am much pleased with a compliment, especially from a pretty woman."

Soon after this period, Johnson and Boswell paid a visit to Oxford, where they were one day entertained with great hospitality by Dr. Adams. "After dinner, when one of us talked of there being a great enmity between whig and tory, Johnson. 'Why not so much, I think, unless when they come into competition with each other. There is none when they are only common acquaintance, none when they are of different sexes. A tory will marry into a whig family, and a whig into a tory family, without any reluctance. But indeed in a matter of much more concern than political tenets, and that is religion, men and women do not concern themselves much about difference of opinion. And ladies set no value on the moral character of men who pay their addresses to them; the greatest profligate will be as well received as the man of the greatest virtue, and this by a very good woman—by a woman who says her prayers three times a day.' Our ladies endeavoured to defend their sex from this charge; but he roared them down! 'No, no; a lady will take Jonathan Wild as readily as St. Austin, if he has three-pence more; and, what is worse, her parents will give her to him. Women have a perpetual envy of our vices; they are less vicious than we, not from choice, but because we restrict them; they are the slaves of order and fashion; their virtue is of more consequence to us than our own, so far as concerns this world.'

"Miss Adams mentioned a gentleman of licentious character, and said, 'Suppose I had a mind to

marry that gentleman, Would my parents consent?' Johnson. 'Yes, they'd consent, and you'd go. You'd go though they did not consent.' Miss Adams. 'Perhaps their opposing might make me go.' Johnson. 'O, very well; you'd take one whom you think a bad man, to have the pleasure of vexing your parents. You put me in mind of Dr. Barrowby, the physician, who was very fond of swine's flesh. One day when he was eating it, he said, 'I wish I was a Jew.'—'Why so, (said somebody)? the Jews are not allowed to eat your favourite meat.'—'Because (said he) I should then have the gust of eating it, with the pleasure of sinning.' He then proceeded in his declamation.

"Miss Adams soon afterwards made an observation that I do not recollect, which pleased him much; he said, with a good-humoured smile, "That there should be so much excellence, united with so much depravity, is strange."

Many other very curious and entertaining anecdotes are related of this extraordinary character in this part of the work, both during his stay at Oxford, and after his return to London. The winter was now fast approaching, and the interval of convalescence which Johnson had enjoyed during the summer, induced him to express a wish to visit Italy. Upon this subject, however, his wishes had been anticipated by the anxiety of his friends to preserve his health; and in order to procure the means of defraying the expenses of the expedition, application was made to the minister, unknown to Dr. Johnson, for an increase of his pension from government. In consequence of this application, Mr. Boswell had the honour to receive

from the lord chancellor the following letter :

" To James Boswell, Esq.

" Sir,

" I should have answered your letter immediately, if (being much engaged when I received it) I had not put it in my pocket, and forgot to open it till this morning.

" I am much obliged to you for the suggestion; and I will adopt and press it as far as I can. The best argument, I am sure, and I hope it is not likely to fail, is Dr. Johnson's merit. But it will be necessary, if I should be so unfortunate as to miss seeing you, to converse with Sir Joshua on the sum it will be proper to ask—in short, upon the means of setting him out. It would be a reflection on us all, if such a man should perish for want of the means to take care of his health.

" Yours, &c.

" THURLOW."

" This letter gave me a very high satisfaction; I next day went and shewed it to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who was exceedingly pleased with it. He thought that I should now communicate the negociation to Dr. Johnson, who might afterwards complain, if the attention with which it had been honoured should be too long concealed from him. I intended to set out for Scotland next morning, but Sir Joshua cordially insisted that I should stay another day, that Johnson and I might dine with him—that we three might talk of his Italian Tour, and, as Sir Joshua expressed himself, "have it all out." I hastened to Johnson, and was told by him that he was rather better to-day. Bos-

well. "I am very anxious about you, sir, and particularly that you should go to Italy for the winter, which I believe is your own wish." Johnson. "It is, sir." Boswell. "You have no objection, I presume, but the money it would require." Johnson. "Why, no, sir." Upon which I gave him a particular account of what had been done, and read to him the lord chancellor's letter.—He listened with much attention; then warmly said, "This is taking prodigious pains about a man." "O! sir, (said I, with most sincere affection), your friends would do every thing for you." He paused—grew more and more agitated—till tears started into his eyes, and he exclaimed with fervent emotion, "God bless you all!" I was so affected that I also shed tears.—After a short silence, he renewed and extended his grateful benediction, "God bless you all, for Jesus Christ's sake." We both remained for some time unable to speak. He rose suddenly and quitted the room, quite melted in tenderness. He stayed but a short time, till he had recovered his firmness. Soon after he returned I left him, having first engaged him to dine at Sir Joshua Reynolds' next day. I never was again under that roof which I had so long revered."

Mr. Boswell having engaged in the services of his renowned friend so powerful a patron as the lord high chancellor of Great Britain, very rationally entertained the highest hopes of success, and at a confidential dinner at the house of Sir Joshua Reynolds, the friendly triumvirate indulged their conjectures, whether munificence would be displayed in one large donation, or in an ample increase of Johnson's pension. But these

these fond hopes, alas ! were disappointed; an event of which Mr. Boswell, who was at this time absent from London, relates the following interesting particulars :

“ I remained one day more in town, to have the chance of talking over my negociation with the lord chancellor, but the multiplicity of his lordship’s important engagements did not allow of it; so I left the management of the business in the hands of Sir Joshua Reynolds. On the 6th of July, 1784, Johnson wrote to Sir Joshua as follows :

“ I am going, I hope, in a few days, to try the air of Derbyshire, but hope to see you before I go. Let me, however, mention to you what I have much at heart. If the chancellor should continue his attention to Mr. Boswell’s request, and confer with you on the means of relieving my languid state, I am very desirous to avoid the appearance of asking money upon false pretences. I desire you to represent to his lordship, what, as soon as it is suggested he will perceive to be reasonable; That if I grow much worse I shall be afraid to leave my physicians, to suffer the inconveniences of travel, and pine in the solitude of a foreign country:—That if I grow much better, of which indeed there is now little appearance, I shall not wish to leave my friends and my domestic comforts; for I do not travel for pleasure or curiosity; yet if I should recover, curiosity would revive.— In my present state, I am desirous to make a struggle for a little longer life, and hope to obtain some help from a softer climate. Do for me what you can.” He wrote to me July 26; “ I wish your affairs could have permitted a longer and continued exertion of your zeal and

kindness. They that have your kindness may want your ardour. In the mean time I am very feeble, and very dejected.”

“ By a letter from Sir Joshua Reynolds I was informed, that the lord chancellor had called on him, and acquainted him that the application had not been successful; but that his lordship, after speaking highly in praise of Johnson, as a man who was an honour to his country, desired Sir Joshua to let him know, that on granting a mortgage of his pension, he should draw on his lordship to the amount of five or six hundred pounds; and that his lordship explained the meaning of the mortgage to be, that he wished the business to be conducted in such a manner as that Dr. Johnson should appear to be under the least possible obligation. Sir Joshua mentioned, that he had by the same post communicated all this to Dr. Johnson.

“ How Johnson was affected upon the occasion will appear from what he wrote to Sir Joshua Reynolds :

“ *Ashbourne, Sept. 9.*

“ Many words I hope are not necessary between you and me, to convince you what gratitude is excited in my heart by the chancellor’s liberality, and your kind offices.***

“ I have enclosed a letter to the chancellor, which, when you have read it, you will be pleased to seal with a head, or any other general seal, and convey it to him: had I sent it directly to him, I should have seemed to overlook the favour of your intervention.”

To the Lord High Chancellor.

“ My Lord,

“ After a long and not inattentive observation of mankind, the
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generosity of your lordship's offer raises in me not less wonder than gratitude. Bounty so liberally bestowed I should gladly receive, if my condition made it necessary; for to such a mind, who would not be proud to own his obligations? But it has pleased God to restore me to so great a measure of health, that if I should now appropriate so much of a fortune destined to do good, I could not escape from myself the charge of advancing a false claim. My journey to the continent, though I once thought it necessary, was never much encouraged by my physicians; and I was very desirous that your lordship should be told of it by Sir Joshua Reynolds, as an event very uncertain; for if I grew much better, I should not be willing, if much worse, not able, to migrate. Your lordship was first solicited without my knowledge: but, when I was told that you were pleased to honour me with your patronage, I did not expect to hear of a refusal; yet, as I have had no long time to brood hope, and have not rioted in imaginary opulence, this cold reception has been scarce a disappointment; and from your lordship's kindness I have received a benefit, which only men like you are able to bestow. I shall now live *mihi carior*, with a higher opinion of my own merit.

"I am, my lord,

"Your lordship's most obliged,

"most grateful, and

"most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON.

"Sept. 1784."

"Upon this unexpected failure I abstain from presuming to make any remarks, or offer any conjectures."

It would be injustice not to record another instance of extraordinary liberality of friendship:—Dr. Johnson, in a conversation upon this subject, with his two confidential friends, "told us," says Mr. Boswell, "that Dr. Brocklesby had upon this occasion, offered him a hundred a-year for his life: a grateful tear started into his eye, as he spoke this in a faltering tone." In this part of the work, Mr. Boswell takes occasion to point out the gross inaccuracies, to give them no worse a name, of Mrs. Thrale's "*Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson*," and, to prevent moral merit from being injured, by wilful or negligent misrepresentation, we shall insert the following instance. To represent Dr. Johnson very deficient in affection, tenderness, or even common civility, "When I, one day," says Mrs. Thrale, "represented the loss of a first-cousin, killed in America, '*Pr'ythee, my dear*,' said he, '*have done with canting; how would the world be the worse for it, I may ask, if your relations were at once spitted like larks, and roasted for 'Presto's supper?' Presto was the dog that lay under the table while we talk.*' "I suspect this too," says Mr. Boswell, "of exaggeration and distortion. I allow that he made her an angry speech; but let the circumstance fairly appear, as told by Mr. Barretti, who was present:

"Mrs. Thrale, while supping very heartily upon larks, laid down her knife and fork, and abruptly exclaimed, 'Oh! my dear Mr. Johnson, do you know what has happened? The last letters from abroad have brought us an account, that our poor cousin's head was taken off by a cannon-ball.' Johnson, who was shocked, both at the fact, and

and her light unfeeling manner of mentioning it, replied, "Madam it would give you very little concern, if all your relations were spitted like those larks, and drest for Presto's supper."

In a note subjoined to this observation, we have the following anecdote of a celebrated character :

"Upon my mentioning this," says Mr. Boswell, "to my friend, Mr. Wilkes, he, with his usual readiness, pleasantly matched it with the following *sentimental anecdote*. He was invited by a young man of fashion at Paris to sup with him and a lady, who had been for some time his mistress, but with whom he was going to part. He said to Mr. Wilkes, that he really felt very much for her, she was in such distress, and that he meant to make her a present of two hundred louis d'ors. Mr. Wilkes observed the behaviour of mademoiselle, who sighed indeed very piteously, and assumed every pathetic air of grief; but eat no less than three French pigeons, which are as large as English partridges, besides other things. Mr. Wilkes whispered the gentleman, "We often say in England, *Excessive sorrow is exceeding dry*, but I never heard, *Excessive sorrow is exceeding hungry*. Perhaps one hundred will do." The gentleman took the hint."

Johnson, to alleviate the pangs of disappointed hope, and the sorrowful sickness of old age, made an excursion into the north; but we discover, by a variety of letters which he wrote to several friends, during his absence, that

he attempted in vain, as he expressed it, "*to run a race with death*," On his return, he visited, for the last time, his native city, and as he had now very faint hopes of recovery, and Mrs. Thrale was no longer devoted to him, it might have been supposed that he would naturally have chosen to remain in the comfortable house of his beloved wife's daughter, and end his life where he began it; "but," says Mr. Boswell, "there was in him an animated and lofty spirit;* and however complicated diseases might depress ordinary mortals, all who saw him beheld and acknowledged the *invictum animum Catonis*. Such was his intellectual ardour, even at this time, that he said to one friend, "Sir, I look upon every day to be lost, in which I do not make a new acquaintance." And, to another, when talking of his illness, "I will be conquered. I will not capitulate." And such was his love of London, so high a relish had he of its magnificent extent, and variety of intellectual entertainment, that he languished when absent from it; his mind having become quite luxurious, from the long habit of enjoying the metropolis, and therefore, although at Litchfield surrounded with friends who loved and revered him, and for whom he had a very sincere affection, he still found, that such conversation as London affords, could be found nowhere else. These feelings, joined, probably, to some flattering hopes of aid from the eminent physicians and surgeons in London, who kindly and generously attended

* "Mr. Burke suggested to me as applicable to Johnson, what Cicero, in his *Cato Major*, says of *Appianus*, '*Intentum enim animum tanquam arum habebat, nec languescens succumbebat senectuti*,' repeating at the same time the following noble words in the same passage; '*Ita enim senectus honesta est si se ipsa defendit, si jus suum retinet, ne nati emancipata est, si usque ad extremum vitæ spiritum vindicet jus suum.*'

attended him without accepting of fees, made him resolve to return to the capital.

The fine and firm feelings of friendship which occupied so large a portion of Johnson's heart, are eminently displayed in the many tender interviews which took place between him and his friends in the country, during his excursion into the north: an excursion which seems to have been undertaken rather from a sense of his approaching dissolution, and a warm wish to bid those he loved a last and long farewell, than from any rational hope that air and exercise would restore him to his former health and vigour. Soon after his return to the metropolis, both the asthma and dropsy became more violent and distressful. He had for some time kept a journal, in Latin, of the state of his illness, and the remedies which he used, under the title of *Ægri Ephemeræ*, which he began on the 6th July, but continued it no longer than the 8th November, finding, perhaps, that it was a mournful and unavailing register. But still his love of literature did not fail. He drew out, and gave to his friend Mr. John Nichols, what, perhaps, he alone could have done, a list of the authors of the *Universal History*, mentioning their several shares in that work. It has, according to his direction, been deposited in the British Museum, and is printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December 1784. During his sleepless nights, also, he amused himself by translating into Latin verse, from the Greek, many of the epigrams of the *Anthologia*, which are printed in the collection of his works. The sense of his situation predominated, and "his affection for his departed relations,"

says Mr. Boswell, "seemed to grow warmer as he approached nearer to the time when he might hope to see them again." This observation is founded on a letter, dated 2d December, 1784, written to Mr. Green at Litchfield, in which Johnson enclosed the epitaph on his father, mother, and brother, and ordered it to be engraved on a stone, deep, massy, and hard, and laid on their grave, in the middle aisle in St. Michael's church. Having performed this pious office, he appears to prepare himself for that doom from which the most exalted powers afford no exemption to man. Death had always been to him an object of terror; so that, though by no means happy, he still clung to life with an eagerness at which many have wondered. But let him speak his own sentiments upon this subject.

"You know," says he, in one of his letters to Mrs. Thrale, "I never thought confidence, with respect to futurity, any part of the character of a brave, a wise, or a good man. Bravery has no place where it can avail nothing; wisdom impresses strongly the consciousness of those faults, of which it is perhaps itself an aggravation; and goodness, always wishing to be better, and imputing every deficiency to criminal negligence, and every fault to voluntary corruption, never dares to suppose the condition of forgiveness fulfilled, nor what is wanting in the crime, supplied by penitence.

"This is the state of the best; but what must be the condition of him whose heart will not suffer him to rank himself among the best, or among the good? Such must be his dread of the approaching trial, as

will leave him little attention to the opinion of those whom he is leaving for ever; and the serenity that is not felt, it can be no virtue to feign."

During the whole course of his illness, Dr. Heberden, Dr. Brocklesby, Dr. Warren, and Dr. Butter, physicians, generously attended him, without accepting of any fees, as did Mr. Cruikshank, surgeon; and all that could be done from professional skill and abilities was tried, to prolong a life so truly valuable. He himself, indeed, having, on account of his very bad constitution, been perpetually applying himself to medical enquiries, united his own efforts with those of the gentlemen who attended him; and, imagining that the dropsical collection of water which oppressed him, might be drawn off by making incisions in his body, he, with his usual resolute defiance of pain, desired them to cut deep, when he thought that his surgeon had done it too tenderly.

About eight or ten days before his death, when Dr. Brocklesby paid him his morning visit, he seemed very low and desponding, and said, "I have been as a dying man all night." He then emphatically broke out in the words of Shakespeare,

Canst thou not minister to a mind diseas'd?
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow?
Raze out the written troubles of the brain?
And, with some sweet oblivious antidote,
Cleanse the full bosom of that perilous stuff
Which weighs upon the heart.

To which Dr. Brocklesby readily answered, from the same great poet;

—————therein the patient
Must minister unto himself.

Johnson expressed himself much satisfied with the application.

On another day after this, when talking on the subject of prayer, Dr. Brocklesby repeated from Juvenal,
Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano,

and so on to the end of the tenth satire; but in running it quickly over, he happened, in the line

Qui spatium vitæ extremum inter munera ponat,

to pronounce *supremum* for *extremum*; at which Johnson's critical ear instantly took offence, and discoursing vehemently on the unmetrical effect of such a lapse, he shewed himself as full as ever of the spirit of the grammarian.

Amongst a number of curious and deeply interesting circumstances, which attended the last moments of this great man, Mr. Boswell relates the following:

"Nobody was more attentive to him than Mr. Langton, to whom he tenderly said, *Teteneam moriens deficiente manu*. And I think it highly to the honour of Mr. Windham, that his important occupations, as an active statesman, did not prevent him from paying assiduous respect to the dying sage, whom he revered. Mr. Langton informs me, that "one day he found Mr. Burke, and four or five more friends, sitting with Johnson. Mr. Burke said to him, 'I am afraid, sir, such a number of us may be oppressive to you.' 'No, sir, (said Johnson) it is not so; and I must be in a wretched state indeed, when your company would not be a delight to me.' Mr. Burke, in a tremulous voice, expressive of being very tenderly affected, replied,

plied, 'My dear sir, you have always been too good to me.' Immediately afterwards he went away. This was the last circumstance in the acquaintance of these two eminent men.

"Amidst the melancholy clouds which hung over the dying Johnson, his characteristical manner shewed itself on different occasions.

"When Dr. Warren, in the usual style, hoped that he was better, his answer was, "No, sir. You cannot conceive with what acceleration I advance towards death.

A man whom he had never seen before, was employed one night to sit up with him. Being asked, next morning, how he liked his attendant, his answer was "Not at all sir. The fellow's an idiot; he is as awkward as a turnspit, when first put into the wheel, and as sleepy as a dormouse."

"Mr. Windham having placed a pillow conveniently to support him, he thanked him for his kindness, and said, "That will do—all that a pillow can do."

"He repeated, with great spirit, a poem, consisting of about fifteen stanzas, in four lines, in alternate rhymes, which he said he had composed some years before, on occasion of a young gentleman's coming of age, * saying, he had never repeated it but once since he composed it, and had given but one copy of it. From the specimen of it, which Mrs. Piozzi has given of it in her "Anecdotes" it is much to be wished that we could see the whole.

"As he opened a note which his servant had brought to him, he said, "An odd thought strikes me,—We

shall receive no letters in the grave."

"He requested three things of sir Joshua Reynolds:—To forgive him thirty pounds which he had borrowed of him—to read the Bible—and never to use his pencil on a Sunday. Sir Joshua readily acquiesced.

"Indeed he shewed the greatest anxiety for the religious improvement of his friends, to whom he discoursed of its infinite consequence. He begged of Mr. Hoole to think of what he had said, and to commit it to writing; and upon being afterwards assured that this was done, pressed his hands, and in an earnest tone thanked him. Dr. Brocklesby having attended him with the utmost assiduity and kindness, as his physician and friend, he was peculiarly desirous that this gentleman should not entertain any loose speculative notions, but be confirmed in the truths of Christianity, and insisted on his writing down in his presence, and as nearly as he could collect it, the import of what passed on the subject; and Dr. Brocklesby having complied with the request, he made him sign the paper, and urged him to keep it in his own custody as long as he lived.

"Johnson, with that native fortitude which amidst all his bodily distress and mental sufferings never forsook him, asked Dr. Brocklesby, as a man in whom he had confidence, to tell him plainly whether he could recover. "Give me (said he) a direct answer." The doctor, having first asked him if he could bear the whole truth, which way soever it might lead, and being answered that he could, declared, that in his opinion he could not recover without

* This poem shall be given in a future volume.

without a miracle. "Then (said Johnson) I will take no more physic, not even my opiates; for I have prayed that I may render up my soul to God unclouded." In this resolution he persevered, and, at the same time, used only the weakest kinds of sustenance."

From the time that he was certain his death was near, he appeared to be perfectly resigned, was seldom or never fretful or out of temper, and often said to his faithful servant who gave me this account, "Attend, Francis, to the salvation of your soul, which is the object of greatest importance; he also explained to him passages in the Scripture, and seemed to have pleasure in talking upon religious subjects.

On Monday, the 13th day of December, the day on which he died, a Miss Morris, daughter to a particular friend of his, called, and said to Francis, that she begged to be permitted to see the doctor, that she might earnestly request him to give her his blessing. Francis went into the room, followed by the young lady, and delivered the message. The doctor turned himself in the bed, and said, "God bless you, my dear!" These were the last words he spoke.—His difficulty of breathing increased till about seven o'clock in the evening, when Mr. Barber and Mrs. Desmoulins, who were sitting in the room, observing that the noise he made in breathing had ceased, went to the bed, and found he was dead.

The faithful biographer having traced the life of his illustrious friend from the cradle to the grave, and dropped tears of tenderness and af-

fection to his memory, acknowledging himself unable to express his feelings for the loss of such a "guide, philosopher, and friend," proceeds to collect into one view the capital and distinguishing features in the character* of this extraordinary man, and with which he closes his highly excellent, instructive, and entertaining work.

The Hedaya, or Guide; a commentary on the Mussulman Laws: translated by order of the governor-general and council of Bengal. By Charles Hamilton. 4to. 4 vols. 5s. 5s. 1791.

WE are here presented with a work of great labour and application; and which, in the present state of our country, must be conducive to public utility; while it will always greatly contribute to private information and entertainment. It is the translator's remark that, "the permanency of any foreign dominion (and, indeed, the justification of holding such a dominion,) requires that a strict attention be paid to the ease and advantage, not only of the *governors*, but of the *governed*." While we readily assent to this proposition, we must remark that the *ease and advantage of the governed* is the first object which ought to be regarded. *Governors* should, no doubt, receive their share of the benefit, and be also supported in a due degree of affluence, and even of splendor: but all this has a principal reference to the protection and service of the people, for whose sake, and whose alone, they hold a distinguished rank in society.

Mr.

* We have before in our 27th volume extracted from the tour to the Hebrides Mr. Boswell's character of Dr. Johnson, and in our 28th volume another character of him by Mrs. Piozzi.

Mr. Hamilton proceeds very properly to observe, that in respect to foreign dominion, nothing is more likely to contribute effectually to the satisfaction of the subjects, than “preserving to them their ancient established practices, civil and religious, and protecting them in the exercise of their own institutes.” This reflection is justly applied to those Bengal provinces, which have fallen into the hands of the English.

The British government, we are told, determined to introduce as few innovations as were consistent with prudence. The Hindoos, who form so large a part of the inhabitants, and are the original natives of the country, are said to have derived an important advantage from the change; for, whereas, they were before subjected to double taxes, and laboured under particular inconveniences in every judicial process; both the Mussulman and the Hindoo are now placed on an exact equality, both having their property secured to them under that system which each is taught to believe possessed of paramount authority: but, it is added, where their interests clash in the same cause, the matter is necessarily determined by the principles of the Mussulman Law; to which, long usage, supported by the policy of the Mogul government, has given a sort of prescriptive superiority.

To promote this reasonable design, it must certainly be proper, that English judges and magistrates, if *such* be required, should have some certain rule for their direction, which may enable them, without being exposed to the misconstruction of ignorance and interest, “to determine for themselves, by a direct appeal to the Mussulman or Hindoo authority,

on the ground of which they were to decide.

“A compilation was accordingly formed, under the inspection of the most learned *pundits*, (Hindoo lawyers,) containing an abstract of the Hindoo laws, the translation of which into English was committed to Mr. Halhed; and, shortly after this was accomplished, a number of the principal Mahomedan professors in Bengal were employed in translating from the Arabic into the Persian tongue, a commentary on the Mussulman law, called the *Hedaya*, a work held in high estimation among the people of that persuasion. The English version of that commentary is now submitted to the public.”

It is well known to those who are even but slightly conversant with Mohammedan history, that

“The Koran is regarded by the Mussulmans as the basis of their law; it is therefore, when applied to judicial matters, entitled, by way of distinction, *al Sharra*, or *the Law*, in the same manner as the Pentateuch is distinguished by the Jews.—The *sonna* (a word, which, among other senses, signifies *custom*, *regulation*, or *institute*,) stands next to the Koran in point of authority, and is considered as a kind of *supplement* to that book. It forms the body of what is termed the *oral law*, because it never was committed to writing by the Arabian legislator, being deduced solely from his traditional precepts, or adjudications, preserved from hand to hand, by authorised persons, and which apply to many points of both a temporal and spiritual nature, not mentioned or but slightly touched on in the Koran.”

To these two principal sources, is to be added, as Mr. Hamilton expresses it, “an immense number of commentaries,

commentaries, some treating of the civil, some of the canon law ; some comprehending the applications both of the Koran and the Socna ; others confined to the former, and others, again, treating purely of the *traditions* ; but all differing in a variety of points in their constructions, although coinciding in their general principles."

In order to elucidate the subject, and to assist the reader in perusing this work, the translator has given a short detail of the events which occasioned the first great schism among the followers of the prophet, and which afterward proved the cause of many other differences in practice, or doctrine. Hence he proceeds to an account of those eminent persons, whose discussions occupy a considerable portion of the Hedaya, and whose doctrines and opinions are admitted as binding authority at the present day—The orthodox sects are four in number, all of which receive their distinctive appellation from their respective founders, whose characters, stations, and employments are here recited. Our limits allow us to offer little more than an outline of Mr. Hamilton's method, which appears a proper and necessary introduction to what follows. We shall therefore now attend him, in his description of the Hedaya itself.

This name literally signifies, a *guide*. The work was composed, we are informed, by Sheikh Burhan-ad-Deen-Alee, who was born at Marghinan, a city of Maveralne'r, (the ancient Transoxiana,) about

A. H.* 530. As a lawyer, his reputation is said to have been beyond that of all his contemporaries.

"The Hedaya, (observes Mr. Hamilton) is an extract from a number of the most approved works of the early writers on jurisprudence, digested into something like the form of a regular treatise, although in point of arrangement, it is rather desultory. It possesses the singular advantage of combining with the authorities, the different opinions and explications of the principal commentators on all disputed points, together with the reasons for preferring any one adjudication in particular ; by which means the principles of the law are fully disclosed, and we have not only the dictum, but also the most ample explication of it. The author, being a Moojtahid, was himself qualified to pass decisions on cases (whether real or supposed) which should operate as a precedent with others. He of consequence, in many instances, gives, us merely *his own* opinion, without resorting to any other authority or precedent. In his comments he generally leans to the doctrine of Haneefa,† or his principal disciples ; and indeed his work may in a great measure be considered as an abstract of the Haneefite opinions, modified by those of the more recent teachers, and adapted to the practice and manners of other countries and of later times."

Mr. Hamilton goes on to speak of other persons, considered as eminent, whose opinions are quoted in this work, and of the books which are principally

* The year of the *Hegira* or Mohammedan Epocha, which dates from the flight of that prophet from Mecca.

† The Haneefites are one of the four orthodox sects of the Mohammedans ; and are by some writers termed *Ahl Kecas* or the *followers of Reason*. Rev.

principally cited, and adds further remarks relative to the peculiarities which will occur in the perusal of it. This is a part of his preface, which it would, no doubt, have been easy for him to have enlarged, in a manner acceptable and beneficial to the reader:—but he deems it necessary to apologise even for the pages that he has written: We, however, esteem them a very requisite prelude to his translation, and could not have complained, if the pages of his Preliminary Discourse had extended beyond the number of eighty-nine.—Having exhibited a very brief view of the state and manners of the Arabs, he remarks:

“ This short and imperfect sketch will serve to familiarize or explain to us a number of extraordinary passages in the following treatise. In fact, without some such reference several of the examples adduced in the course of it must appear unnatural or improbable, and the arguments on them frivolous or absurd. In too many instances they certainly are so; the Mussulman lawyers being as much addicted to verbose sophistry as any of their Christian brethren. But a due regard to local circumstances will teach us to consider that numbers of the cases here cited in elucidation of particular points of law, although they may seem to an European to be such as can seldom or never really happen, would yet appear to a Mussulman, to contain no more than a necessary provision with respect to cases of frequent or probable occurrence.”

Sufficient reason appears for having fixed on the Hedaya, as the work to be translated for the assistance of British magistrates and

lawyers. The treatise was originally written in Arabic: but as that language is known only among the more learned, it was determined that a complete version should first be formed in the Persian language. This has been accordingly effected by four of the most eminent Mahomedan lawyers; and the translation of this version into English was committed to Mr. James Anderson, with whom Mr. Hamilton was associated; and on him the management and completion very soon entirely devolved, on account of other important and foreign employments, to which the former was called. Mr. Hamilton informs us, that when he came to examine his text, and compare it with the original Arabic, he found that, except a number of elucidatory interpolations, and much unavoidable amplification of style, it in general exhibited a faithful copy, deviating from the sense in but a very few instances, in some of which the difference may perhaps be justly attributed to the inaccuracy of transcribers.

It may, however, be asked, and it seems a plausible objection, Why was recourse had to an intermediate version? why was not the translation made directly from the Arabic? The translator observes, that, had he been at liberty to have pursued this plan, it would have saved him much labour; and he offers in reply a few reasons which he apprehends will give an indisputable preference to the mode that has been adopted; they are briefly as follow;—that, the Persic version was intended for the use not merely of the English scholar, but also of the native magistrate; that the Arabic is remarkably close in its idiom and construction, to a degree which, in any other language,

guage, would involve the subject in perplexing obscurity;—that the persons employed in the composition of the Persic version were themselves possessed of deep legal knowledge, and therefore their interpolations proceed from an authority perfectly competent; “these interpolations, (says Mr. Hamilton) are, in fact, nothing more than *explanatory remarks*, inserted in the body of the work, instead of being subjoined in the form of notes.”—To these, we may add another consideration, mentioned in a different part of this preface, which tells us that, “in the Persian version we have a particular definition of terms, a point in which the original is totally defective, but which is doubtless indispensably requisite to persons not conversant in the Arabic tongue—and they may, perhaps, be also considered as a valuable addition to oriental lexicographic knowledge, as they give not only the meaning of the term, but also its etymology and particular application in the language of the law.”

“As the Hedaya (says Mr. Hamilton) includes a complete system of Mussulman jurisprudence, it commences with the Abâdat, or spiritual law, including the five great religious duties of purification, prayer, alms, fasting, and pilgrimage.—Of these, the book of Alms (Zakat) only is retained by the translator, as the others are neither very curious in their nature, nor could afford any manner of assistance in decisions concerning matters of property, and would have burthened the work with an additional and totally useless volume:”—but though he has omitted the other four subjects specified above, he has added a few pertinent remarks relative to each.

Concerning prayer, it is declared to be, “the corner-stone of religion, and the pillar of faith;” and further we are told, “It is not by the Mussulman Doctors considered as a thing of *mere form*. It requires that the heart and understanding should accompany it, without which it is pronounced to be of no avail.”

All the accounts of the followers of Mohammed tend too much to convince us that the nature and energy of real religion are by them greatly neglected or misunderstood. Habituated, from childhood, to an exact attention to prescribed times and forms of devotion, its real influence and proper exercise appear to be lost; thus they often return from such practices, with a spirit in no respect meliorated; nay, even prepared for any atrocious action, which may suit their interest or gratify their passions.—Persons *really* devout, and consequently virtuous, (for there is *no* religion where virtue is wanting,) there doubtless have been under all systems and denominations: but for the greater part, it too frequently appears, both in ancient and modern times, that superstition, mysticism and formality, supply the place of piety and truth: a charge that applies as well to those who have professed Christianity (so well fitted to teach them better,) as to any others, and is still too plainly verified, even among those who bear the name of *reformed* and *protestant*. This ignorance and superstition may well accord with the *policy* and *trade* of government: but it is utterly subversive of the design and efficacy of the gospel.

We may here insert the following paragraph, relative to the pilgrimage to Mecca, the sacred city:
It

“ It may not be improper to observe, that for some time past, and particularly within the present century, the Kaaba, or holy temple, has sustained a falling off both in the rank and number of its votaries.— Whether this defection arises from the advancement of knowledge, or (as is most probable) from the rapid decay which the great Mussulman empires have experienced within that period, it certainly denotes a revolution in the minds or habits of the Mohammedans, which is perhaps only a prelude to the extinction of Islamism.”*

The main subjects of these four volumes are distributed under the following heads;—vol. 1st, Zakat or alms; Marriage; Fosterage; Divorce; Manumission; Vows.—Vol. 2d, Punishment; Larceny; Institutes, or Political Regulations of Mohammed; Foundlings; Troves, or Property committed to, or found by, other persons; Absconding of Slaves; Missing Persons; Partnership; Appropriations, of a pious or charitable kind; Sale, chiefly intended to guard against Usury in the Exchange of the precious Metals; Bail; Transfer of Debts; Duties of Magistrates; Evidence; Retracting of Evidence.—Vol. 3d, Agency; Claims; Acknowledgements; Compositions; Copartnership in the profits of stock and labour; Deposits; Loans; Gifts; Hire; Mokatibs, or (if we understand it right) covenanted slaves, who become free on

paying the stipulated ransom; Contract, by which one person transfers his property to another; Compulsion; Inhibition; Licensed Slaves; Usurpation Shaffa, relative, as it seems, to the rights of property held by two or more persons.—Vol. 4th, partition; Compacts of Cultivation; Compacts of Gardening; Zabab, or the slaying of animals for food; Sacrifice; Abominations, chiefly to be considered, it is said, in the light of a treatise on propriety or decorum; Cultivation of Waste Lands; Prohibited Liquors; Hunting; Pawns; Offences against the Person; Fines; Levying of Fines; Wills; Hermaphrodites, “a class of beings, (says the translator,) which probably exist in imagination rather than reality;” we shall therefore leave this book to speak for itself.”

Under most or all of these heads, the reader will find some suitable and useful remarks, offered by Mr. Hamilton, before he proceeds directly to the laws and rules concerning them, as delivered in the Hedaya itself; some of these remarks we may insert, but they must be brief and few.

Under the head of Manumission it is observed:

“Tenderness towards slaves is certainly a prevalent principle in the Mussulman law, notwithstanding some passages which occur in this treatise, are directly repugnant to common feelings, and to the natural rights of man.—Still we shall

* Mohammed gave to his religion the name of *Islām* or *Islamism*, which properly denotes *resignation* or *submission* to the commands of God. Some interpret it the *Saving Religion*, deriving it from the Arabic word *aslama*, the fourth conjugation of *Salama*, importing *to enter into a state of Salvation*. From this root is likewise deduced the word *moslem*, denoting in the Arabic language, *a true believer*, or professor of Islamism. Vide Mod. Un. Hist. vol. i. p. 225. Edit.

shall be guilty of great injustice, if we form our ideas of Mussulman slavery from the treatment experienced by Christian captives among the barbarians of Tunis and Algiers. To the free-born denizen of Britain, the very name of slave carries with it something odious and disgusting: but the Mohammedan bondman, generally speaking, experiences in a very slight degree, if at all, the miseries which necessarily attend that state in some of the dependences of Europe; where the riches of the community grow out of the incessant labour of wretches whose shortened date of life is balanced against their earnings by rules of Algebra and calculations of Arithmetic.'

Among the strictures on the book which treats of punishments, we find it observed, 'The chapter containing the penalties of drunkenness, exhibits a degree of lenient indulgence with respect to that vice which we would scarcely expect to meet in a Mussulman law-book, as it hence appears that a man may offend in this way, even to a considerable degree, without any danger of legal cognizance.—To something of a like purpose is what we read under the article of Prohibited Liquors. 'At present Mussulmen are not, in general, very strict observers of the law in this particular, their modern doctors allowing that various fluids may be drank, either medicinally or for pleasure, provided it be done with moderation, and so as to avoid scandal.'

Concerning the article entitled Larceny, it is said by this writer,

"Many arguments might be adduced against the law of mutilation in cases of larceny; founded as well

on the inhumanity as the inefficiency and inconveniency of that mode of correction. It is, however, the only method expressly authorised by the text of the Koran, and if we consider the force of religious prejudice, and the effect of long habit, it may perhaps appear very unadvisable to introduce any hasty alteration in the penal jurisdiction in this particular,—especially as we have nothing better to offer by way of substitute, (for surely our penal laws are still more sanguinary!) and also, as the Gentoo laws, with respect to theft, are strictly analogous to the Mussulman in awarding mutilation under certain circumstances."

Of the book which relates to Gifts, we are told, that it "chiefly consists of plain rules, applied to ordinary cases; it is to be remarked, however, (adds the translator) that the Mussulman law, with respect to gifts, differs considerably from the Roman, in leaving to the donor an unrestricted right of resumption."

When Mr. Hamilton takes notice of the book of Inhibition, he expresses himself in the following manner: "How far legal restrictions on adult prodigals are calculated for the advantage of the community at large, it is not our business to enquire. It is, however, certain, that the imposition of wholesome limitations on thoughtless extravagance, and every other species of folly, if more generally introduced would operate powerfully to preserve the comfort and peace of families, and (perhaps) the virtue of individuals."—How far this remark is just, and still more how far it might be wise to make the trial, deserves consideration.

Under

Under the head of Offences against the Person the translator takes particular notice of that passage in the Koran which allows of retaliation; an allowance, in which he supposes the prophet had a view to indulge the propensity of his countrymen to revenge, and also to preserve the peace of the community:

In fact, (observes Mr. Hamilton) however equitable this mode of requital may appear in some instances of personal injury, yet when applied to all without limitation, it certainly involves much gross absurdity and injustice, a charge from which it does not stand acquitted by all the distinctions which the commentators have established concerning it in this book. Hence it is that the Mussulman courts, following the example of the Jews, understand the words of the Koran, in all cases short of life, in the same manner as those do the Pentateuch: that is, not as awarding an *actual* retaliation, according to the strict literal meaning, but an atonement in exact proportion to the injury.'

The translator having exhibited what he terms an *imperfect* summary of the work, to use his own phrase, "hazards a few words in vindication of its probable utility." In respect to India, as long as the English retain their acquisition *there*, its propriety, and perhaps necessity, are too plain to admit of doubt: but there are other advantages which he hopes may be derived from it.

'It can scarcely fail to open a source of desirable knowledge to the merchant and the traveller. In a *political* view, likewise, it is humbly presumed that this work will not be found altogether uninteresting. At the present eventful period, when

we have seen new empires springing into birth, and the old indignantly throwing off the long riveted chains of despotism, the grandest remaining fabric of Islamism seems hastening to its fall. In expecting this mighty ruin, we are naturally led to enquire on what principles the fabric was founded, and to what causes we are to attribute its decay. Some parts of the following treatise are particularly calculated to assist us in the investigation. We may therefore observe that, however sagaciously it might be formed for the sudden extension of dominion, during an age when mankind were involved in the darkest gloom of superstition and ignorance, the Mussulman system, civil and religious, is but wretchedly adapted to the purposes of public security, or private virtue. We may observe, with some degree of laudable exultation, its obvious inferiority, in every useful view, to that excellent system which we profess, and which is so admirably calculated to promote the temporal good of mankind as well as their eternal happiness!'

Mr. Hamilton makes some respectful acknowledgements to those who have countenanced and assisted him in his laborious pursuits: sir John Macpherson and his colleagues in the Bengal government receive their tribute of respect, as do also the Court of Directors: but the first and principal testimony of regard and applause is expressed in these words:

"Concerning the public zeal, the penetrating and comprehensive mind, of the gentleman to whom this work is dedicated, (Warren Hastings, esq.) it is unnecessary to enlarge in this place. From him the present translation derives its existence and the merit of his design received its best

confirmation in the continuance of support it experienced from his immediate superiors as well as from his successors in office.'

It has appeared to us, that, in order to afford some proper view of these volumes, no method that we could take, would be more acceptable or satisfactory to our readers, than that of extracting some parts of the translator's preliminary discourse, and adding some occasional remarks. Many of the regulations and distinctions, which the Hedaya prescribes, will, no doubt, have an odd appearance to us, whose manner of acting, and mode of thinking, are so different from those of the Asiatics. It might in general be imagined, that the rules of right and justice should, in a degree, bear an affinity among all people, though the method of observing them, or of censuring their neglect, may greatly vary. Fact has, however, proved, that men, when left to themselves, have failed in several respects, even on the plainest points of justice and humanity. As to the code here given, no doubt, some of the directions may be considered as obsolete, even in the countries in which they originated; some may be frivolous, needless, or of a mistaken kind; and others merely repetitions of what had before been offered; while, in a general view, they tend to maintain peace and order, and to preserve the comfort and welfare of society, according to the apprehensions and prejudices of those people to whom they immediately relate. Several of them have undoubtedly looked with a favourable aspect on those objects, to which all laws ought to be directed, — the safety and the advantages of the community, and of individuals.

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We have not ourselves been accustomed to form any high opinion of the administration of justice among the Arabians or Mohammedans. However good their *law* may be, historians have generally led us to believe that it is executed in a summary way; by the despotic order, or according to the passions, or the interest, of the chief; whose dictates, even if he happens to be a sensible and a good kind of man, are far too authoritative and arbitrary, if not too severe, to be relished by those who have any just sense of the rights and comforts of human nature. In more civilized countries, and under far better governments, than those of the Eastern world, it is greatly to be regretted, that so much difficulty attends the attainment of personal justice, or the redress of injuries: obstacles and delays, in these respects, are most vexatious, injurious to peace, to health, to property; and, after all, even when the decision may be just, the expence attending it, seldom affords the victorious party much reason to rejoice; and not unfrequently does it throw him into embarrassments and distress, perhaps equal to a defeat.

On the whole, we consider this publication as a great curiosity, which may gratify many an inquisitive and studious mind. We do not pretend to assert the fidelity and accuracy of the version; of which however, we entertain no doubt. We respect the modesty and diffidence with which Mr. Hamilton speaks of his performance; and we find no difficulty in concurring in his opinion, when he observes, that "the chief business of a translator, is scrupulous accuracy, and the only merit he can claim, laborious application."

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